

HARPER'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA of UNITED STATES HISTORY

FROM 458 A.D. TO 1906

BASED UPON THE PLAN OF

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"THE PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION" "THE PICTORIAL FIELD-
BOOK OF THE WAR OF 1812" ETC., ETC., ETC.

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"A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE," ETC., ETC.

WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, PORTRAITS, MAPS, PLANS, &c.

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Theodore Roosevelt

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HARPERS' ENCYCLOPÆDIA

OF

UNITED STATES HISTORY

O.

Oak Woods, BATTLE OF. In the Civil War the siege of Richmond had gone on quietly until near the close of June, 1862, when General Heintzelman's corps, with a part of Keyes's and Sumner's, was ordered to move forward on the Williamsburg road, through a swampy wood, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the ground beyond, and to place Heintzelman and Sumner in a position to support a proposed attack upon the Confederates at a certain point by General Franklin. They met a Confederate force, and a fight ensued, in which the brigades of Sickles and Grover, of Hooker's division, bore the brunt. The Confederates were driven from their encampment, and the point aimed at was gained. The National loss was 516 men killed and wounded.

Oaths, solemn appeals to God for the truth of an affirmation. There are two classes of oaths; (1) assertatory, when made as to a fact, etc.; (2) promissory, oaths of allegiance, of office, etc. Taken by Abraham, 1892 B.C. (Gen. xxi. 24), and authorized 1491 B.C. (Exod. xxii. 11). The administration of an oath in judicial proceedings was introduced by the Saxons into England, 600.

Of supremacy, first administered to British subjects, and ratified by Parliament, 26 Henry VIII. 1525
Oaths were taken on the Gospels so early as 528; and the words, "So help me God and all saints," concluded an oath until. 1550
Ancient oath of allegiance in England, "to be true and faithful to the King and his heirs, and truth and faith to

bear of life and limb and terrene honor; and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him without defending him therefrom," to which James I. added a declaration against the pope's authority. 1603
It was again altered. 1689
Affirmation of a Quaker authorized instead of an oath, by statute, in 1696 *et seq.*

Of abjuration, being an obligation to maintain the government of King, lords, and Commons, the Church of England, and toleration of Protestant Dissenters, and abjuring all Roman Catholic pretenders to the crown, 13 William III. 1701

Affirmation, instead of oath, was permitted to Quakers and other Dissenters by acts passed in 1833, 1837, 1838, and 1863.

In 1858 and 1860 Jews elected members of Parliament were relieved from part of the oath of allegiance.

New oath of allegiance by 31 and 32 Victoria c. 72 (1868), for members of the new Parliament: "I do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, according to law, so help me God." (Bradlaugh case, Parliament, 1880.)

Following is the form of the oath of allegiance Washington was directed by Congress to administer to the officers of the army before leaving Valley Forge: "I [name and office], in the armies of the United States of America, do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent, and sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George III., King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do — that I will to the utmost of my power support, maintain, and defend the said

United States against the said King George III., his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants, and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of — which I now hold, with fidelity according to the best of my skill and understanding" June, 1778

[By act of Congress, Aug. 3, 1861, the oath of allegiance for the cadets at West Point was amended so as to abjure all allegiance, sovereignty, or fealty to any State, county, or country whatsoever, and to require unqualified support of the Constitution and the national government.]

"Iron-clad" or "test" oath, prescribed by Congress July 2, 1862, to be taken by persons in the former Confederate States appointed to office under the national government. The text was as follows: I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought, nor accepted, nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority or pretended authority in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm) that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God."

For another form of special oath, see AGUINALDO, EMILIO.

Ober, FREDERICK ALBION, author; born in Beverly, Mass., Feb. 13, 1849; now connected as ornithologist with the Smithsonian Institution, for which he has travelled extensively. Among his works are *Puerto Rico and its Resources*; *Brief Histories of Spain, Mexico, and the West Indies*, etc.

Oberlin College, a non-sectarian, co-educational institution in Oberlin, O., founded in 1833 by the Rev. John J. Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart, and so named

in honor of J. F. Oberlin (1740-1826), a Protestant pastor of Waldbach, Alsace. In 1903 it reported 96 professors and instructors; 1,509 students; 3,856 graduates; 68,000 volumes in the library; grounds and buildings valued at \$716,000; and productive funds, \$1,576,153. Henry C. King, D.D., president.

Oblong, TNE. In 1731 the long-disputed boundary between New York and Connecticut seemed to be settled by mutual concessions. A tract of land lying within the claimed boundary of Connecticut, 580 rods in width, consisting of 61,440 acres, and called from its figure "The Oblong," was ceded to New York as an equivalent for lands near Long Island Sound surrendered to Connecticut. That tract is now included in the Connecticut towns of Greenwich, Stamford, New Canaan, and Darien. This agreement was subscribed by the respective commissioners at Dover, then the only village on the west side of the Oblong. The dividing-line was not run regularly, and this gave rise to a vexatious controversy, which was settled in 1880.

O'Brien, JEREMIAH, naval officer; born in Searboro, Me., in 1740. On hearing of the affair at Lexington (April, 1775), he and four brothers, and a few volunteers, captured a British armed schooner in Machias Bay, May 11, 1775. Jeremiah was the leader. It was the first naval victory, and the first blow struck on the water, after the war began. O'Brien soon afterwards made other captures, and he was commissioned a captain in the Massachusetts navy. He commanded a privateer, but was captured, and suffered six months in the JERSEY PRISON-SHIP (q. v.). He was also confined in Mill Prison, England, a year, when he escaped and returned home. At the time of his death, Oct. 5, 1818, O'Brien was collector of customs at Machias.

O'Brien, RICHARD, naval officer; born in Maine in 1758; commanded a privateer in the Revolutionary War, and was an officer on the brig *Jefferson* in 1781; was captured by the Dey of Algiers, and enslaved for many years, carrying a ball and chain until a service performed for his master's daughter alleviated his condition. Thomas Jefferson, while Secretary of State (1797), procured his emancipation, and appointed him an agent for the United

OBSERVATORY—O'CONOR

States. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 14, 1824.

Observatory. The first observatory in Europe was erected at Nuremberg, 1472, by Walthers. The two most celebrated of the sixteenth century were the one erected by Landgrave William IV. at Cassel, 1561, and Tycho Brahe's at Uranienborg, 1567. The first attempt in the United States was at the University of North Carolina, 1824; and the first permanent one at Williams College, 1836. The leading observatories in the United States are those of the Naval Observatory in Washington, the Princeton University, Harvard University, Dudley Observatory at Albany, Michigan University, Chicago University, Hamilton College, and the Lick Observatory in California.

Ocala (Fla.) Platform, of the Farmers' Alliance, was adopted Dec. 8, 1890. It favored free silver, a low tariff, an income tax, the abolition of national banks, and the establishment of sub-treasuries, which should lend money to the people at a low interest.

O'Callaghan, EDMUND BAILEY, historian; born in County Cork, Ireland, Feb. 29, 1797. He was a member of the Parliament of Lower Canada in 1836. He came to the United States in 1837, and was for many years (1848-70) keeper of the historical manuscripts in the office of the secretary of state of New York. He translated the Dutch records obtained from Holland by Mr. Brodhead, contained in several published volumes. O'Callaghan wrote and edited very valuable works, such as the *Documentary History of New York* (4 volumes); *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York* (11 volumes); *Journals of the Legislative Councils of New York* (2 volumes); *Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution; Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland* (2 volumes, 1638-74). In 1845-48 he prepared and published a *History of New Netherland* (2 volumes). At the time of his death, May 27, 1880, he was engaged in translating the Dutch records of the city of New York.

Occum, SAMSON, Indian preacher; born in Mohegan, New London co., Conn., about 1723; entered the Indian school of Mr. Wheelock at Lebanon when he was nine-

teen years of age, and remained there four years. Teaching school awhile at Lebanon, he removed to Montauk, L. I., where he taught and preached. Sent to England (1766) as an agent for Wheelock's Indian school, he attracted great attention, for he was the first Indian preacher who had visited that country. Occum was employed in missionary labors among the Indians, and acquired much influence over them. He died in New Stockbridge, N. Y., July 14, 1792.

Oconastoto, INDIAN CHIEF, elected head chief of the Cherokees in 1738. In the French and Indian War he sided at first with the English, but in consequence of a dispute between the Indians and some English settlers, he made a general attack on the frontier settlements of the Carolinas. At the head of 10,000 Creeks and Cherokees he forced the garrison of Fort Loudon to surrender, and in violation of his promise, treacherously killed all his prisoners, over 200 in number. Three men only escaped—Capt. John Stuart, and two soldiers. Stuart's life was saved by one of the chiefs, who assisted him in returning to Virginia. As a result of the massacre the colonists burned the Cherokee towns, and forced Oconastoto into an alliance which lasted until the war of the Revolution, when Captain Stuart, who had been made British Indian agent, induced Oconastoto to head an attack on the colonists with 20,000 Indians. JOHN SEVER (*q. v.*) after a five years' struggle succeeded in permanently crushing the power of the allied Indians. Oconastoto was reported alive in 1809 by Return J. Meigs, United States Indian agent, although eighty years previously (1730) he had reached manhood and had represented the Cherokee nation in a delegation sent to England.

O'Conor, CHARLES, lawyer; born in New York City, Jan. 22, 1804; admitted to the bar in 1824. He was connected with many of the most prominent legal cases, the most famous of which were the suits against the Tammany ring in 1871, in which William M. Evarts, James Emmot, and Wheeler H. Peckham were associated with him. In 1872 Mr. O'Conor was nominated for the Presidency by that portion of the Democratic party which was opposed to the election

ODD-FELLOWS—OGDEN

of Horace Greeley. Mr. O'Connor was one of the counsel of Samuel J. Tilden before the electoral commission in 1876. He died in Nantucket, Mass., May 12, 1884.

Odd-fellows, a name adopted by members of a social institution having signs of recognition, initiatory rites and ceremonies, grades of dignity and honor; object purely social and benevolent, confined to members. The independent order of odd-fellows was formed in Manchester, England, in 1813. Odd-fellowship was introduced into the United States from Manchester in 1819; and the grand lodge of Maryland and the United States was constituted Feb. 22, 1821. In 1842 the American branch severed its connection with the Manchester unity. In 1843 it issued a dispensation for opening the Prince of Wales Lodge No. 1, at Montreal, Canada. American odd-fellowship has its headquarters at Baltimore and branches in nearly all parts of the world, the supreme body being the sovereign grand lodge of the world. In 1903 its membership was 1,031,399; total relief paid, \$4,068,510.

Odell, BENJAMIN B., JR., governor; born in Newburg, N. Y., Jan. 14, 1854; member of Congress in 1895-99; elected governor of the State of New York in 1900.

O'Dell, JONATHAN, clergyman; born in Newark, N. J., Sept. 25, 1737; graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1754; took holy orders in 1767, and became pastor of the Episcopal Church in Burlington, N. J. During the Revolution he was in frequent conflict with the patriots in his parish, and at the close of the war he went to England, but returned to America and settled in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia. He died in Fredericton, N. B., Nov. 25, 1818.

Odell, MOSES FOWLER, statesman; born in Tarrytown, N. Y., Feb. 24, 1818; elected to Congress in 1861 as a fusion Democrat from Brooklyn, N. Y., and in 1863 as a war Democrat. He was a member of the committee on the conduct of the war. In 1865 he was appointed naval officer of the port of New York, and subsequently was offered the post of collector of the port, which he declined on account of failing health. Mr. Odell was a prominent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

and widely known as the superintendent of the Sunday-school of Sands Street Church. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 13, 1866.

Ogden, AARON, military officer; born in Elizabethtown, N. J., Dec. 3, 1756; graduated at Princeton in 1773; taught school in his native village; and in the winter of 1775-76 assisted in capturing, near Sandy Hook, a British vessel laden with munitions of war for the army in Boston. Early in 1777 he entered the



AARON OGDEN

army as captain under his brother Matthias, and fought at Brandywine. He was brigade-major under Lee at Monmouth, and assistant aide-de-camp to Lord Stirling; aid to General Maxwell in Sullivan's expedition; was at the battle of Springfield (June, 1780); and in 1781 was with Lafayette in Virginia. He led infantry to the storming of a redoubt at Yorktown, and received the commendation of Washington. After the war he practised law, and held civil offices of trust in his State. He was United States Senator from 1801 to 1803, and governor of New Jersey from 1812 to 1813. In the War of 1812-15 he commanded the militia of New Jersey. At the time of his death, in Jersey City, N. J., April 19, 1839, he was president general of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Ogden, DAVID, jurist; born in Newark, N. J., in 1707; graduated at Yale in 1728; appointed judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey in 1772, but was obliged to resign at the beginning of the War of the Revolution. He was in England the greater portion of the time until 1780, acting as

OGDEN—OGDENSBURG

agent for the loyalists who had claims on Great Britain, and he secured a compensation of \$100,000 for his own losses. He settled in Whitestone, N. Y., in 1789, and died there in June, 1800.

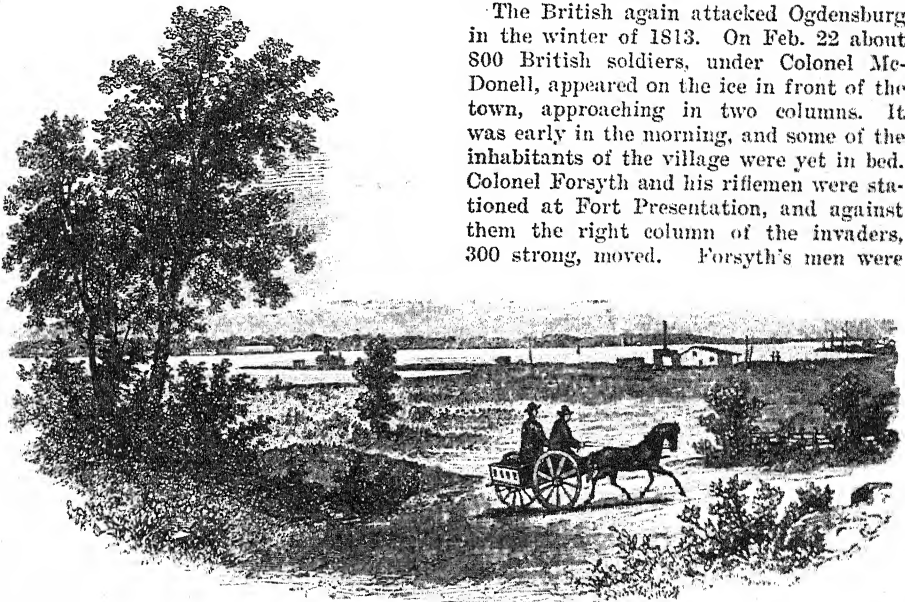
Ogden, HERBERT GOUVERNEUR, topographer; born in New York, April 4, 1846; served in the Civil War; connected with the United States coast survey; took part in the Nicaragua expedition, 1865; exploration of the Isthmus of Darien, 1870; Alaskan boundary expedition, 1893, etc.

Ogden, MATTHIAS, military officer; born in Elizabethtown, N. J., Oct. 22, 1754; joined the army at Cambridge in 1775, accompanied Arnold in his expedition to QUEBEC (*q. v.*), and commanded the 1st New Jersey Regiment from 1776 until the close of the war, when he was brevetted brigadier-general. He died in Elizabethtown, N. J., March 31, 1791.

Ogdensburg, BATTLES AT. The pres-

ent city of Ogdensburg, N. Y., was a little partially sheltered by the ruins of the village in 1812, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River. The British village of Prescott was on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence. A threatened invasion from two small field-pieces. The invaders of northern New York from that quarter caused Gen. Jacob Brown to be sent to Ogdensburg to garrison old Fort Presentation, or Oswegatchie, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River. Brown arrived on Oct. 1, and the next day a British flotilla, composed of two gunboats and twenty-five bateaux, bearing about 750 armed men, left Prescott to attack Ogdensburg. At the latter place Brown had about 1,200 effective men, regulars and militia, and a party of riflemen, under Captain Forsyth, were encamped near Fort Presentation, on the margin of the river. The latter were drawn up in battle order to dispute the landing of the invaders. Brown had two field-pieces, and when the British were nearly in mid-channel these were opened upon them with such effect that the enemy were made to retreat precipitately and in great confusion. This repulse gave Brown much credit, and he was soon regarded as one of the ablest men in the service.

The British again attacked Ogdensburg in the winter of 1813. On Feb. 22 about 800 British soldiers, under Colonel McDonnell, appeared on the ice in front of the town, approaching in two columns. It was early in the morning, and some of the inhabitants of the village were yet in bed. Colonel Forsyth and his riflemen were stationed at Fort Presentation, and against them the right column of the invaders, 300 strong, moved. Forsyth's men were

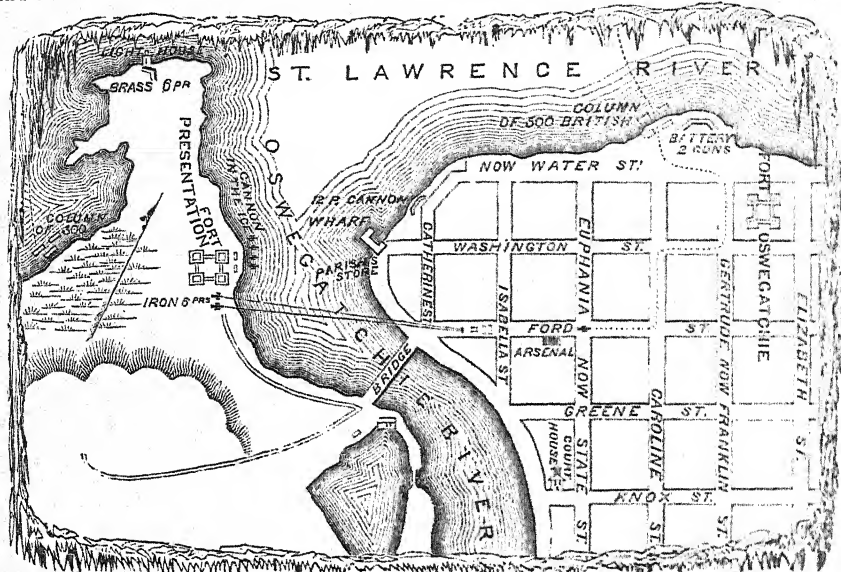


PRESENT SITE OF FORT PRESENTATION.

ent city of Ogdensburg, N. Y., was a little partially sheltered by the ruins of the village in 1812, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River. The British village of Prescott was on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence. A threatened invasion from two small field-pieces. The invaders

were repulsed with considerable loss, and fled in confusion over the frozen bosom of the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile the left column, 500 strong, had marched into the town and captured a 12-pounder cannon and its custodians without resistance.

Forsyth, seeing his peril, gave orders for a retreat to Black Lake, 8 or 9 miles distant. There he wrote to the War Department, giving an account of the affair, and saying, "If you can send me 300 men, all shall be retaken, and Prescott too, or I



MAP OF THE OPERATIONS AT OGDENSBURG.

They then expected an easy conquest of the town, but were soon confronted by cannon under Captain Kellogg and Sheriff York. The gun of the former became disabled, and he and his men fled across the Oswegatchie and joined Forsyth, leaving the indomitable York to maintain the fight alone, until he and his band were made prisoners. The village was now in complete possession of the British, and McDonnell proceeded to dislodge Forsyth and his party at the fort. He sent a message to that commander to surrender, saying, "If you surrender, it shall be well; if not, every man shall be put to the bayonet." "Tell Colonel McDonnell," said Forsyth to the messenger, "there must be more fighting done first." Then the two cannon near the ruins of the fort gave heavy discharges of grape and canister shot, which threw the invaders into confusion. It was only momentary. An overwhelming party of the British were preparing to make an assault, when For-

syth will lose my life in the attempt." The town, in possession of the enemy, was plundered by Indians and camp-followers of both sexes, who came over from Canada, and by resident miscreants. Every house in the village but three was entered, and the public property carried over to Canada. Two armed schooners, fast in the ice, were burned, and the barracks near the river were laid in ashes. Fifty-two prisoners were taken to Prescott. The Americans lost in the affair, besides the prisoners, five killed and fifteen wounded; the British loss was six killed and forty-eight wounded. They immediately evacuated the place, and the fugitive citizens returned.

Ogilvie, JOHN, clergyman; born in New York City in 1722; graduated at Yale in 1748; missionary to the Indians in 1749; chaplain to the Royal American Regiment during the French and Indian War; assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York City, in 1764. He died in New York City, Nov. 26, 1774.

Oglesby, RICHARD JAMES, military officer; born in Oldham county, Ky., July 25, 1824; settled in Decatur, Ill., in 1836. When the Mexican War broke out he entered the army as lieutenant in the 8th Illinois Infantry and participated in the siege of Vera Cruz and in the action at Cerro Gordo. Resigning in 1847 he studied law, and began practice in 1851. He was elected to the State Senate in 1860, but when the Civil War began resigned his seat and became colonel of the 8th Illinois Volunteers; won distinction in the battles of Pittsburg Landing and Corinth; and was promoted major-general in 1862. He was elected governor of Illinois in 1864 and 1872, but in his second term served a few days only when he was elected United States Senator. In 1878 he was again elected governor. He died in Elkhart, Ill., April 24, 1899.

Oglethorpe, JAMES EDWARD, "father" of Georgia; born in London, England, Dec. 21, 1698. Early in 1714 he was commissioned one of Queen Anne's guards, and was one of Prince Eugene's aids in the campaign against the Turks in 1716-17. At the siege and capture of Belgrade he was very active, and he attained the rank of colonel in the British army. In 1722 he was elected to a seat in Parliament, which he held thirty-two years. In that body he made a successful effort to relieve the distresses of prisoners for debt, who crowded the jails of England, and projected the plan of a colony in America to serve as an asylum for the persecuted Protestants in Germany and other Continental countries, and "for those persons at home who had become so desperate in circumstances that they could not rise and hope again without changing the scene and making trial of a different country." Thomson, alluding to this project of transporting and expatriating the prisoners for debt to America, wrote this half-warning line, "O great design! if executed well." It was proposed to found the colony in the country between South Carolina and Florida. King George II. granted a charter for the purpose in June, 1732, which incorporated twenty-one trustees for founding the colony of Georgia.

Oglethorpe accompanied the first company of emigrants thither, and early in 1733 founded the town of Savannah on

Yamacraw Bluff. A satisfactory conference with the surrounding Indians, with MARY MUSGROVE (*q. v.*) as interpreter, resulted in a treaty which secured sovereignty to the English over a large territory. Oglethorpe went to England in 1734, leaving the colony in care of others, and taking natives with him. He did not return to Georgia until 1736, when he took with him several cannon and about 150 Scotch Highlanders skilled in the military art. This was the first British army in Georgia. With him also came REV. JOHN WESLEY (*q. v.*) and his brother Charles, for the purpose of giving spiritual instruction to the colonists. The elements of prosperity were now with the colonists, who numbered more than 500 souls; but the unwise restrictions of the trustees were a serious bar to advancement. Many Germans, also, now settled in Georgia, among them a band of Moravians; and the Wesleys were followed by GEORGE WHITEFIELD (*q. v.*), a



JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE.

zealous young clergyman burning with zeal for the good of men, and who worked lovingly with the Moravians in Georgia.

With his great guns and his Highlanders, Oglethorpe was prepared to defend his colony from intruders; and they soon proved to be useful, for the Spaniards at St. Augustine, jealous of the growth of the new colony, menaced them. With his martial Scotchmen, Oglethorpe went on an expedition among the islands off the coast of Georgia, and on St. Simon's he founded Frederica and built a fort. At Darien, where a few Scotch people had

fication. Then he went to Cumberland Island, and there marked out a fort that would command the mouth of the St. Mary's River. On a small island at the entrance of the St. John's River he planned a small military work, which he named Fort George. He also founded Augusta, far up the Savannah River, and built a stockade as a defence against hostile Indians.

These hostile preparations caused the Spaniards at St. Augustine to threaten war. Creek tribes offered their aid to Oglethorpe, and the Spaniards made a treaty of peace with the English. It was disapproved in Spain, and Oglethorpe was notified that a commissioner from Cuba would meet him at Frederica. They met. The Spaniard demanded the evacuation of all Georgia and a portion of South Carolina by the English, claiming the territory to the latitude of Port Royal as Spanish possessions. Oglethorpe hastened to England to confer with the trustees and seek military strength. He returned in the autumn of 1738, a brigadier-general, authorized to raise troops in Georgia. He found the colonists languishing and discontented. Idleness prevailed, and they yearned for the privilege of employing slave-labor. Late the next year war broke out between England and Spain. St. Augustine had been strengthened with troops, and Oglethorpe resolved to strike a blow before the Spaniards should be well prepared; so he led an unsuccessful expedition into Florida. Two years later the Spaniards proceeded to retaliate, but were frustrated by a stratagem. Oglethorpe had successfully settled, colonized, and defended Georgia, spending a large amount of his own fortune in the enterprise, not for his own glory, but for a benevolent purpose. He returned to England in 1743, where, after performing good military service as major-general against the "Young Pretender" (1745), and serving a few years longer in Parliament, he retired to his seat in Essex. When General Gage returned from America, in 1775, Oglethorpe was offered the general command of the British troops in this country, though he was then about seventy-seven years of age. He did not approve the doings of the ministry, and declined. He was among the first to

offer congratulations to John Adams, because of American independence, when that gentleman went as minister to England in 1784. He died in Essex, England, Jan. 30, 1785. See FLORIDA; GEORGIA.

O'Hara, CHARLES, military officer; born in 1730; was a lieutenant of the Coldstream Guards in 1756, and, as colonel of the Foot Guards, came to America in 1780 in command of them. He served under Cornwallis, and commanded the van in the famous pursuit of Greene in 1781. He was badly wounded in the battle of GUILFORD (*q. v.*), and was commander of the British right, as brigadier-general, at the surrender at Yorktown, when he gave to General Lincoln the sword of Cornwallis, the latter too ill, it was alleged, to appear on the field. After serving as governor of several English colonies, he was lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar in 1787, and governor in 1795. In 1797 he was made general. He died in Gibraltar, Feb. 21, 1802.

O'Hara, THEODORE, poet; born in Danville, Ky., Feb. 11, 1820; graduated at St. Joseph Academy, Bardstown, Ky.; and admitted to the bar in 1845. He was appointed captain and assistant quartermaster in the army in June, 1846, and served with distinction throughout the Mexican War. After the remains of the Kentucky soldiers who fell at Buena Vista were reinterred in their native State he wrote for that occasion the well-known poem, *The Bivouac of the Dead*, the first stanza of which is:

"The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo.
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping-ground
Their silent tents are spread;
And Glory guards, with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

During the Civil War he enlisted in the Confederate army and became colonel of the 12th Alabama Regiment. He died near Guerryton, Ala., June 6, 1867.

Ohio, STATE OF, was first explored by La Salle about 1680, his object being trade and not settlement. Conflicting claims to territory in that region led to the FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (*q. v.*). The

French held possession of the region north of the Ohio River until the conquest of Canada in 1760 and the surrender of vast territory by the French to the English in 1763. After the Revolution disputes arose

near Lake Erie. In 1800 jurisdiction over these tracts was relinquished to the national government, the States retaining the right to the soil, while the Indian titles to the rest of the State were bought up by the national government.

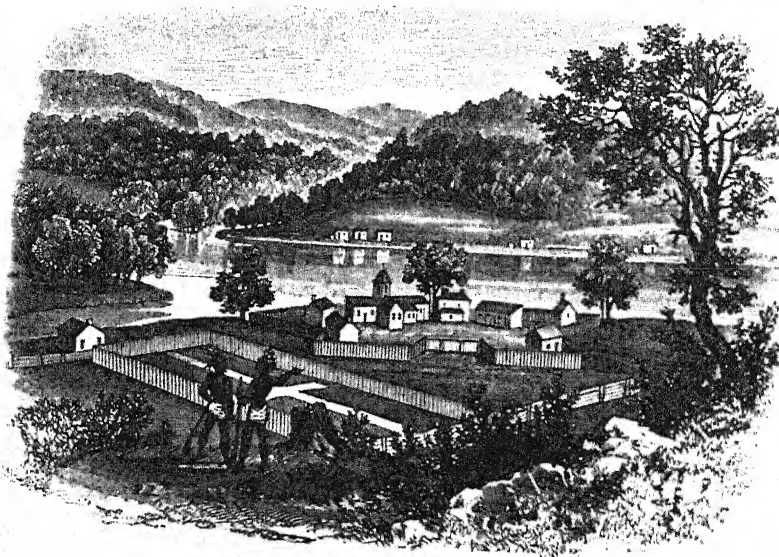


SEAL OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

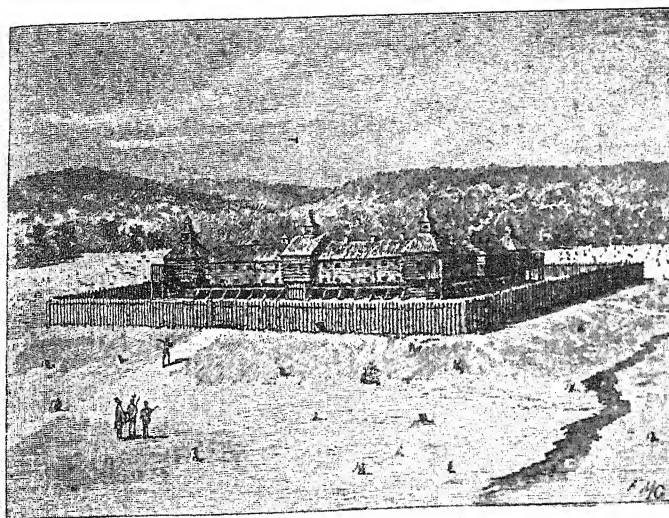
between several States as to their respective rights to the soil in that region. These were settled by the cession of the territory to the United States by the respective States, Virginia reserving 3,709,848 acres near the rapids of the Ohio, and Connecticut a tract of 3,666,921 acres

In the autumn of 1785 United States troops began the erection of a fort on the right bank of the Muskingum, at its mouth. The commander of the troops was Maj. John Doughty, and he named it Fort Harmar, in honor of his commander, Col. Josiah Harmar. It was the first military post of the kind built in Ohio. The outlines formed a regular pentagon, embracing three-fourths of an acre. United States troops occupied Fort Harmar until 1790, when they left it to construct Fort Washington, on the site of Cincinnati. After the treaty of Greenville it was abandoned.

In 1788 Gen. Rufus Putnam, at the head of a colony from Massachusetts, founded a settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum River, and named it Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the Queen of Louis XVI. of France. A stockade fort was immediately built as a protection against hostile Indians, and named Campus Martius. In the autumn of the same



FORT HARMAR.



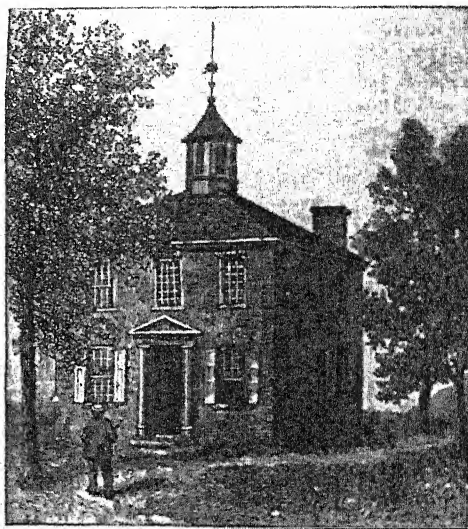
CAMPUS MARTIUS.

year a party of settlers seated themselves upon SYMMES'S PURCHASE (*q. v.*) and founded Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami. Fort Washington was soon afterwards built, a little below, on the site of Cincinnati.

Ohio was soon afterwards organized into a separate territorial government. The settlers were annoyed by hostile Indians until Wayne's victories in 1794 and the treaty at Greenville gave peace to that region. In 1799 the first territorial legislature assembled, and Ohio was admitted into the Union as a State April 30, 1802. From 1800 to 1810 the seat of government was at Chillicothe. For a while it was at Zanesville, then again at Chillicothe, and finally, in 1816, Columbus was made the permanent seat of the State government.

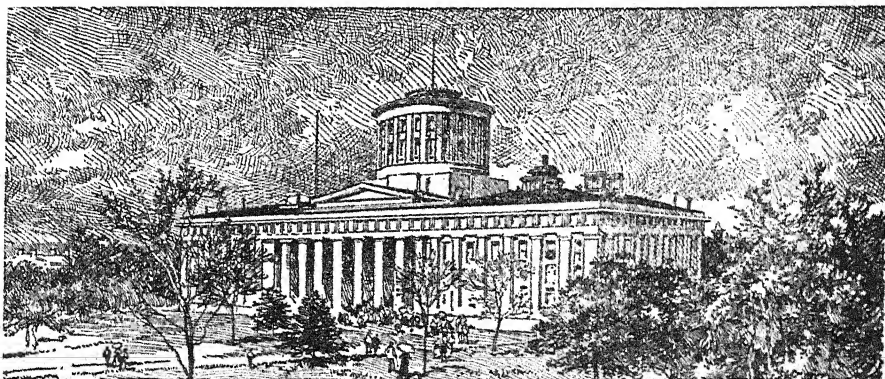
Its people were active on the frontiers in the War of 1812. The President called on Gov. R. J. Meigs for 1,200 militia to be prepared to march to Detroit. Gov. William Hull, of Michigan, was persuaded to accept the commission of brigadier-general and take command of 1; and at Urbana they were joined by them. Governor Meigs's call was generously responded to, and at the mouth of the Mad River, near Dayton, O., Miller's 4th Regiment, which, under Colonel Boyd, had participated in the battle of Tippecanoe (*q. v.*). They encountered

the full number had assembled at the close of April, 1812. They were organized into three regiments, and elected their field-officers before the arrival of Hull. The colonels of the respective regiments were Duncan McArthur, James Findlay, and Lewis Cass. The 4th Regiment of regulars, stationed at Vincennes, under Lieut.-Col. James Miller, had been ordered



SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT CHILLICOTHE IN 1800.

heavy rains and terrible fatigue all the army during the war 317,133 soldiers. Pop-
 way to Detroit, their destination. See ulation in 1890, 3,672,316; in 1900, 4,157,-
 HULL, WILLIAM. 545. See UNITED STATES, OHIO, in vol. ix.



THE STATE CAPITOL, COLUMBUS.

In March, 1851, a convention revised the State constitution, and it was ratified in June; but a new constitution, framed by a convention in 1873, was rejected by the people at an election in 1874.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the governor of Ohio, William Dennison, Jr., was an avowed opponent of the slave system. The legislature met on Jan. 7, 1861. In his message the governor explained his refusal to surrender alleged fugitive slaves on the requisition of the authorities of Kentucky and Tennessee; denied the right of secession; affirmed the loyalty of his State; suggested the repeal of the fugitive slave law as the most effectual way of procuring the repeal of the personal liberty acts; and called for the repeal of the laws of the Southern States which interfered with the constitutional rights of the citizens of the free-labor States. "Determined to do no wrong," he said, "we will not contentedly submit to wrong." The legislature denounced (Jan. 12) the secession movements; promised for the people of Ohio their firm support of the national government; and, on the 14th, pledged "the entire power and resources of the State for a strict maintenance of the Constitution and laws of the general government by whomsoever administered." These promises and pledges were fulfilled to the utmost, the State furnishing to the National

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

Name.	Term began.	Term expired.	Politics.
Arthur St. Clair.....	1788	1802	....
Charles W. Byrd.....	1802	1803	....

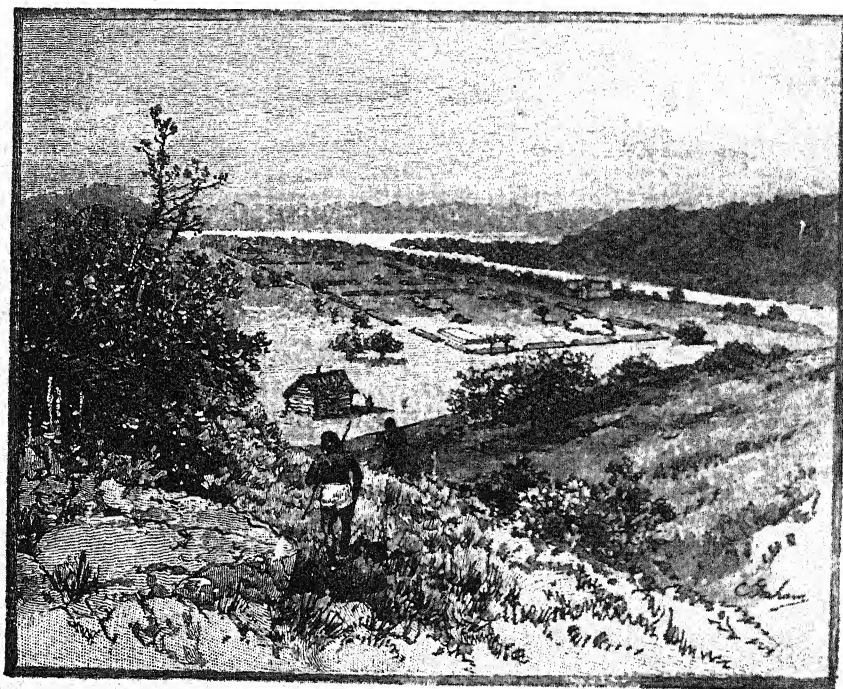
STATE GOVERNORS.

Edward Tiffin.....	1803	1807	....
Thomas Kirker.....	1807	1808	....
Samuel Huntington.....	1808	1810	....
Return Jonathan Meigs..	1810	1814	....
Othniel Looker.....	1814	1814	....
Thomas Worthington.....	1814	1818	....
Ethan Allen Brown.....	1818	1822	....
Allen Trimble.....	1822	1822	....
Jeremiah Morrow.....	1822	1826	....
Allen Trimble.....	1826	1830	....
Duncan McArthur.....	1830	1832	....
Robert Lucas.....	1832	1836	Democrat.
Joseph Vance.....	1836	1838	Whig.
Wilson Shannon.....	1838	1840	Democrat.
Thomas Corwin.....	1840	1842	Whig.
Wilson Shannon.....	1842	1844	Democrat.
Thomas W. Bartley.....	1844	1844	....
Monteal Bartley.....	1844	1846	Whig.
William Bebb.....	1846	1849	"
Seabury Ford.....	1849	1850	"
Reuben Wood.....	1850	1853	Democrat.
William Medill.....	1853	1856	"
Salmon P. Chase.....	1856	1860	Republican.
William Dennison.....	1860	1862	"
David Tod.....	1862	1864	"
John Brough.....	1864	1865	"
Charles Anderson.....	1865	1866	"
Jacob Dolson Cox.....	1866	1866	"
Rutherford B. Hayes.....	1868	1872	"
Edward F. Noyes.....	1872	1874	"
William Allen.....	1874	1876	Democrat.
Rutherford B. Hayes.....	1876	1878	Republican
Richard M. Bishop.....	1878	1880	Democrat
Charles Foster.....	1880	1884	Republican
George Hoadley.....	1884	1886	Democrat
Joseph B. Foraker.....	1886	1890	Republican.
James E. Campbell.....	1890	1892	Democrat
William McKinley, Jr....	1892	1896	Republican.
Asa S. Bushnell.....	1896	1900	"
George K. Nash.....	1900	1904	"
Myron T. Herrick.....	1904	1907	"
John M. Patterson.....	1906	1907	Democrat
Andrew L. Harris.....	1907	1909	Republican

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
John Smith.....	8th to 10th	1803 to 1808
Thomas Worthington.....	8th " 10th	1803 " 1807
Return Jonathan Meigs.....	10th " 11th	1809 " 1810
Edward Tiffin.....	10th " 11th	1807 " 1809
Stanley Griswold.....	11th	1809
Alexander Campbell.....	11th to 13th	1810 to 1813
Thomas Worthington.....	11th " 13th	1811 " 1814
Joseph Kerr.....	13th " 14th	1814 " 1815
Jeremiah Morrow.....	13th " 16th	1813 " 1819
Benjamin Ruggles.....	14th " 23d	1815 " 1833
William A. Trimble.....	16th " 17th	1819 " 1821
Ethan Allen Brown.....	17th " 19th	1822 " 1825
William Henry Harrison.....	19th " 20th	1825 " 1828
Jacob Burnetts.....	20th " 23d	1828 " 1831
Thomas Ewing.....	22d " 25th	1831 " 1837
Thomas Morris.....	23d " 26th	1833 " 1839
William Allen.....	25th " 31st	1837 " 1849
Benjamin Tappan.....	26th " 29th	1839 " 1845
Thomas Corwin.....	29th " 31st	1845 " 1850
Thomas Ewing.....	31st	1850
Salmon P. Chase.....	31st to 34th	1849 to 1855
Benjamin F. Wade.....	32d " 41st	1851 " 1869
George E. Pugh.....	34th " 37th	1855 " 1861
Salmon P. Chase.....	37th	1861
John Sherman.....	37th to 45th	1861 to 1877
Allen G. Thurman.....	41st " 47th	1869 " 1880
Stanley Matthews.....	45th " 46th	1877 " 1879
George H. Pendleton.....	46th " 49th	1879 " 1885
James A. Garfield.....	47th	1880
John Sherman.....	47th to 54th	1881 to 1897
Henry B. Payne.....	49th " 52d	1885 " 1891
Calvin S. Brice.....	52d " 55th	1891 " 1896
Joseph B. Foraker.....	55th " "	1897 " "
Marcus A. Hanna.....	56th " 58th	1897 " 1904
Charles Dick.....	58th " "	1904 " "

Ohio Company, THE. When, by treaty, the Indians had ceded the lands of the Northwestern Territory, the thoughts of enterprising men turned in that direction as a promising field for settlements. On the night of Jan. 9, 1786, Gen. Rufus Putnam and Gen. Benjamin Tupper formed a plan for a company of soldiers of the Revolution to undertake the task of settlement on the Ohio River. The next day they issued a call for such persons who felt disposed to engage in the enterprise to meet at Boston on March 1 by delegates chosen in the several counties in Massachusetts. They met, and formed "The Ohio Company." It was composed of men like Rufus Putnam, Abraham Whipple, J. M. Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons, Benjamin Tupper, R. J. Meigs, whom Americans think of with gratitude. They purchased a large tract of land on the Ohio River; and on April 7, 1788, the first detachment of settlers sent by the company, forty-eight in number—men, women, and children—seated themselves



SITE OF MARIETTA IN 1781.

OHIO LAND COMPANY

near the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, athwart the great war-path of the fierce Northwestern tribes when they made their bloody incursions to the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. They named the settlement Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, the ally of the Americans. This was the seed from which sprang the great State of Ohio. It was composed of the choice materials

of New England society. At one time—in 1789—there were no less than fifteen of the settlers there who had received a college education. During that year fully 20,000 settlers from the East were on lands on the banks of the Ohio. At the beginning of 1788 there was not a white family within the bounds of that commonwealth.

Ohio Land Company, THE. Soon after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle an association of London merchants and Virginia land speculators, known as "The Ohio Land Company," obtained from the crown a grant of 500,000 acres of land on the east bank of the Ohio River, with the exclusive privilege of the Indian traffic. International, or at least intercolonial, disputes immediately occurred. The French claimed, by right of discovery, the whole region watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi River. The English set up a claim, in the name of the Six Nations, as under British protection, and which was recognized by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), to the region which they had formerly conquered, and which included the whole eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley and the basin of the lower lakes, Erie and Ontario. These conflicting claims at once embarrassed the operations of the Ohio Land Company. It was provided by their charter that they were to pay no quit-rent for ten years; to colonize at least 100 families within seven years;



GENERAL PUTNAM'S LAND OFFICE AT MARIETTA.

and, at their own cost, to build and garrison a fort. The government was anxious to carry out this scheme of colonization west of the Alleghany Mountains to counteract the evident designs of the French to occupy that country.

The French took immediate measures to counterveil the English movements. Galissonière, who had grand dreams of French empire in America, fitted out an expedition under Cécillon de Bienville in 1749 to proclaim French dominion at various points along the Ohio. The company took measures for defining and occupying their domain. Thomas Lee, two of the Washingtons, and other leading Virginia members ordered goods suitable for the Indian trade to be sent from London. The company sent an agent to explore the country and confer with the Indian tribes; and in June, 1752, a conference was held at Logstown, near the Ohio, and friendly relations were established between the English and the Indians. But the Western tribes refused to recognize the right of either the English or the French to lands westward of the Alleghany Mountains. A Delaware chief said to Gist, the agent of the company, "The French claim all the land on one side of the river, and the English claim all the land on the other side of the river: where is the Indian's land?" This significant question was answered by Gist: "Indians and white men are subjects of the British King, and all have an equal privilege in taking up and

possessing the land." The company sent held Sept. 17, 1907, the proposed constitution was carried, together with the prohibition amendment. If approved by the President of the United States Oklahoma will be the forty-sixth State in the Union. A Democratic Legislature was also elected, thus insuring the election of two Democratic Senators.

See INDIAN TERRITORY for the earlier history of both Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory; also INDIAN TERRITORY AND OKLAHOMA, in vol. ix.

Ojeda, ALONZO DE, adventurer; born in Cuenca, Spain, in 1465; was among the earliest discoverers in America after Columbus and Cabot. He was with Columbus in his first voyage. With four ships he sailed for America on May 20, 1499, accompanied by Americus Vespuceius as geographer. Following the track of Columbus in his third voyage (see COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER), they reached the northeastern coast of South America, and discovered mountains on the continent. Coasting along the northern shore of the continent (naming the country Venezuela), Ojeda crossed the Caribbean Sea, visited Santo Domingo, and returned to Spain in September. In 1509 the Spanish monarch divided Central America into two provinces, and made Ojeda governor of one of them and Nicuessa of the other. Ojeda sailed from Santo Domingo late in the autumn, accompanied by Pizarro.

This was the first attempt to take possession of the mainland in America. Ojeda soon retired with some of his followers to Santo Domingo (*q. v.*). He died in Hispaniola in 1515.

Ojibway Indians. See CHIPPEWA INDIANS.

Okeechobee Swamp, BATTLE OF, an engagement in Florida in which General Taylor defeated the Seminoles and captured Osceola, Dec. 25, 1837.

Okemos, Indian chief; nephew of PONTIAC (*q. v.*). When a boy he fought the Americans under Arthur St. Clair and Anthony Wayne, and took an active part in the War of 1812, receiving a severe wound in the attack on Fort Meigs. He died in Lansing, Mich., Dec., 1886, probably much over 100 years of age.

Oklahoma (Indian name for "Beautiful Land"). The permissive act joining Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory passed June, 1906. At the special election

June 30, 1834, Congress set apart a territory of nearly 200,000 square miles as a permanent home for all the Indians in the United States. Kansas and a part of Nebraska were taken from it, and the boundaries more carefully defined. See INDIAN TERRITORY.

Area.—70,430 square miles (46,000,000 acres). Its eastern boundary is 94° 30' E., 103° W., 37° N.; and on the south the Red River forms the boundary to 100° W., when the dividing-line runs north to within fifty miles of the northern boundary, and then due west.

Climate and Soil.—The climate is warm, the average rainfall varying from fifty-two inches in the southeast to twenty inches in the northwest. The average temperature is 62° in the east, gradually lowering to 55° in the west. With the exception of the "pan-handle," the State is well watered by the Arkansas and Red Rivers with their many affluents, some of which are almost as large as the main rivers. The altitude is 250 feet in the east, gradually rising towards the west until it reaches 4,000 feet at the western boundary. In the centre of the State, running east and west, are several groups of mountains or hills, none of which reach a greater elevation than 3,000 feet. The altitudes of the chief cities are as follows: Guthrie, 932; Oklahoma City, 1,200; Stillwater, 832; Alva, 1,330; Lawton, 1,250; El Reno, 1,345; Shawnee, 1,045. Every product of the temperate zone can be profitably grown. The three great staple crops—wheat, corn, and cotton—can be grown successively on the same farm throughout a large portion of the State.

Minerals.—The eastern part of the State geologically belongs to the coal measures. The deposits are almost as

OKLAHOMA

extensive as those of Pennsylvania. The output in 1905 was about 4,000,000 tons. Iron, zinc, asphalt, and lead are also found, but the country has not as yet been thoroughly examined. Salt, cement, and fine clay deposits are plentiful, while the granite and limestone quarries are inexhaustible.

In the western part of the State, salt and gypsum are so plentiful that the entire world could be supplied with cement and plaster for the next one hundred years. Fine building-stone abounds, but as this part of the State belongs to the Triassic and Jurassic formations, there are very few deposits of coal, but oil and gas deposits are found in many localities. The richest oil-fields are in Pawnee County, the Osage reservation, and at Bartlesville, Tulsa, and Red Fork.

Agricultural Productions.—In 1905 the two Territories (Oklahoma and Indian) forming the new State produced:

96,523,500 bushels of corn.
28,482,000 bushels of wheat.
There are 105 flouring-mills, with an output valued at nearly \$12,000,000.
10,000,000 bushels of oats.
668,813 bales of cotton.
There are 23 cotton-seed-oil mills, with an output valued at over \$3,000,000,

with enormous crops of potatoes, alfalfa, apples, peaches, etc. The live-stock numbers 1,558,290 cattle, 642,000 horses, 935,000 hogs, 156,358 mules, and 85,000 sheep. Butter, cheese, and eggs are produced in quantities sufficient to supply all wants, with a surplus for exportation.

Population.—In 1870 about 75,000. In 1890, Oklahoma, 60,416; Indian Territory, 180,182. In 1890, Oklahoma, 398,331; Indian Territory, 392,060. The estimated population of the whole State, in 1906, is 1,300,000, of whom about 85,000 are Indians and 65,000 negroes.

Schools.—In 1905, Oklahoma Territory had 3,228 schools, with 3,671 teachers and 152,866 scholars. In Indian Territory, Chickasaw Nation had 5 boarding-schools, 164 day schools; Seminole Nation had 16 day schools; Creek Nation, 10 boarding-schools, 107 day schools—total enrolment of 6,786; the Choctaw Nation had 4 academies, 209 day schools, 4 boarding-schools, with a total enrolment of 11,330 scholars; Cherokee Nation had 4 boarding-schools, 121 day schools, and 129

schools for Indian children exclusively, with a total enrolment of 13,274. No statistics of the value or extent of school lands in Indian Territory, but in Oklahoma Territory, in 1905, there were 2,050,875 acres, of which 322,006 acres were for colleges, 315,165 acres for public buildings, balance for common schools. These lands are all leased for agricultural and grazing purposes. The rents are fixed at about four per cent. of value of land, and lessees have first right for renewal. The net income from leasing these lands has been \$2,560,631; income for 1905, \$419,197. None of these lands can be sold until Statehood. Estimated selling value of these lands, \$25,000,000. In 1905 a per capita distribution of \$1.33 per scholar to every district, \$10,000 each to the seven colleges was made, and \$75,000 was added to the public-building fund, which now amounts to nearly \$500,000.

Banks.—On December 20, 1905, there were 262 territorial banks in Oklahoma. Capital, surplus, and profits, \$3,479,904. Deposits, \$10,031,032. At the same time there were 94 national banks, with capital and surplus, \$4,158,750; deposits, \$13,075,708. On Dec. 20, 1905, in Indian Territory, there were 144 territorial banks, capital, \$4,808,650; and 118 national banks with a capital of \$5,678,000; total deposits, \$12,669,592.

Manufactures.—In 1905 Oklahoma had 637 factories, with a capital of \$11,074,267 and an output of \$16,433,430, employing 2,300 wage-earners.

In Indian Territory, in 1905, there were 460 factories, with a capital of \$4,807,790 and an output of \$7,347,306, employing 2,300 wage-earners.

Railroads.—In Oklahoma, 2,611 miles, with 419 miles of side-tracks; in Indian Territory, 2,403 miles. Extensions to existing roads, and new roads, are in progress in all parts of the State, amounting to several hundred miles.

Debt.—Oklahoma Territory had no territorial bonded debt. Total warrants outstanding, Nov. 30, 1905, \$735,240; cash on hand on the same date, \$710,842. At the same date the School Land Leasing Board had on hand \$259,317, and on this date the territorial tax of \$590,036 was not yet due and had not yet been collected. Indian Territory had no debt.

Government.—The Territory of Oklahoma was governed by a Legislature of thirteen members in the upper branch, twenty-six in the lower, all elected by the people. The Governor, the Secretary of the Territory, and the district judges were appointed by the President. All other territorial officials were appointed by the Governor.

Indian Territory was governed by Congress and the Interior Department at Washington. The people had no part in the government, excepting in local affairs. Congress, in June, 1906, passed a permissive act joining Oklahoma and Indian Territory. A convention was duly held, and the State Constitution prepared by it was approved at the election of Sept. 17, 1907.

Government Land.—On July 1, 1905, there were still unappropriated in the Territory of Oklahoma, subject to the Homestead Law settlement, nearly 2,000,000 acres, the greater part of which was in Beaver County, at the extreme west, where the rainfall averaged twenty inches, against thirty inches in the centre, and thirty-five inches in the eastern part of the Territory.

Land Values, etc.—In 1904, valuation in Oklahoma of farm lands was \$33,339,905; town property, \$16,498,551; railway property, \$11,976,315.

Only 10,000,000 acres, out of 24,000,000 acres, were listed for taxation in Indian Territory. At the same period there were 17,236,457 acres, homesteads, not taxed, but other property, town and personal, had a taxable valuation of \$60,000,000 to \$70,000,000. There are no lands to be homesteaded in Indian Territory. Originally owned by the tribes in common, they are now allotted to the individual members. The homesteads of forty acres each cannot be sold before 1927, but the balance may be sold under various restrictions as to time of sale.

Churches.—In Oklahoma, ten denominations in 1905 reported 1,503 organized churches, with membership of 118,841, and a valuation of \$1,740,000. There are no statistics for Indian Territory.

Newspapers.—Oklahoma, 30 daily, 587 weekly, 24 monthly, 4 quarterly. Indian Territory, 19 daily, 117 weekly, 6 monthly.

Post-offices.—900 in Oklahoma, 600 in Indian Territory.

Irrigation.—Oklahoma has \$3,200,000 to her credit in the national irrigation fund, and large irrigation projects are under way in the western part of the State, destined to serve over 100,000 acres.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF OKLAHOMA.

George W. Steele.....	1890-1891
Abraham J. Seay (Republican).....	1891-1892
William C. Renfrow (Democrat).....	1892-1893
C. M. Barnes (Republican).....	1893-1895
Thomas B. Ferguson (Republican).....	1895-1905
Frank Frantz (Republican).....	1905-1907
Charles Haskell (Democrat).....	1907 —

Old Dominion, a title often given to the State of Virginia. The vast, undefined region named Virginia by Queen Elizabeth was regarded by her as a fourth kingdom of her realm. Spenser, Raleigh's firm friend, dedicated his *Faerie Queene* (1590) to Elizabeth, "Queen of England, France, Ireland, and Virginia." When James VI. of Scotland came to the English throne (1603), Scotland was added, and Virginia was called, in compliment, the fifth kingdom. On the death of Charles I. on the scaffold (1649), his son Charles was in exile. Sir WILLIAM BERKELEY (*q. v.*), the staunch royalist Governor of Virginia, proclaimed that son, "Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Virginia"; and when, in 1652, the Virginians heard that the republican government of England was about to send a fleet to reduce them to submission, they sent a message to Charles inviting him to come over and be King of Virginia. He was on the point of sailing for America when circumstances foreshadowed his restoration to the throne of his father. When that act was accomplished, the grateful monarch caused the arms of Virginia to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as an independent member of the empire. From this circumstance Virginia received the title of The Dominion. Coins with such quarterings were struck as late as 1773.

Old Ironsides, a name given to the frigate CONSTITUTION (*q. v.*).

Old Probabilities, a title familiarly given to the head of the United States weather bureau, first applied to Professor Abbe by Gen. Albert J. Myer, the chief signal officer of the bureau.

Old South Church, Boston. The opposition to the requirement of church-membership for the exercise of political rights (see HALF-WAY COVENANT) led to the establishment, in 1669, of the "Third Church in Boston," known as "The Old South" since 1717, of which Mr. Fiske says: "It is a building with a grander history than any other on the American continent, unless it be that other plain brick building in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and the federal Constitution framed."

Old Style, dates according to the Julian calendar, which was supplanted by the Gregorian calendar in 1582, but not accepted by Great Britain until 1752.

Oldham, JOHN, Pilgrim; born in England about 1600. In 1623 the Pilgrims, regarding Robinson, in Holland, as their pastor, and expecting him over, had no other spiritual guide than Elder Brewster. Because of this state of things at Plymouth, the London partners were taunted with fostering religious schism. To relieve themselves of this stigma, they sent a minister named Lyford to be pastor. He was kindly received, and, with John Oldham, who went to Plymouth at about the same time, was invited to the consultations of the governor with his council. It was soon discovered that Lyford and Oldham were plotting treason against the Church and State. Several letters written by Lyford to the London partners, breathing sedition, were discovered by Bradford as they were about to be sent abroad. The governor kept quiet for a while, but when Lyford set up a separate congregation, with a few of the colonists whom he had seduced, and held meetings on the Sabbath, Bradford summoned a General Court (1624), before whom the offending clergyman and his companions were arraigned on a charge of seditious correspondence. They denied the accusation, when they were confronted by Lyford's letters, in which he defamed the settlers, advised the London partners to prevent Robinson and the rest of his congregation coming to America, as they would interfere with his church schemes, and avowed his intention of removing the stigma of schism by a regularly organized church.

A third conspirator had written that Lyford and Oldham "intended a reforma-

tion in church and commonwealth." Before these disclosures Oldham had behaved with much insolence, abusing the governor and Captain Standish, calling them "rebels and traitors," and, when proved guilty, he attempted to excite a mutiny on the spot. Lyford burst into tears and confessed that he "feared he was a reprobate." Both were ordered to leave the colony, but Lyford, humbly begging to stay, asking forgiveness and promising good behavior, was reinstated. Oldham went to Nantasket, with some of his adherents, and engaged in traffic with the Indians. Lyford was soon detected again in seditious work and expelled from the colony. He joined Oldham. They afterwards lived at Hull and Cape Anne, and Oldham represented Watertown in the popular branch of the Massachusetts government in 1634. He made an exploring journey to the site of Windsor, on the Connecticut River, the next year, which was followed by the emigration to that region in 1635. While in a vessel at Block Island, in July, 1636, Oldham was murdered by some Indians, who fled to the Pequods, on the mainland, and were protected by them. This led to the war with the PEQUOD INDIANS (*q. v.*).

Oldmixon, JOHN, author; born in Bridgewater, England, in 1673; and died in London, July 9, 1742. He was the author of *The British Empire in America* (2 volumes), published in 1708.

Oligarchy. See ARISTOCRACY.

Ohn, STEPHEN, clergyman; born in Leicester, Vt., March 2, 1797; graduated at Middlebury College in 1820; became a Methodist clergyman in 1824; president of Randolph-Macon College in 1834; president of Wesleyan University in 1839. He died in Middletown, Conn., Aug. 16, 1851.

Oliphant, LAURENCE, author; born in Cape Town, Africa, in 1829. Lord Elgin made him his private secretary in 1853, and in 1865 he was elected to Parliament, but he resigned in 1868 in obedience to instructions from Thomas L. Harris, leader of the Brotherhood of the New Life a spiritualistic society of which both Oliphant and his wife were members. Among his publications are *Minncota, or the Far West in 1855*; and *The Tender Recollections of Irene Macgillicuddy, a 22-*

tire on American society. He died in the Puritan policy. He died at sea in Twickenham, England, Dec. 23, 1888. 1855.

Oliver, ANDREW, governor; born in Boston, March 28, 1706; graduated at Harvard in 1724; a representative in the General Court from 1743 to 1746; one of his Majesty's council from 1746 to 1765; secretary of the province from 1756 to 1770; and succeeded Hutchinson (his brother-in-law) as lieutenant-governor. In 1765 he was hung in effigy because he was a stamp distributor, and his course in opposition to the patriotic party in Boston caused him to share the unpopularity of Hutchinson. His letters, with those of Hutchinson, were sent by Franklin to Boston, and created great commotion there. He died in Boston, March 3, 1774. See HUTCHINSON, THOMAS.

Oliver, BENJAMIN LYNDE, author; born in Marblehead, Mass., in 1788; was admitted to the bar. His publications include *The Rights of an American Citizen*; *Law Summary*; *Forms of Practice, or American Precedents in Personal and Real Actions*; *Forms in Chancery, Admiralty, and Common Law*, etc. He died in 1843.

Oliver, HENRY KEMBLE, musician; born in Beverly, Mass., Nov. 24, 1800; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1818; taught music for many years; elected mayor of Lawrence, Mass., 1859; State treasurer of Massachusetts, 1861; mayor of Salem, Mass., 1866. Mr. Oliver is best known as organist, director of choirs, and composer. He wrote *Federal Street*; *Beacon Street*, and many other well-known hymn-tunes, and published a number of church tune-books. He died in Boston, Mass., Aug. 10, 1885.

Oliver, PETER, author; born in Hanover, N. H., in 1822; studied law and began practice in Suffolk county, Mass. He was the author of *The Puritan Commonwealth: An Historical Review of the Puritan Government in Massachusetts in its Civil and Ecclesiastical Relations, from its Rise to the Abrogation of the First Charter; together with some General Reflections on the English Colonial Policy and on the Character of Puritanism*. In this book, which revealed much literary skill as well as great learning, he emphasized the unfavorable side of the Puritan character, and severely criticised

Oliver, PETER, jurist; born in Boston, Mass., March 26, 1713; was a brother of Andrew Oliver, and graduated at Harvard in 1730. After holding several offices, he was made judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1756, and in 1771 chief-justice of that court. His course in Boston in opposition to the patriots made him very unpopular, and he was one of the crowd of loyalists who fled from that city with the British army in March, 1776. He went to England, where he lived on a pension from the British crown. He was an able writer of both prose and poetry. Chief-Justice Oliver, on receiving his appointment, refused to accept his salary from the colony, and was impeached by the Assembly and declared suspended until the issue of the impeachment was reached. The Assembly of Massachusetts had voted the five judges of the Superior Court ample salaries from the colonial treasury, and called upon them to refuse the corrupting pay from the crown. Only Oliver refused, and he shared the fate of Hutchinson. He died in Birmingham, England, Oct. 13, 1791.

Oliver, ROBERT, military officer; born in Boston, Mass., in 1738; served through the War of the Revolution, and was one of the earliest settlers in Ohio, locating in Marietta. He filled various State offices, and died in Marietta, O., in May, 1810.

Oliver, THOMAS, royal governor; born in Dorchester, Mass., Jan. 5, 1734; graduated at Harvard in 1753; succeeded Lieut.-Gov. Andrew Oliver (of another family) in March, 1774, and in September following was compelled by the people of Boston to resign. He took refuge with the British troops in Boston, and fled with them to Halifax in 1776, and thence to England. He died in Bristol, England, Nov. 29, 1815.

Olmstead, CASE OF. During the Revolutionary War, Capt. Gideon Olmstead, with some other Connecticut men, was captured at sea by a British vessel and taken to Jamaica, where the captain and three others of the prisoners were compelled or persuaded to enter as sailors on the British sloop *Active*, then about to sail for New York with stores for the British there. When off the coast of

OLMSTED—OLUSTEE STATION*

Delaware the captain and the other three Americans contrived to secure the rest of the crew and officers (fourteen in number) below the hatches. They then took possession of the vessel and made for Little Egg Harbor. A short time after, the *Active* was boarded by the sloop *Convention* of Philadelphia, and, with the privateer *Girard*, cruising with her, was taken to Philadelphia. The prize was there libelled in the State court of admiralty. Here the two vessels claimed an equal share in the prize, and the court decreed one-fourth to the crew of the *Convention*, one-fourth to the State of Pennsylvania as owner of the *Convention*, one-fourth to the *Girard*, and the remaining one-fourth only to Olmsted and his three companions. Olmsted appealed to Congress, and the committee of appeals decided in his favor. The Pennsylvania court refused to yield, and directed the prize sold and the money paid into court to await its further order. This contest continued until 1809, when the authorities of Pennsylvania offered armed resistance to the United States marshal at Philadelphia, upon which he called to his assistance a *posse comitatus* of 2,000 men. The matter was, however, adjusted without an actual collision, and the money, amounting to \$18,000, paid to the United States marshal.

Olmsted, DENISON, scientist; born in East Hartford, Conn., June 18, 1791; graduated at Yale in 1813; taught in New London schools, Yale College, and the University of North Carolina. He published the *Geological Survey of North Carolina*; *Text-books on Astronomy and Natural Philosophy*; and *Astronomical Observations* in the Smithsonian Collections. He died in New Haven, Conn., May 13, 1859.

Olmsted, FREDERICK LAW, landscape architect; born in Hartford, Conn., April 26, 1822; chief designer (with Calvert Vaux) of Central Park, New York City. 1857; and, with others, of many public parks in Brooklyn, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago (including World's Fair), Milwaukee, Louisville, Washington, etc. He died in Waverly, Mass., Aug. 28, 1903.

Olney, JEREMIAH, military officer; born in Providence, R. I., in 1750; was made lieutenant-colonel at the beginning of the Revolutionary War (afterwards made

colonel), and was often the chief officer of the Rhode Island forces. He fought conspicuously at Red Bank, Springfield, Monmouth, and Yorktown, and after the war he was collector of the port of Providence, and president of the Rhode Island Society of Cincinnati. He died in Providence, R. I., Nov. 10, 1812.

Olney, JESSE, geographer; born in Union, Conn., Oct. 12, 1798; taught school for some years; then devoted himself to the preparation of text-books, geographies, a history of the United States, arithmetics, readers, etc. He died in Stratford, Conn., July 31, 1872.

Olney, RICHARD, lawyer; born in Oxford, Mass., Sept. 15, 1835; graduated at Brown University in 1856; admitted to the bar in 1859; member of the Massachusetts legislature; appointed United States Attorney-General by President Cleveland in 1893, and Secretary of State in 1895.

Olney, STEPHEN, military officer; born in North Providence, R. I., in October, 1755; brother of Jeremiah Olney; entered the army as a lieutenant in his brother's company in 1775, and served with distinction in several of the principal battles of the Revolutionary War. He served under Lafayette in Virginia, and was distinguished in the capture of a British redoubt at Yorktown during the siege, where he was severely wounded by a bayonet-thrust. Colonel Olney held many town offices, and for twenty years represented his native town in the Assembly. He died in North Providence, R. I., Nov. 23, 1832.

Olustee Station, BATTLE AT. Early in 1864 the national government was informed that the citizens of Florida, tired of the war, desired a reunion with the national government. The President commissioned his private secretary (John Hay) a major, and sent him to Charleston to accompany a military expedition which General Gillmore was to send to Florida, Hay to act in a civil capacity if required. The expedition was commanded by Gen. Truman Seymour, who left Hilton Head (Feb. 5, 1864) in transports with 6,000 troops, and arrived at Jacksonville, Fla., on the 7th. Driving the Confederates from there, the Nationals pursued them into the interior. General Finnegan was in command of a considerable Confederate

OMAHA—OMAHA INDIANS

force in Florida, and stoutly opposed this movement. At Olustee Station, on a railway that crossed the peninsula in the heart of a cypress swamp, the Nationals encountered Finnegan, strongly posted. A sharp battle occurred (Feb. 20), when Seymour was repulsed and retreated to Jacksonville. The estimated loss to the Nationals in this expedition was about 2,000 men; the Confederate loss, 1,000 men and several guns. Seymour carried with him about 1,000 of the wounded, and left 250 on the field, besides many dead and dying. The expedition returned to Hilton Head. The Nationals destroyed stores valued at \$1,000,000. At about the same time Admiral Bailey destroyed the Confederate salt-works on the coast of Florida, valued at \$3,000,000.

Omaha, the metropolis of Nebraska; county seat of Douglas county; military headquarters of the Department of the Platte; has extensive machine, car, and repair shops, smelting and refining works, large trade, seven national banks, and an assessed property valuation of \$101,256,290. Population in 1890, 140,452; in 1900, 102,555. The city was the seat of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. The corner-stone of the exhibition was laid on Arbor Day, 1897, and the opening ceremonies were held June 1, 1898. In the telegram which President McKinley sent to the exposition, after setting in motion its machinery, he paid a tribute, for which the success of this exposition will give warrant, when he said that nowhere have the unconquerable determination, the self-reliant strength, and the sturdy manhood of American citizenship been more forcibly illustrated than in the achievements of the people from beyond the Mississippi.

It would not be easy to estimate the value of such an exposition as this in illustrating to the nation at large the immense resources of the region which lies in the great Mississippi basin and contiguous to it. The exhibits of the mining, the manufacturing, the agriculture, the forestry, the horticulture, the commerce were an epitome of the business of this vast region extending from the Canadian line to the Gulf of Mexico. The States themselves, through appropriations, provided the funds to show to the world

the best of the material resources of their commonwealths; and while art and music and all phases of the æsthetic were not neglected, it was the fine panorama of the material West which afforded the most interest. Cast in a different figure, this Trans-Mississippi Exposition was an epitome of the wealth—and not only of the wealth, but of the progress—of the great central region of the nation.

One of the speakers at the opening of the exposition put the progress of the region in a nutshell when he made note of the fact that in the land where only fifty years ago the Indians wandered at will, there are now 22,000,000 people, with an aggregate wealth of \$22,000,000,000.

Many of the States contributed liberally to the exposition in the way of suitable buildings, while the general government appropriated \$200,000 for its building, and in it placed exhibits of great interest. The government took official notice of the exposition by issuing a series of postage-stamps, from one cent to \$2, inclusive, commemorative of the event. Over three hundred millions of these stamps were ordered for the first instalment. The designs on the stamps are appropriate to the great West and its progress, illustrating phases of pioneer life.

The officers of the exposition were: Gordon W. Wattles, president; Alvin Saunders, resident vice-president; Herman Kountze, treasurer; John A. Wakefield, secretary; Major T. S. Clarkson, general manager, with an executive committee of seven, and vice-presidents for each of the twenty-four Trans-Mississippi States. The exposition covered a tract of more than 200 acres, containing a water amphitheatre and many handsome buildings. Despite the fact that the country was at war with Spain, the exposition was well attended and a great success in every way.

Omaha Indians, a tribe of Indians of the Dakota family. They are represented in Marquette's map in 1673. They were divided into clans, and cultivated corn and beans. One of their customs was to prohibit a man from speaking to his father-in-law and mother-in-law. They were reduced, about the year 1800, by small-pox, from a population capable of sending out 700 warriors to about 300. They then burned their villages and became wander-

O'MAHONY—"ON TO RICHMOND!"

ers. They were then relentlessly pursued by the Sioux. They had increased in number, when Lewis and Clarke found them on the Quicoure in 1805, to about 600. They have from time to time ceded lands to the United States, and since 1855 have been settled, and have devoted themselves exclusively to agriculture. In 1899 they numbered 1,202, and were settled on the Omaha and Winnebago agency, in Nebraska.

O'Mahony, JOHN FRANCIS, Fenian leader; born in Kilkenny, Ireland, in 1816; emigrated to the United States in 1854; organized the Fenian Brotherhood in 1860; issued bonds of the Irish Republic, which were purchased by his followers to the amount of nearly a million dollars. He died in New York City, Feb. 7, 1877.

Omnibus Bill, THE. The subject of the admission of California as a State of the Union, in 1850, created so much sectional ill-feeling that danger to the integrity of the Union was apprehended. Henry Clay, feeling this apprehension, offered a plan of compromise in the United States Senate, Jan. 29, 1850, in a series of resolutions, providing for the admission of California as a State; the organization of new territorial governments; fixing the boundary of Texas; declaring it to be inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while that institution existed in Maryland, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District; that more effectual laws should be made for the restitution of fugitive slaves; and that Congress had no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the several States. Clay spoke eloquently in favor of this plan. Mr. Webster approved it, and Senator Foote, of Mississippi, moved that the whole subject be referred to a committee of thirteen—six Southern members and six Northern members—they to choose the thirteenth. This resolution was adopted April 18; the committee was appointed, and Mr. Clay was made chairman of it. On May 8, Mr. Clay reported a plan of compromise in a series of bills substantially the same as that of Jan. 29. It was called an "omnibus bill." Long debates ensued, and on July 31 the whole batch was rejected except the proposition to establish

a territory in the Mormon settlements in Deseret, called Utah. Then the compromise measures contained in the omnibus bill were taken up separately. In August a bill for the admission of California passed the Senate; also for providing a territorial government for New Mexico. In September a fugitive slave bill passed the Senate; also a bill for the suppression of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. All of these bills were adopted in the House of Representatives in September, and received the signature of President Fillmore. See CLAY, HENRY.

"On to Richmond!" At the beginning of 1862 the loyal people became very impatient of the immobility of the immense Army of the Potomac, and from every quarter was heard the cry, "Push on to Richmond!" Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Mr. Cameron as Secretary of War, Jan. 13, 1862, and the President issued a general order, Jan. 27, in which he directed a general forward movement of all the land and naval forces on Feb. 22 following. This order sent a thrill of joy through the heart of the loyal people, and it was heightened when an order directed McClellan to move against the inferior Confederate force at Manassas. McClellan remonstrated, and proposed to take his great army to Richmond by the circuitous route of Fort Monroe and the Virginia peninsula. The President finally yielded, and the movement by the longer route was begun. After the Confederates had voluntarily evacuated Manassas, the army was first moved in that direction, not, as the commander-in-chief said, to pursue them and take Richmond, but to give his troops "a little active experience before beginning the campaign." The "promenade," as one of his French aides called it, disappointed the people, and the cry was resumed, "On to Richmond!" The Army of the Potomac did not begin its march to Richmond until April. The President, satisfied that General McClellan's official burdens were greater than he could profitably bear, kindly relieved him of the chief care of the armies, and gave him, March 11, the command of only the Department of the Potomac.

While Hooker and Lee were contending near CHANCELLORSVILLE (*q. v.*), a greater part of the cavalry of the Army of

the Potomac was raiding on the communications of Lee's army with Richmond. Stoneman, with 10,000 men, at first performed this service. He rode rapidly, crossing rivers, and along rough roads, and struck the Virginia Central Railway near Louisa Court-house, destroying much of it before daylight. They were only slightly opposed, and at midnight of May 2, 1863, the raiders were divided for separate work. On the morning of the 3d one party destroyed canal-boats, bridges, and Confederate supplies at Columbia, on the James River. Colonel Kilpatrick, with another party, struck the Fredericksburg Railway at Hungary Station and destroyed the depot and railway there, and, sweeping down within 2 miles of Richmond, captured a lieutenant and eleven men within the Confederate works of that capital. Then he struck the Virginia Central Railway at Meadows Bridge, on the Chickahominy; and thence pushed on, destroying Confederate property, to Gloucester Point, on the York River. Another party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, destroyed the station and railway at Hanover Court-house, and followed the road to within 7 miles of Richmond, and also pushed on to Gloucester Point. Another party, under Gregg and Buford, destroyed the railway property at Hanover Junction. They all returned to the Rappahannock by May 8; but they had not effected the errand they were sent upon—namely, the complete destruction of Lee's communications with Richmond.

Three days after General Lee escaped into Virginia, July 17-18, 1863, General Meade crossed the Potomac to follow his flying antagonist. The Nationals marched rapidly along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, while the Confederates went rapidly up the Shenandoah Valley, after trying to check Meade by threatening to re-enter Maryland. Failing in this, Lee hastened to oppose a movement that menaced his front and flank, and threatened to cut off his retreat to Richmond. During that exciting race there were several skirmishes in the mountain-passes. Finally Lee, by a quick and skilful movement, while Meade was detained at Manassas Gap by a heavy skirmish, dashed through Chester Gap, and, crossing the Rappahannock, took a position between that stream and the

Rapidan. For a while the opposing armies rested. Meade advanced cautiously, and at the middle of September he crossed the Rappahannock, and drove Lee beyond the Rapidan, where the latter took a strong defensive position. Here ended the race towards Richmond. Meanwhile the cavalry of Buford and Kilpatrick had been active between the two rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with Stuart's mounted force. Troops had been drawn from each army and sent to other fields of service, and Lee was compelled to take a defensive position. His defences were too strong for a prudent commander to assail directly. See RICHMOND, CAMPAIGN AGAINST.

"On to Washington!" The seizure of the national capital, with the treasury and archives of the government, was a part of the plan of the Confederates everywhere and of the government at Montgomery. Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, was sent by Jefferson Davis to treat with Virginia for its annexation to the league, and at various points on his journey, whenever he made speeches to the people, the burden was, "On to Washington!" That cry was already resounding throughout the South. It was an echo of the prophecy of the Confederate Secretary of War. "Nothing is more probable," said the *Richmond Inquirer*, in 1861, "than that President Davis will soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington"; and it called upon Virginians who wished to "join the Southern army" to organize at once. "The first fruits of Virginia secession," said the *New Orleans Picayune*, on the 18th, "will be the removal of Lincoln and his cabinet, and whatever he can carry away, to the safer neighborhood of Harrisburg or Cincinnati—perhaps to Buffalo or Cleveland." The *Vicksburg (Miss.) Whig* of the 20th said: "Maj. Ben McCulloch has organized a force of 5,000 men to seize the Federal capital the instant the first blood is spilled." On the evening of the same day, when news of bloodshed in Baltimore reached Montgomery (see BALTIMORE), bonfires were built in front of the Exchange Hotel, and from its balcony Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, in a speech to the multitude, said that he was in "favor of an immediate march on Washington."

"ON TO WASHINGTON!"—ONEIDA

At the departure of the 2d Regiment of South Carolina Infantry for Richmond, the colonel, as he handed the flag just presented to it to the color-sergeant, said: "To your particular charge is committed this noble gift. Plant it where honor calls. If opportunity offers, let it be the first to kiss the breezes of heaven from the dome of the Capitol at Washington." The *Richmond Examiner* said, on April 23—the day when Stephens arrived in that city: "The capture of Washington City is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland, if Virginia will only make the proper effort by her constituted authorities. There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain-tops and valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard."

On the same day Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, ordered a regiment of State troops to march for Washington; and the Goldsboro (N. C.) *Tribune* of the 24th, speaking of the grand movement of Virginia and a rumored one in Maryland, said: "It makes good the words of Secretary Walker, of Montgomery, in regard to the Federal metropolis. It transfers the lines of battle from the Potomac to the Pennsylvania border." The Raleigh (N. C.) *Standard* of the same date said: "Our streets are alive with soldiers" (North Carolina was then a professedly loyal State); and added, "Washington City will be too hot to hold Abraham Lincoln and his government. North Carolina has said it, and she will do all she can to make good her declaration." The Eufaula (Ala.) *Express* said, on the 25th: "Our policy at this time should be to seize the old Federal capital, and take old Lincoln and his cabinet prisoners of war." The Milledgeville (Ga.) *Southern Recorder* said: "The government of the Confederate States must possess the city of Washington. It is folly to think it can be used any longer as the headquarters of the Lincoln government, as no access can be had to it except by passing through Virginia and Maryland. The District of Columbia

cannot remain under the jurisdiction of the United States Congress without humiliating Southern pride and disputing Southern rights. Both are essential to greatness of character, and both must co-operate in the destiny to be achieved." A correspondent of the *Charleston Courier*, writing from Montgomery, said: "The desire for taking Washington, I believe, increases every hour; and all things, to my thinking, seem tending to this consummation. We are in lively hope that before three months roll by the [Confederate] government—Congress, departments, and all—will have removed to the present Federal capital." Hundreds of similar expressions were uttered by Southern politicians and Southern newspapers; and Alexander H. Stephens brought his logic to bear upon the matter in a speech at Atlanta, Ga., April 30, 1861, in the following manner: "A general opinion prevails that Washington City is soon to be attacked. On this subject I can only say, our object is peace. We wish no aggressions on any man's rights, and will make none. But if Maryland secedes, the District of Columbia will fall to her by reversionary right—the same as Sumter to South Carolina, Pulaski to Georgia, and Pickens to Florida. When we have the right, we will demand the surrender of Washington, just as we did in the other cases, and will enforce our demand at every hazard and at whatever cost." At the same time went forth from the free-labor States, "On to Washington!" for its preservation; and it was responded to effectually by hundreds of thousands of loyal citizens.

Onderdonk, HENRY, author; born in North Hempstead, N. Y., June 11, 1804; graduated at Columbia in 1827. Among his publications are *Revolutionary Histories of Queens; New York; Suffolk; and Kings Counties; Long Island and New York in the Olden Times; The Annals of Hempstead, N. Y.*, etc. He died in Jamaica, N. Y., June 22, 1886.

Oneida, THE. The first warlike measure of the Americans previous to the hostilities begun in 1812 was the construction, at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., of the brig *Oneida*, 16 guns, by Christian Berg and Henry Eckford. She was launched in 1809, and was intended for a twofold pur-

ONEIDA COMMUNITY—ONONDAGA INDIANS

pose—to enforce the revenue laws under the embargo act, and to be in readiness to defend American property afloat on Lake Ontario in case of war with Great Britain. Her first duty in that line was performed in 1812, when she was commanded by Lieut. Melancthon T. Woolsey. The schooner *Lord Nelson*, laden with flour and merchandise, and owned by British subjects at Niagara, was found in American waters in May, 1812, on her way to Kingston, and was captured by the *Oneida* and condemned as lawful prize. About a month later (June 14) another British schooner, the *Ontario*, was captured at St. Vincent, but was soon discharged. At about the same time still another offending schooner, the *Niagara*, was seized and sold as a violator of the revenue laws. These events soon led to retaliation.

Oneida Community. See NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREYS.

Oneida Indians, the second of the five nations that composed the original IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY (q. v.). Their domain extended from a point east of Utica to Deep Spring, near Manlius, south of Syracuse, in Onondaga county, N. Y. Divided into three clans—the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle—their tribal totem was a stone in a forked stick, and their name meant "tribe of the granite rock." Tradition says that when the great confederacy was formed, Hiawatha said to them: "You, Oneidas, a people who recline your bodies against the 'Everlasting Stone,' that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you give wise counsel." Very soon after the settlement of Canada they became involved in wars with the French and their Huron and Montagnais allies. In 1653 they joined their neighbors, the Onondagas, in a treaty of peace with the French, and received missionaries from the latter. At that time they had been so reduced by war with southern tribes that they had only 150 warriors. In the general peace with the French, in 1700, they joined their sister nations; and when the Revolutionary War was kindling they alone, of the then Six Nations in the great council, opposed an alliance with the English.

They remained faithful to the English-American colonists to the end. In this at-

titude they were largely held by the influence of Samuel Kirkland, a Protestant missionary, and Gen. Philip Schuyler. Because of this attitude they were subjected to great losses by the ravages of Tories and their neighbors, for which the United States compensated them by a treaty in 1794. They had previously ceded their lands to the State of New York, reserving a tract, now in Oneida county, where some of them still remain. They had been joined by the Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians. Some of them emigrated to Canada, and settled on the Thames; and in 1821 a large band purchased a tract on Green Bay, Wis. They have all advanced in civilization and the mechanic arts, as well as in agriculture, and have schools and churches. In 1899 there were 270 Oneidas at the New York agency, and 1,945 at the Green Bay agency.

O'Neill, Joux, military officer; born in Ireland in 1834; served in the National army during the Civil War; commanded a force of 1,200 Fenians who invaded Canada in 1866, most of whom were arrested by the United States authorities. He again invaded Canada in 1870, was captured and imprisoned. He died in Omaha, Neb., Jan. 7, 1878.

Onondaga Indians, the third nation of the Iroquois Confederacy; their name means "men of the great mountain." Tradition says that at the formation of the confederacy Hiawatha said to them: "You, Onondagas, who have your habitation at the 'Great Mountain,' and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are greatly gifted with speech, and are mighty in war." Their seat of government, or "castle," was in the hill country southward from Syracuse, where was the great council-fire of the confederacy, or meeting-place of their congress. The Atatarho, or great sachem of the tribe, was chosen to be the first president of the confederacy. They were divided into fourteen clans, with a sachem for each clan, and their domain extended from Deep Spring, near Manlius, Onondaga co., west to a line between Cross and Otter lakes. This nation carried on war with the Indians in Canada, and also with the French, after their advent on the St. Lawrence;

ONONDAGA INDIANS—ONTARIO



AN ONONDAGA COUNCIL.

and they were prominent in the destruction of the Hurons. In 1653 they made peace with the French, and received Jesuit missionaries among them. The peace was not lasting, and in 1662 a large force of Onondagas ravaged Montreal Island. They again made peace, and in 1668 the French mission was re-established.

As the English extended their influence among the Five Nations, the Iroquois were won to their interest, and the Onondagas permitted them to erect a fort in their domain; but when, in 1696, Frontenac invaded their territory, the Onondagas destroyed the fort and their village, and returned to the forests. The French sent deputies to the Onondaga sachems, and then, in 1700, signed the general treaty of peace at Montreal. This was broken in 1709, when the Onondagas again made war on the French, and were alternately hostile and neutral towards them until the overthrow of the French power, in 1763. When the war for independence was kindling, a general council of the confederacy was held at Onondaga Castle. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras opposed an alliance with the English, and each nation was left to act as it pleased in the matter. By this decision the confederacy

was weakened, and finally, in 1777, the council-fire at Onondaga (as the confederate government was familiarly called) was formally extinguished. The Onondagas joined the English, and the war left them helpless, and in 1778 they ceded all their lands to the State of New York, except a reservation set apart for their remnant, which they continue to hold. In 1899 they numbered 549. There are about 400 Onondagas in Canada, making the total number of the once powerful nation less than 1,000. It is said that the Onondaga dialect is the purest one of the Iroquois.

Ontario, LAKE, OPERATIONS ON. Commodore Isaac Chauncey was in command of a little squadron of armed schooners, hastily prepared, on Lake Ontario late in 1812. The vessels were the *Oneida* (his flag-ship), *Conquest*, *Grouler*, *Pert*, *Seourge*, *Governor Tompkins*, and *Hamilton*. He sailed from Sackett's Harbor (Nov. 8) to intercept the British squadron, under Commodore Earl, returning to Kingston from Fort George, on the Niagara River, whither they had conveyed troops and prisoners. Chauncey took his station near the False Ducks, a group of islands nearly due west from Sackett's

Harbor. On the afternoon of Nov. 9 he fell in with Earl's flag-ship, the *Royal George*. He chased her into the Bay of Quinté, where he lost sight of her in the darkness of night. On the following morning (Nov. 10) he captured and burned a small armed schooner, and soon afterwards espied the *Royal George* making her way towards Kingston. Chauncey gave chase with most of his squadron (which had been joined by the *Julia*), and followed her into Kingston Harbor, where he fought her and five land-batteries for almost an hour. These batteries were more formidable than he supposed. A brisk breeze having arisen, and the night coming on, Chauncey withdrew and anchored. The next morning the breeze had become almost a gale, and Chauncey weighed anchor and stood out lakeward. The *Tompkins* (Lieutenant Brown), the *Hamilton* (Lieutenant McPherson), and *Julia* (Sailing-master Trant) chased the *Simcoe* over a reef of rocks (Nov. 11), and riddled her so that she sank before she reached Kingston. Soon afterwards the *Hamilton* captured a large schooner from Niagara. This prize was sent past Kingston with the *Growler* (Sailing-master Mix), with a hope of drawing out the *Royal George*; but Chauncey had so bruised her that she was compelled to haul on shore to keep from sinking. A number of her crew had been killed. The wind had increased to a gale on the nights of the 11th and 12th, and during the night of the 12th there was a snow-storm. Undismayed by the fury of the elements, Chauncey continued his cruise, for his heart was set on gaining the supremacy of the Lakes. Learning that the *Earl of Moira* was off the Real Ducks Islands, he attempted to capture her. She was on the alert and escaped, but a schooner that she was convoying was made captive. On the same day Chauncey saw the *Royal George* and two other armed vessels, but they kept out of his way. In this short cruise he captured three merchant vessels, destroyed one armed schooner, disabled the British flag-ship, and took several prisoners, with a loss, on his part, of one man killed and four wounded. Among the latter was Sailing-master Arundel, commander of the *Pert*, who was badly injured by the bursting

of a cannon. He would not leave the deck, and was knocked overboard and drowned.

After the capture of Fort George Chauncey crossed the lake, looked into York, and then ran for Kingston without meeting a foe. He retired to Sackett's Harbor, where he urged forward the completion of a new corvette, the *General Pike*, 26 guns. She was launched June 12, 1813, and placed in command of Capt. Arthur Sinclair. It was late in the summer before she was ready for a cruise. Meanwhile, the keel of a fast-sailing schooner was laid by Eckford at Sackett's Harbor, and named the *Sulphur*, and a small vessel was kept constantly cruising, as a scout, off Kingston, to observe the movements of the British squadron there. This little vessel (*Lady of the Lake*) captured the British schooner *Lady Murray* (June 16), laden with provisions, shot, and fixed ammunition, and took her into the harbor. Sir James L. Yeo was in command of the British squadron on the lake. He made a cruise westward, and on July 7 appeared with his squadron off Niagara. Chauncey and Scott had just returned from the expedition to York. Chauncey immediately went out and tried to get the weather-gage of Sir James. He had thirteen vessels, but only three of them had been originally built for war purposes. His squadron consisted of the *Pike*, *Madison*, *Onondaga*, *Hamilton*, *Scourge*, *Ontario*, *Fair American*, *Governor Tompkins*, *Conquest*, *Growler*, *Julia*, *Asp*, and *Pert*. The British squadron now consisted of two ships, two brigs, and two large schooners. These had all been constructed for war, and were very efficient in armament and shields. The belligerents manœuvred all day, and when at sunset a dead calm fell they took to sweeps. When darkness came, the American squadron was collected by signal. The wind finally freshened, and at midnight was blowing a fitful gale. Suddenly a rushing sound was heard astern of most of the fleet, and it was soon ascertained that the *Hamilton* and *Scourge* had disappeared. They had been capsize by a terrible squall, and all of the officers and men, excepting sixteen of the latter, had perished. These two vessels carried nineteen guns between them. All the next day the squadrons

ONTARIO, LAKE, OPERATIONS ON

manœuvred for advantage, and towards evening Chauncey ran into the Niagara River. All that night the lake was swept by squalls. On the morning of the 9th Chauncey went out to attack Sir James, and the day was spent in fruitless manœuvres. At six o'clock on the 10th, having the weather-gage, Chauncey formed his fleet in battle order, and a conflict seemed imminent; but his antagonist being unwilling to fight, the day was spent as others had been. Towards midnight there was a contest, when the *Growler* and *Julia*, separating from the rest of the fleet, were captured. Returning to Sackett's Harbor, Chauncey prepared for another cruise with eight vessels. Making but a short cruise, on account of sickness prevailing in the fleet, he remained in the harbor until Aug. 28, when he went out in search of his antagonist. He first saw him on Sept. 7, and for a week tried to get him into action, but Sir James strictly obeyed his instructions to "risk nothing." On the 11th Chauncey bore down upon Sir James off the mouth of the Genesee River, and they had a running fight for three hours. The *Pike* was somewhat injured, but the British vessels suffered most. The latter fled to Kingston, and Chauncey went into Sackett's Harbor. On the 18th he sailed for the Niagara for troops, and was chased by Yeo. After a few days Chauncey crossed over to York with the *Pike*, *Madison*, and *Sylph*, where the British fleet lay, when the latter fled, followed by the American vessels in battle order. The baronet was now compelled to fight or stop boasting of unsatisfied desires to measure strength with the Americans. An action commenced at a little past noon, and the *Pike* sustained the desperate assaults of the heaviest British vessels for twenty minutes, at the same time delivering destructive broadsides upon her foes. She was assisted by the *Tompkins*, Lieutenant Finch; and when the smoke of battle

floated away it was found that the *Wolfe* (Sir James's flag-ship) was too much injured to continue the conflict any longer. She pushed away dead before the wind, gallantly protected by the *Royal George*. A general chase towards Burlington Bay immediately ensued. Chauncey could doubtless have captured the whole British fleet, but a gale was threatening, and there being no good harbors on the coast, if he should be driven ashore certain capture by land troops would be the consequence. So he called off his ships and returned to the Niagara, where he lay two days while a gale was skurrying over the lake. The weather remaining thick after the gales, Sir James left Burlington Bay for Kingston. Chauncey was returning to Sackett's Harbor, whither all his transports bearing troops had gone, and at sunset, Oct. 5, when near the Ducks, the *Pike* captured three British transports—the *Confiance*, *Hamilton* (the *Growler* and *Julia* with new names), and *Mary*. The *Sylph* captured the cutter *Drummond* and the armed transport *Lady Gore*. The number of prisoners captured on these five vessels was 264. Among the prisoners were ten army officers. Sir James remained inactive in Kingston Harbor



DESTRUCTION AT SOMES BAY.

during the remainder of the season, and Chauncey was busied in watching his movements and assisting the army in its descent of the St. Lawrence. He did not, however, sufficiently blockade Kingston

ONTARIO—OPECHANCANOUGH

Harbor to prevent marine scouts from slipping out and hovering near Wilkinson's flotilla on the *St. Lawrence*.

A British squadron on the lake hovered along its southern shores in the summer of 1813 and seriously interfered with supplies on their way to the American camp on the Niagara. They captured (June 12, 1813) two vessels laden with hospital stores at Eighteen-mile Creek, eastward of the Niagara River. They made a descent upon the village of Charlotte, situated at the mouth of the Genesee River, on the 15th, and carried off a large quantity of stores. On the 18th they appeared off Sodus Bay, and the next evening an armed party, 100 strong, landed at Sodus Point for the purpose of destroying American stores known to have been deposited there. These had been removed to a place of concealment a little back of the village. The invaders threatened to destroy the village if the hiding-place of the stores was not revealed. The women and children fled from their homes in alarm. A negro, compelled by threats, gave the desired information; and they were marching in the direction of the stores when they were confronted at a bridge over a ravine by forty men under Captain Turner. A sharp skirmish ensued. The British were foiled, and as they returned to their vessels they burned the public storehouses, five dwellings, and a hotel. The property destroyed at Sodus was valued at \$25,000. The marauders then sailed eastward, and looked into Oswego Harbor, but Sir James Yeo, their cautious commander, did not venture to go in.

Chauncey was unable to accomplish much with his squadron during 1814. Early in the season he was taken sick, and in July his squadron was blockaded at Sackett's Harbor, and it was the last of that month before it was ready for sea. On the 31st Chauncey was carried, in a convalescent state, on board the *Superior* (his flag-ship), and the squadron sailed on a cruise. It blockaded the harbor of Kingston, and Chauncey vainly tried to draw out Sir James Yeo for combat. At the close of September Chauncey was informed that the *St. Lawrence*, pierced for 112 guns, which had been built at Kingston, was ready for sea, when the commodore prudently raised the blockade and

returned to Sackett's Harbor. The *St. Lawrence* sailed in October with more than 1,000 men, accompanied by other vessels of war; and with this big ship Sir James was really lord of the lake. The Americans determined to match the *St. Lawrence*, and at Sackett's Harbor the keels of two first-class frigates were laid. One of them was partly finished when peace was proclaimed, early in 1815. Chauncey expected that Yeo would attack his squadron in the harbor, but he did not; and when the lake was closed by ice the war had ended on the northern frontier.

Opechancanough, brother of Powhatan, was "King of Pamunkey" when the English first landed in Virginia. He was born about 1552, and died in 1644. He first became known to the English as the captor of John Smith in the forest. Opechancanough would have killed him immediately, but for Smith's presence of mind. He drew from his pocket a compass, and explained to the savage as well as he could its wonderful nature; told him of the form of the earth and the stars—how the sun chased the night around the earth continually. Opechancanough regarded him as a superior being, and women and children stared at him as he passed from village to village to the Indian's capital, until he was placed in the custody of Powhatan. Opechancanough attended the marriage of his niece, Pocahontas, at Jamestown. After the death of his brother (1619) he was lord of the empire, and immediately formed plans for driving the English out of his country.

Gov. Sir Francis Wyatt brought the constitution with him, and there was evidence of great prosperity and peace everywhere. But just at that time a fearful cloud of trouble was brooding. Opechancanough could command about 1,500 warriors. He hated the English bitterly, and inspired his people with the same feeling, yet he feigned friendship for them until a plot for their destruction was perfected.

Believing the English intended to seize his domains, his patriotism impelled him to strike a blow. In an affray with a settler, an Indian leader was shot, and the wily emperor made it the occasion for inflaming the resentment of his people

OPECHANCANOUGH—OPEQUAN

against the English. He visited the governor in war costume, bearing in his belt a glittering hatchet, and demanded some concessions for his incensed people. It was refused, and, forgetting himself for a moment, he snatched the hatchet from his belt and struck its keen blade into a log of the cabin, uttering a curse upon the English. Instantly recovering himself, he smiled, and said: "Pardon me, governor; I was thinking of that wicked Englishman (see ARGALL, SAMUEL) who stole my niece and struck me with his sword. I love the English who are the friends of Powhatan. Sooner will the skies fall than that my bond of friendship with the English shall be dissolved." Sir Francis warned the people that treachery was abroad. They did not believe it. They so trusted the Indians that they had taught them to hunt with fire-arms.

A tempest suddenly burst upon them. On April 1 (March 22, O. S.), 1622, the Indians rushed from the forests upon all the remote settlements, at a preconcerted time, and in the space of an hour 350 men, women, and children were slain. At Henrico, the devoted Thorpe, who had been like a father to the children and the sick of the savages, was slain. Six members of the council and several of the wealthier inhabitants were made victims of the treachery.

On the very morning of the massacre the Indians ate at the tables of those whom they intended to murder at noon. The people of Jamestown were saved by Chanceo, a Christian Indian, who gave them timely warning, and enabled them to prepare for the attack. Those on remote plantations who survived beat back the savages and fled to Jamestown. In the course of a few days eighty of the inhabited plantations were reduced to eight. A large part of the colony were saved, and these waged an exterminating war. They struck such fearful retaliating blows that the Indians were beaten back into the forest, and death and desolation were spread over the peninsula between the York and James rivers. The emperor fled to the land of the Pamunkeys, and by a show of cowardice lost much of his influence. The power of the confederacy was broken. Before the war there were 6,000 Indians within 60 miles of Jamestown:

at its close there were, probably, not 1,000 within the territory of 8,000 square miles. The colony, too, was sadly injured in number and strength. A deadly hostility between the races continued for more than twenty years. Opechancanough lived, and had been nursing his wrath all that time, prudence alone restraining him from war. His malice remained keen, and his thirst for vengeance was terrible.

When, in 1643, Thomas Rolfe, son of his niece Pocahontas, came from England, and with Cleopatra, his mother's sister, visited the aged emperor, and told him of the civil war between the English factions, the old emperor concluded it was a favorable time for him to strike another blow for his country. He was then past ninety years of age, and feeble in body. He sent runners through his empire. A confederation of the tribes for the extermination of the English was formed, and the day fixed to begin the work in the interior and carry it on to the sea. Early in April, 1644, they began the horrid work. The old emperor was carried on a litter borne by his warriors. In the space of two days they slew more than 300 of the settlers, sparing none who fell in their way. The region between the Pamunkey and York rivers was almost depopulated. Governor Berkeley met the savages with a competent armed force, and drove them back with great slaughter. Opechancanough was made a prisoner, and carried in triumph to Jamestown. He was so much exhausted that he could not raise his eyelids, and in that condition he was fatally wounded by a bullet from the gun of an English soldier who guarded him, and who had suffered great bereavements at the hands of the savages. The people, curious, gathered around the dying emperor. Hearing the hum of a multitude, he asked an attendant to raise his eyelids. When he saw the crowd he haughtily demanded a visit from the governor. Berkeley came, when the old man said, with indignation, "Had it been my fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not meanly have exposed him as a show to my people." He then stretched himself upon the earth and died.

Open Door. See CHINA AND THE POWERS.

Opequan, BATTLE OF. See WINCHESTER.

Orange, FORT, a defensive work at Albany, N. Y. In 1614 Captain Christiansen, who, in the interest of trade, went up the Hudson River to the head of navigation, built a fortified trading-house on an island just below the site of Albany, which he called Castle Island. The spring floods made the place untenable, and in 1617 a new fort was built at the mouth of the Tawasentha ("place of many dead"), or Norman's Kill, on the west side of the river. There a treaty of friendship and alliance was made with the Five Nations, the first ever made between the Indians and Hollanders. The situation of the new fort proving to be inconvenient, a more permanent fortification was built a few miles farther north, and called Fort Orange, in compliment to the Stadtholder, or chief magistrate, of Holland. Some of the Walloons settled there, and held the most friendly relations with the Indians. Near the fort Kilian Van Rensselaer, a wealthy pearl merchant of Amsterdam, purchased from the Indians a large tract of land in 1630, sent over a colony to settle upon it, and formed the "Colonie of Rensselaerswyck." A settlement soon grew around Fort Orange, and so the foundations of ALBANY (*q. v.*) were laid.

Ord, EDWARD OTHO CRESAP, military officer; born in Cumberland, Md., Oct.



EDWARD OTHO CRESAP ORD.

18, 1818; graduated at West Point in 1839, entering the 3d Artillery. He was in the Seminole War, and in 1845-46 was

employed in coast-survey duty, when he was sent to California. He took part in expeditions against the Indians, and, in September, 1861, was made brigadier-general of volunteers, commanding a brigade of the Pennsylvania Reserves near the Potomac. In May, 1862, he was made major-general of volunteers, and ordered to the Army of the Mississippi, where he did good service while in command at Corinth. He commanded the 13th Army Corps at the siege and capture of Jackson and Vicksburg. In the campaign against Richmond, in 1864, he commanded the 18th Corps from July to September, when he was severely wounded in the assault on Fort Harrison. He commanded the Department of Virginia from January to June, 1865, and was a participant in the capture of Lee's army in April. General Ord was brevetted major-general in the United States army, and commissioned a brigadier-general, July 26, 1866; and was retired Dec. 6, 1880. He died in Havana, Cuba, July 22, 1883.

Orders in Council. On Nov. 6, 1793, a British Order in Council was issued, but was not made public until the end of the year, directing British cruisers to stop, detain, and bring in for legal adjudication all ships laden with goods the production of any French colony, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colony. The order, which was calculated to destroy all neutral trade with the French colonies, even that which had been allowed in times of peace, was issued simultaneously with the despatch of a great expedition for the conquest of the French West Indies. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia all fell into the hands of the English. The news of the British order produced great excitement at Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, and public feeling against Great Britain ran high. It was manifested in and out of Congress by debates and discussions, and while these were in progress the feeling against the British was intensified by the publication in New York papers of what purported to be a speech of Lord Dorchester to a certain Indian deputation from a late general council at the Maumee Rapids, in which he suggested the probability of a speedy rupture between the United States and Great Britain.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL—ORDINANCE OF 1787

The British order and Dorchester's speech caused resolutions to be introduced by Sedgwick, March 12, 1794, into the House of Representatives for raising fifteen regiments of 1,000 men each, for two years, and the passage of a joint resolution, March 26, laying an embargo for thirty days, afterwards extended thirty days longer, having in view the obstructing of the supply of provisions to the British fleet and army in the West Indies. Sedgwick's resolutions were rejected, but a substitute was passed suggesting a draft of militia. It was proposed to detach from this body 80,000 minute-men, enlist a regiment of artillery, and raise a standing force of 25,000 men. While debates were going on, news came that a second Order in Council had been issued, Jan. 8, 1794, superseding that of Nov. 6, restricting the capture of French produce in neutral vessels to cases in which the produce belonged to Frenchmen, or the vessel was bound for France; also, that no confiscations were to take place under the first order. This allayed the bitterness of feeling in the United States against Great Britain.

In 1807 and 1810 Orders in Council were issued to meet the effects of the French decrees (Berlin and Milan). These remained in force, and bore heavily upon American commerce until after the declaration of war in 1812. Joel Barlow, who had been appointed American ambassador to France in 1811, had urged the French government to revoke the decrees as to the Americans. This was done, April 28, 1811, and a decree was issued directing that, in consideration of the resistance of the United States to the Orders in Council, the Berlin and Milan decrees were to be considered as not having existed, as to American vessels, since Nov. 1, 1810. Barlow forwarded this decree to Russell, American minister at the British Court. It arrived there just in time to second the efforts of the British manufacturers, who were pressing the government for a revocation of the Orders in Council. A new ministry, lately seated, being in danger of the desertion of a portion of their supporters, yielded, and on June 23, 1812, they revoked the orders of 1807 and 1810, with a proviso, however, for their renewal in case the United

States government, after due notice, should still persist in its non-importation and other hostile acts. Efforts were immediately made by both governments for a settlement of existing difficulties, but failed. The British minister (Lord Castlereagh) declined to make any stipulation, formal or informal, concerning impressments. The war finally proceeded on the matter of impressments alone. See **BERLIN DECREE; EMBARGO ACTS.**

Ordinance of 1787. The title of this important act of Congress is "An ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," and the text is as follows:

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, that the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed,

sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1,000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common-law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time: which laws shall be

in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of the magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be 5,000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in the General Assembly: Provided, that for every 500 free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: Provided, that no person shall be eligible or qualified to

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act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee-simple, 200 acres of land within the same: Provided, also, that a freehold in 50 acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a House of Representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum; and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in 500 acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the House of Representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said House shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members

of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and House of Representatives shall have authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the House, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the president of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and House, assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting during this temporary government.

And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ART. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode

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of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ART. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. 4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of

the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new States shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying-places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ART. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The Western State in the said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers: a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post St. Vincent's, to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The Eastern State shall be bounded by the last-mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: Provided, however, and it is

ORDNANCE—OREGON

further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: Provided, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than 60,000.

ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed, and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their independence the twelfth.

See NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY, THE.

Ordnance. The whole train of artillery possessed by the English-American colonies when the war for independence broke out (April 19, 1775) was composed of four field-pieces, two belonging to citizens of Boston, and two to the

province of Massachusetts. In 1788 the Secretary of War called the attention of Congress to the fact that there were in the arsenals of the United States "two brass cannon, which constituted one moiety of the field artillery with which the late war was commenced on the part of the Americans." Congress by resolution directed the Secretary to have suitable inscriptions placed on them; and, as they belonged to Massachusetts, he was instructed to deliver them to the order of the governor of that State. The two cannon belonging to citizens of Boston were inscribed, respectively, "The Hancock, Sacred to Liberty," and "The Adams, Sacred to Liberty"; with the additional words on each, "These were used in many engagements during the war."

Ordnance Department, a bureau of the War Department, under the direction of a chief of ordnance. The duties of the department consist in providing, preserving, distributing, and accounting for every description of artillery, small-arms, and all the munitions of war which may be required for the fortifications of the country, the armies in the field, and for the whole body of the militia of the Union. In these duties are comprised that of determining the general principles of construction, and of prescribing in detail the models and forms of all military weapons employed in war. They comprise also the duty of prescribing the regulations for the inspection of all these weapons, for maintaining uniformity and economy in their fabrication, for insuring their quality, and for their preservation and distribution.

Ordnance Survey. See COAST SURVEY.

Oregon, STATE OF. The history of this State properly begins with the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River by Captain Gray, of Boston, in the ship *Columbia*, May 7, 1792, who gave the name of his vessel to that river. His report caused President Jefferson to send the explorers LEWIS and CLARKE (*qq. v.*) across the continent to the Pacific (1804-6). In 1811 John J. Astor and others established a fur-trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River, and called it Astoria. The British doctrine, always practised and enforced by them, that the entrance of a vessel of a civilized nation,

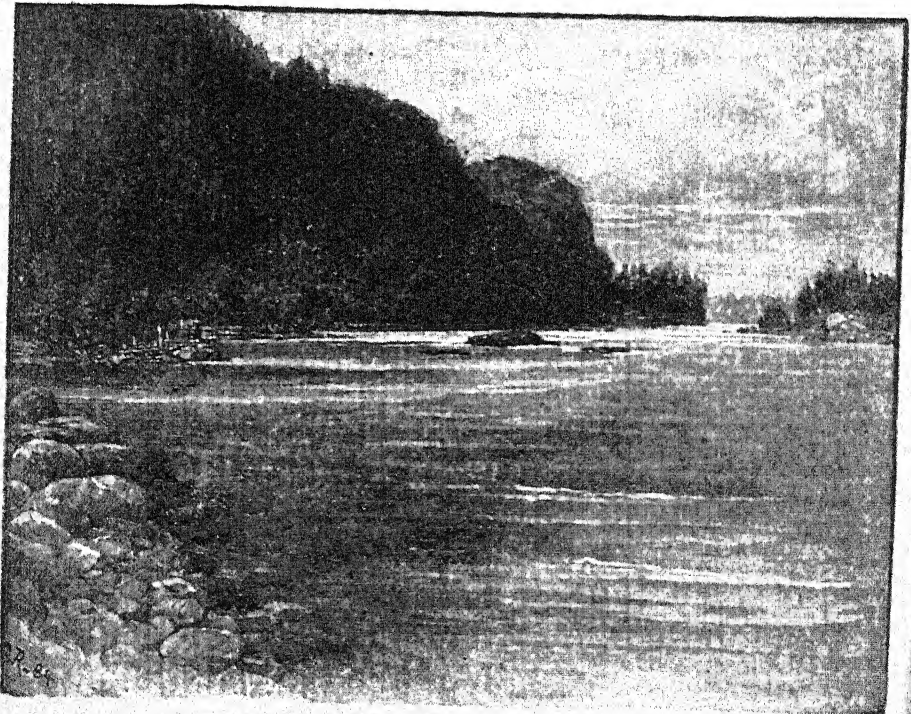


STATE SEAL OF OREGON.

for the first time, into the mouth of a river, gives title, by right of discovery, to the territory drained by that river and its tributaries, clearly gave to the Americans the domain to the lat. of $54^{\circ} 40' N.$, for the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray, in 1792, was not disputed. In 1818 it was mutually agreed

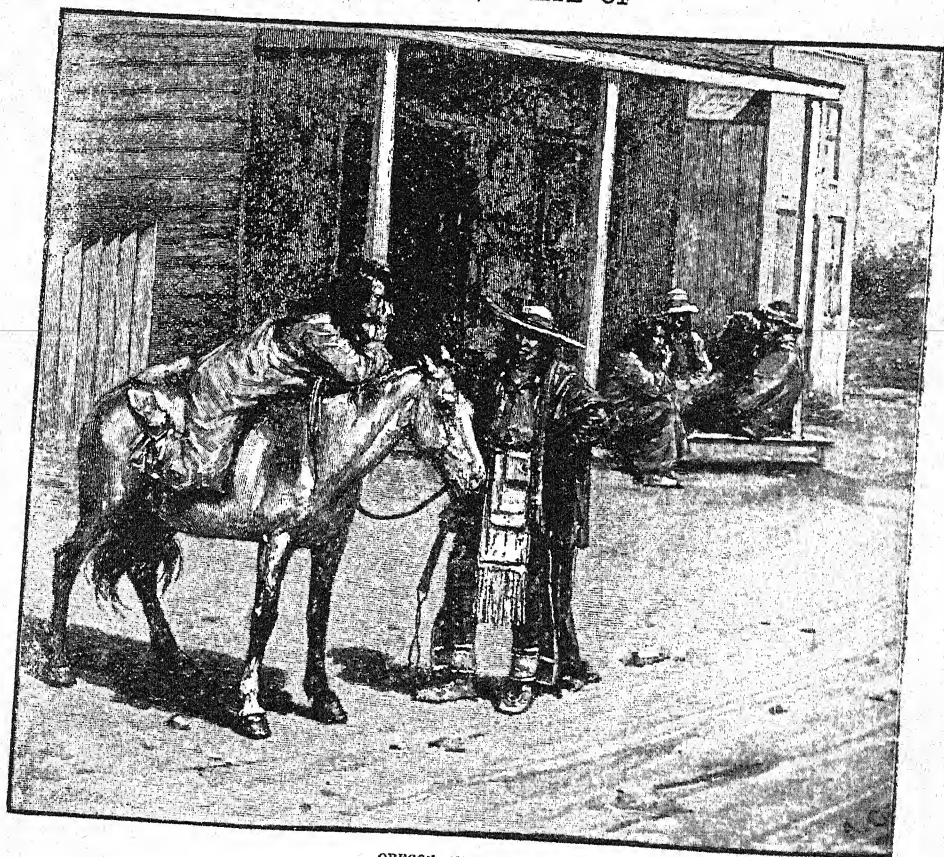
that each nation should equally enjoy the privileges of all the bays and harbors on that coast for ten years. This agreement was renewed, in 1827, for an indefinite time, with the stipulation that either party might rescind it by giving the other party twelve months' notice. This notice was given by the United States in 1846, and also a proposition to adjust the question by making the boundary on the parallel of 49° . This was rejected by the British, who claimed the whole of Oregon. The President then directed the proposition of compromise to be withdrawn, and the title of the United States to the whole territory of $54^{\circ} 40' N.$ lat. to be asserted. The question at one time threatened war between the two nations, but it was finally settled by a treaty negotiated at Washington, June 15, 1846, by James Buchanan on the part of the United States and Mr. Pakenham for Great Britain, by which the boundary-line was fixed at $49^{\circ} N.$ lat.

In 1833 immigration to this region.



SCENE ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN GRAY.

OREGON, STATE OF



OREGON INDIANS.

overland, began, and in 1850 many thousands had reached Oregon; but very soon many of the settlers were drawn to California by the gold excitement there. To encourage immigration the Congress, in 1850, passed the "donation law," giving to every man who should settle on land there before Dec. 1 of that year 320 acres of land, and to his wife a like number of acres; also, to every man and his wife who should settle on such land between Dec. 1, 1850, and Dec. 1, 1853, 160 acres of land each. Under this law 8,000 claims were registered in Oregon. Settlers in Oregon and in Washington Territory, in 1855, suffered much from Indians, who went in bands to murder and plunder the white people. The savages were so well organized at one time that it was thought the white settlers would be compelled to abandon

the country. Major-General Wool, stationed at San Francisco, went to Portland, Ore., and there organized a campaign against the Indians. The latter had formed a powerful combination, but Wool brought hostilities to a close during the summer of 1856. The bad conduct of Indian agents, and possibly encouragement given the Indians by employes of the Hudson Bay Company, were the chief causes of the trouble.

In 1841 the first attempt to organize a government was made. In 1843 an executive and legislative committee was established; and in 1845 the legislative committee framed an organic law which the settlers approved, and this formed the basis of a provisional government until 1848, when Congress created the Territory of Oregon, which comprised all the United

States territory west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains and north of the forty-second parallel. The territorial government went into operation on March 3, 1849, with Joseph Lane as governor. In 1853 Washington Territory was organized, and took from Oregon all its domain north of the Columbia River. In 1857 a convention framed a State constitution for Oregon, which was ratified, in November of that year, by the people. By the act of Feb. 14, 1859, Oregon was admitted into the Union as a State, with its present limits. Many Indian wars have troubled Oregon, the last one of importance being the Modoc War, 1872-73 (see MODOC INDIANS). Population in 1890, 313,767; in 1900, 413,591. See UNITED STATES, OREGON, in vol. ix.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS.

George Abernethy	appointed.....	1845
Joseph Lane.....	"	1849
J. P. Gaines.....	"	"
Joseph Lane.....	"	1853
George L. Curry.....	"	"
John W. Davis.....	"	"
George L. Curry.....	"	1854

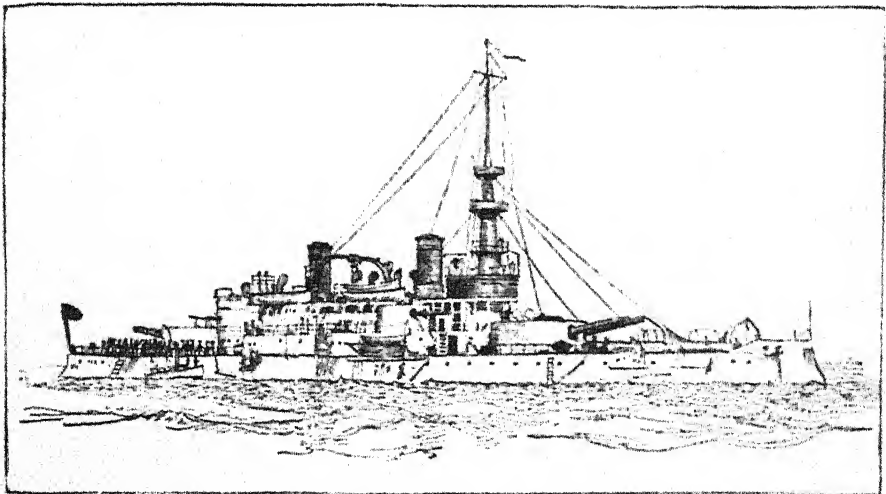
STATE GOVERNORS.

John Whiteaker.....	assumes office.....	1859
Addison C. Gibbs.....	"	1862
George L. Woods.....	"	1866
Lafayette Grover.....	"	1870
S. F. Chadwick.....	acting	Feb. 1, 1877
W. W. Thayer.....	assumes office.....	1878
Zenas Ferry Moody.....	"	1882
Sylvester Pennoyer, Dem..	"	Jan. 1, 1887
William Paine Lord.....	"	1905
Theodore T. Geer.....	"	1899
George E. Chamberlain....	"	1903

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
Delazon Smith.....	35th	1859 to 1860
Joseph Lane.....	35th to 37th	1859 " 1861
Edward D. Baker.....	36th	1860 " 1861
Benjamin Stark.....	37th	1862
Benjamin F. Harding...	37th to 39th	1862 to 1865
James W. Nesmith.....	37th " 40th	1861 " 1867
George H. Williams.....	39th " 41st	1865 " 1871
Henry W. Corbett.....	40th " 41st	1867 " 1873
James K. Kelly.....	41st " 45th	1871 " 1877
John H. McIver.....	41st " 43rd	1873 " 1879
Lafayette F. Grover.....	43rd " 47th	1877 " 1883
James H. Slater.....	46th " 49th	1879 " 1885
Joseph N. Duffell.....	47th " 51st	1883 " 1897
John H. Mitchell.....	48th " 53rd	1885 " 1897
George W. McBride.....	51st " 57th	1895 " 1903
Joseph Simon.....	53rd " 57th	1898 " 1903
John H. Mitchell.....	57th " 58th	1901 " 1905
Charles W. Fulton.....	58th "	1903 " "
John M. Geary.....	59th "	1905 " "

Oregon, battle-ship; carries four 13-inch, eight 8-inch, four 6-inch guns. At the outbreak of hostilities with Spain, the Oregon was ordered from San Francisco, where she was built, to the Atlantic coast. She left San Francisco March 19, and arrived at Callao, Peru, April 4, where she took on coal; reached Sandy Point April 18, and again took on coal; reached Rio de Janeiro April 30, Bahia May 8, Barbadoes May 18, and Jupiter Inlet, Florida, May 24. The entire distance run was 14,706 knots, at an expenditure of 4,155 tons of coal. While in Rio de Janeiro, Captain Clark received word that the Spanish torpedo-boat *Zamacario* had sailed from Montevideo with the intention of



UNITED STATES BATTLE-SHIP OREGON.

OREGON BOUNDARY—ORISKANY

destroying the *Oregon*. Captain Clark notified the Brazilian authorities that if the *Temerario* entered the harbor with hostile intention, she would be attacked; and at the same time left orders with the commander of the United States cruiser *Marietta* to keep a search-light on the entrance to the harbor, and in case the *Temerario* appeared, to notify her commander that if she approached within half a mile of the *Oregon* she would be destroyed. In the battle of Santiago the speed of the *Oregon* enabled her to take a front position in the chase in which she forced the *Cristobal Colon* to run ashore to avoid destruction from the *Oregon's* 13-inch shells. Probably the presence of the *Oregon* prevented the escape of the *Colon* and, perhaps, the *Vizcaya*. After the conclusion of peace the *Oregon* was ordered from New York to Manila.

Oregon Boundary. See OREGON.

O'Reilly, HENRY, journalist; born in Carrickmacross, Ireland, Feb. 6, 1806. His father emigrated to America in 1816, and soon afterwards this son was apprenticed to the publisher of the *New York Columbian* (newspaper) to learn the art of printing. The *Columbian* was a staunch advocate of the Erie Canal, and a political supporter of De Witt Clinton as its able champion. The mind of the apprentice was thus early impressed with the importance of measures for the development of the vast resources of the United States. At the age of seventeen years he became assistant editor of the *New York Patriot*, the organ of the People's party, which elected De Witt Clinton governor of New York in 1824. When, in 1826, Luther Tucker & Co. established the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, O'Reilly was chosen its editor, but after four years he retired. He resumed editorial work there in 1831. In 1834 he wrote the first memorial presented to the legislature and the canal board, in favor of rebuilding the failing structures of the Erie Canal. He then proposed a plan for the enlargement of the canal, and was chairman of the committee appointed by the first Canal Enlargement Association in 1837. In 1838 he was appointed postmaster of Rochester, and afterwards engaged in journalism.

He was the originator of the State Con-

stitutional Association, which was the means of bringing about the reforms in the constitution of the State of New York in 1846. When the Civil War broke out he was one of the most active promoters of measures for the preservation of the Union, and was secretary of the Society for Promoting the Enlistment of Colored Troops. He originated, in 1867, an organized movement for reforming and cheapening the operations of the railroad system of the United States. He was author of *Sketches of Rochester, with Notices of Western New York*, and *American Political Anti-Masonry*. He died in Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1886.

O'Reilly, JOHN BOXLE, author; born in Dowth Castle, Ireland, June 28, 1844; became a Fenian, and was sentenced to death for high treason, but sentence was commuted to transportation. He escaped from Australia in 1869, was picked up on the high seas by an American ship and taken to America. He was editor and proprietor of the *Boston Pilot*. He died in Boston, Mass., Aug. 10, 1890.

Original Package. Dealers in spirituous liquors claimed the right of importing such articles in original packages into States which had prohibitory laws. The United States Supreme Court in 1890 held that they had such power, as Congress alone could control inter-State traffic. Congress then passed an act giving the States control, even though such merchandise was imported in the original package.

Oriskany, BATTLE OF. Brant, the Mohawk chief, came from Canada in the spring of 1777, and in June was at the head of a band of Indian marauders on the upper waters of the Susquehanna. Brig.-Gen. Nicholas Herkimer was at the head of the militia of Tryon county, N. Y., and was instructed by General Schuyler to watch and check the movements of the Mohawk chief, whose presence had put an end to the neutrality of his tribe and of other portions of the Six Nations. Hearing of the siege of Fort Schuyler by Colonel St. Leger (Aug. 3), Herkimer gathered a goodly number of Tryon county militia, and marched to the relief of the garrison. He and his little army were marching in fancied security on the morning of Aug. 6 at Oriskany, a few miles west of the present city of Utica, when

Tories and Indians from St. Leger's camp, lying in ambush, fell upon the patriots at all points with great fury. Herkimer's rear-guard broke and fled; the remainder bravely sustained a severe conflict for



GENERAL HERKIMER'S RESIDENCE.

more than an hour. General Herkimer had a horse shot dead under him, and the bullet that killed the animal shattered his own leg below the knee. Sitting on his saddle at the foot of a beech-tree, he continued to give orders. A thunder-shower caused a lull in the fight, and then it was renewed with greater vigor, when the Indians, hearing the sound of firing in the direction of Fort Schuyler, fled to the deep woods in alarm, and were soon followed by the Tories and Canadians. The patriots remained masters of the field, and their brave commander was removed to his home, where he died from loss of blood, owing to unskilful surgery. See HERKIMER, NICHOLAS.

Orleans, DUKE OF, son of "Philippe Egalité," was in the French Revolutionary army, but becoming involved with Dumas in 1793; fled from France to Switzerland; and in 1796 came to America, where he travelled extensively, visiting Washington at Mount Vernon in 1797. He was elected King of the French in 1830, and reigned until his abdication in 1848. He died in Claremont, England, Aug. 26, 1850.

Orleans, FRANÇOIS FERDINAND LOUIS MARIE, PRINCE DE JOINVILLE, son of Louis Philippe, King of the French; born in Neuilly, Aug. 14, 1818; came to the United States in 1861, and with his two nephews, the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres, served on the staff of General McClellan for a year, when they returned to France. His son, the Duke of Penthièvre, was at the same time a cadet in the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He wrote *La Guerre d'Amérique; Campagne du Potomac*; etc. He died in Paris, France, June 17, 1900.

Orleans, LOUIS PHILIPPE, COUNT OF PARIS: born in Paris, Aug. 24, 1838; served on General McClellan's staff (1861-62); wrote a *History of the Civil War in America*, which has been translated into English and published in the United States (4 volumes). He died in London, England, Sept. 8, 1894.

Orleans, TERRITORY OF, Louisiana, by act of Congress, was divided into two territories, the southern one being called Orleans Territory. The line between them was drawn along the thirty-third parallel of north latitude. This territory then possessed a population of 50,000 souls, of whom more than half were negro slaves. Refugee planters from Santo Domingo had introduced the sugar-cane into that region, and the cultivation of cotton was beginning to be successful. So large were the products of these industries that the planters enjoyed immense incomes. The white inhabitants were principally French Creoles, descendants of the original French colonists.

Orne, Azor, military officer; born in Marblehead, Mass., July 22, 1731; was a successful merchant and an active patriot, a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and long one of the committee of safety. In organizing the militia, and in collecting arms and ammunition, he was very active. In January, 1776, he was appointed one of the three Massachusetts major-generals, but did not take the field. For many years he was a member of the State Senate and council of Massachusetts, and was a zealous advocate of education. He died in Boston, June 6, 1796.

O'Rorke, PATRICK HENRY, military officer; born in County Cavan, Ireland, March 25, 1837; came to the United States

ORR—OSAGE INDIANS

in 1842; graduated at West Point in 1861; served on the staff of Gen. Daniel Tyler, and afterwards on that of Gen. Thomas W. Sherman. In 1862 he was appointed colonel of the 140th New York Volunteers, and in the Chancellorsville campaign temporarily commanded a brigade. At the battle of Gettysburg, July 2, 1863, he charged at the head of his men at Little Round Top, and was killed as he reached the top of the hill.

Orr, ALEXANDER ECTOR, merchant; born in Strabane, Ireland, March 2, 1831; came to the United States in 1851; has been president of the New York Produce Exchange and of the New York Chamber of Commerce several times; president of the New York Rapid Transit Commission.

Orr, JAMES LAWRENCE, statesman; born in Craytonville, S. C., May 12, 1822; graduated at the University of Virginia in 1842; became a lawyer at Anderson, S. C.; and edited a newspaper there in 1843. After serving in the State legislature, he became a member of Congress in 1849, and remained such by re-election until 1859. He was speaker of the Thirty-fifth Congress. In the South Carolina convention of Dec. 20, 1860, he voted for secession, and was appointed one of three commissioners to treat with the national government for the surrender of the United States forts in Charleston Harbor to the Confederates. He was a Confederate Senator from 1862 to 1865, and provisional governor of South Carolina from 1866 to 1868, under the appointment of the President. He afterwards acted with the Republican party, and in 1870 was made judge of the United States circuit court. In 1873 he was appointed United States minister to Russia, and died soon after his arrival there, May 5.

Orr, JOHN WILLIAM, artist; born in Ireland, March 31, 1815; came to the United States with his parents while a child; studied wood-engraving and materially advanced the art. He died in Jersey City, N. J., March 4, 1887.

Orth, GODLOVE STONER, statesman; born in Lebanon, Pa., April 22, 1817; admitted to the bar in 1839, practising in Indiana. He was elected State Senator in 1842; member of Congress in 1863, serving till 1871; re-elected to Congress in 1873. He favored the annexation of Santo Do-

mingo in 1868; and was the author of the "Orth" bill which regulated the United States diplomatic and consular system. In 1875 he was appointed minister to Austria. He died in Lafayette, Ind., Dec. 16, 1882.

Ortiz, JUAN. Soon after De Soto entered Florida he was met by a Spaniard who was a captive among the Indians. He had been captured when on the expedition with Narvaez, and preparations had been made to sacrifice him. He was bound hand and foot and laid upon a scaffold, under which a fire was kindled to roast him alive. The flames were about reaching his flesh when a daughter of Ucita, the chief, besought her father to spare his life, saying, "If he can do no good, he can do no harm." Though greatly incensed by the conduct of the Spaniards, Ucita granted the petition of his daughter, and Ortiz was lifted from the scaffold, and thenceforth was the slave of the chief. Three years later Ucita was defeated in battle; and, believing that the sparing of Ortiz had brought the misfortune upon him, resolved to sacrifice the young Spaniard. The daughter of Ucita again saved his life. She led him at night beyond the bounds of her father's village, and directed him to the camp of the chief who had defeated Ucita, knowing that he would protect the Christian. When, years afterwards, he was with some hostile Indians fighting De Soto, and a horseman was about to slay him, he cried out, "Don't kill me, I am a Christian." The astonished Castilians stayed their firing, and Ortiz became of great use to De Soto as an interpreter.

Orton, EDWARD, geologist; born in Deposit, N. Y., March 9, 1829; graduated at Hamilton College in 1848; became State geologist of Ohio in 1869; president of the Ohio State University, 1873-81. He was the author of *Geology of Ohio; Petroleum, in United States Geological Reports; etc.* He died in Columbus, O., Oct. 16, 1899.

Osage Indians. In 1825 a treaty was made at St. Louis by Gen. William Clark with the Great and Little Osage Indians for all their lands in Arkansas and elsewhere. These lands were ceded to the United States in consideration of an annual payment of \$7,000 for twenty years, and an immediate contribution of 600 head of cattle, 600 hogs, 1,000 fowls, 10 yoke of oxen, 6 carts, with farming uten-



CHIEF OSCEOLA.

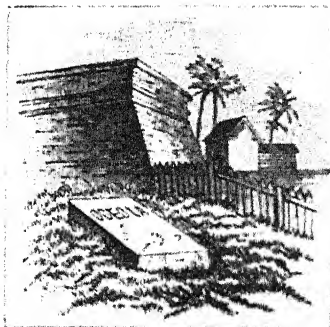
sils, and other provisions similar to those in the treaty with the Kansas Indians. It was also agreed to provide a fund for the support of schools for the benefit of the Osage children. Provision was made for a missionary establishment; also for the United States to assume the payment of certain debts due from Osage chiefs to those of other tribes, and to deliver to the Osage villages, as soon as possible, \$4,000 in merchandise and \$2,600 in horses and their equipments. In 1899 the Osage Indians numbered 1,761, and were located in Oklahoma.

Osborn, HERBERT, scientist; born in Lafayette, Wis., March 19, 1856; graduated at Iowa State College in 1879; State

entomologist of Iowa in 1898; connected with the United States Department of Agriculture, 1885-94; member of many scientific societies.

Osceola (Black Drink), Seminole Indian chief; born on the Chattahoochee River, Ga., in 1804; was a half-breed, a son of Willis Powell, an Englishman and trader, by a Creek Indian woman. In 1808 his mother settled in Florida, and when he grew up he became by eminent ability the governing spirit of the Seminoles. In all their sports he was foremost, and was always independent and self-possessed. From the beginning Osceola opposed the removal of the Seminoles from Florida, and he led them in a war which began in 1835 and continued about seven years. Treacherously seized while under the protection of a flag of truce, Oct. 22, 1837, he was sent to Fort

Moultrie, where he was prostrated by grief and wasted by a fever, and finally



OSCEOLA'S GRAVE

OSGOOD—OSTEOPATHY

died, Jan. 30, 1838. A monument was erected to his memory near the main entrance-gate of Fort Moultrie. His loss was a severe blow to the Seminoles, who continued the war feebly four or five years longer.

Osgood, HELEN LOUISE GIBSON, philanthropist; born in Boston about 1835. Left an orphan, she was well educated by her guardian, Francis B. Fay, of Chelsea, and was endowed with talents for music and conversation. She was among the first to organize soldiers' aid societies when the Civil War began, and provided work for the wives and daughters of soldiers who needed employment. Early in 1862 she went to the army as a nurse, where her gentleness of manner and executive ability made her eminently successful. She administered relief and consolation to thousands of the wounded, and organized and conducted for many months a hospital for 1,000 patients of the sick and wounded of the colored soldiers of the Army of the Potomac. In 1866 she was married to Mr. Osgood, a fellow-laborer among the soldiers, but her constitution had been overtasked, and she died a martyr to the great cause, in Newton Centre, Mass., April 20, 1868.

Osgood, SAMUEL, statesman; born in Andover, Mass., Feb. 14, 1748; graduated at Harvard University in 1770; studied theology, and became a merchant. An active patriot, he was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts and of various committees; was a captain at Cambridge in 1775, and aide to General Artemas Ward, and became a member of the Massachusetts board of war. He left the army in 1776 with the rank of colonel, and served in his provincial and State legislature. He was a member of Congress from 1780 to 1784; first commissioner of the United States treasury from 1785 to 1789, and United States Postmaster-General from 1789 to 1791. He afterwards served in the New York legislature, and was speaker of the Assembly from 1801 to 1803. From 1803 until his death, in New York City, Aug. 12, 1813, he was naval officer of the port of New York. Mr. Osgood was well versed in science and literature.

Ossawatomie Brown. See **BROWN, JOHN**.

Ostend Manifesto. In July, 1853, William L. Marcy, the Secretary of State, wrote to Pierre Soulé, American minister at Madrid, directing him to urge upon the Spanish government the sale or cession of Cuba to the United States. Nothing more was done until after the affair of the *Black Warrior* in the winter of 1854. In April, 1854, Mr. Soulé was instructed and clothed with full power to negotiate for the purchase of the island. In August the Secretary suggested to Minister Buchanan in London, Minister Mason at Paris, and Minister Soulé at Madrid the propriety of holding a conference for the purpose of adopting measures for a concert of action in aid of negotiations with Spain. They accordingly met at Ostend, a seaport town in Belgium, Oct. 9, 1854. After a session of three days they adjourned to Aix-la-Chapelle, in Rhenish Prussia, and thence they addressed a letter, Oct. 18, to the United States government embodying their views. In it they suggested that an earnest effort to purchase Cuba ought to be immediately made at a price not to exceed \$120,000,000, and that the proposal should be laid before the Spanish Cortes about to assemble. They set forth the great advantage that such a transfer of political jurisdiction would be to all parties concerned; that the oppression of the Spanish authorities in Cuba would inevitably lead to insurrection and civil war; and, in conclusion, recommended that, in the event of the absolute refusal of Spain to sell the island, it would be proper to take it away from its "oppressors" by force. In that event, the ministers said, "we should be justified by every law, human and divine, in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power." President Pierce did not think it prudent to act upon the advice of these ministers, and Mr. Soulé, dissatisfied with his prudence, resigned his office. See **SOULÉ, PIERRE**.

Osteopathy, a method by which diseases of the human body are treated without medicines. In 1874 Dr. A. T. Still, of Baldwin, Kan., discovered what he declared a more natural system of healing than that universally accepted. He held that inasmuch as the human body was so perfectly constructed it ought without any external aid excepting food to protect itself

against disease, and further reasoned that "a natural flow of blood is health, and disease is the effect of local or general disturbance of blood." After various experiments he became convinced that the different organs of the body depend for their health on nerve centres which are principally located along the spine. These he declared could be controlled and stimulated by certain finger manipulations, which would not only cause the blood to circulate freely, but would produce an equal distribution of the nerve forces. By this treatment the diseased part would be readjusted and would have "perfect freedom of motion of all the fluids, forces, and substances pertaining to life, thus re-establishing a condition known as health." Since the promulgation of this theory a number of institutions for the training of practitioners have been founded in various sections of the country, principally in the West, where several States have placed osteopathy on the same legal basis as other schools of medicine.

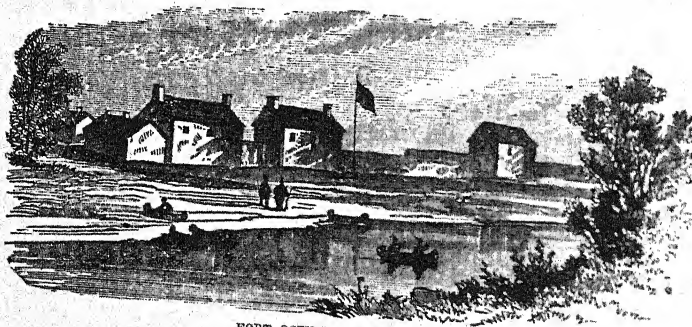
Osterhaus, PETER JOSEPH, military officer; born in Coblenz, Germany, about 1820; served as an officer in the Prussian army; removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he entered the National service in 1861 as major of volunteers. He served under Lyon and Frémont in Missouri, commanding a brigade under the latter. He com-

in 1864 he was in the Atlanta campaign. In command of the 15th Corps, he was with Sherman in his march through Georgia and South Carolina. In July, 1864, he was made major-general, and in 1865 he was General Canby's chief of staff. After the war he was appointed consul at Lyons, France; then made his home in Mannheim, Germany; revisited the United States in 1904.

Oswald, ELEAZAR, military officer; born in England about 1755; came to America in 1770 or 1771; served under Arnold in the expedition against Ticonderoga and became his secretary; and at the siege of Quebec he commanded with great skill the forlorn hope after Arnold was wounded. In 1777 he was made lieutenant-colonel of Lamb's artillery regiment, and for his bravery at the battle of Monmouth General Knox highly praised him. Soon after that battle he left the service and engaged in the printing and publishing business in Philadelphia, where he was made public printer. Oswald challenged General Hamilton to fight a duel in 1789, but the quarrel was adjusted. In business in England in 1792, he went to France, joined the French army, and commanded a regiment of artillery. He died in New York, Sept. 30, 1795.

Oswegatchie Indian Mission. To insure the friendship of the Six Nations,

Galissonière, governor of Canada, in 1754 established an Indian mission on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence. For this work the Abbé Francis Piquet was chosen, and he selected the mouth of the Oswegatchie for the station,



FORT OSWEGATCHIE IN 1812.

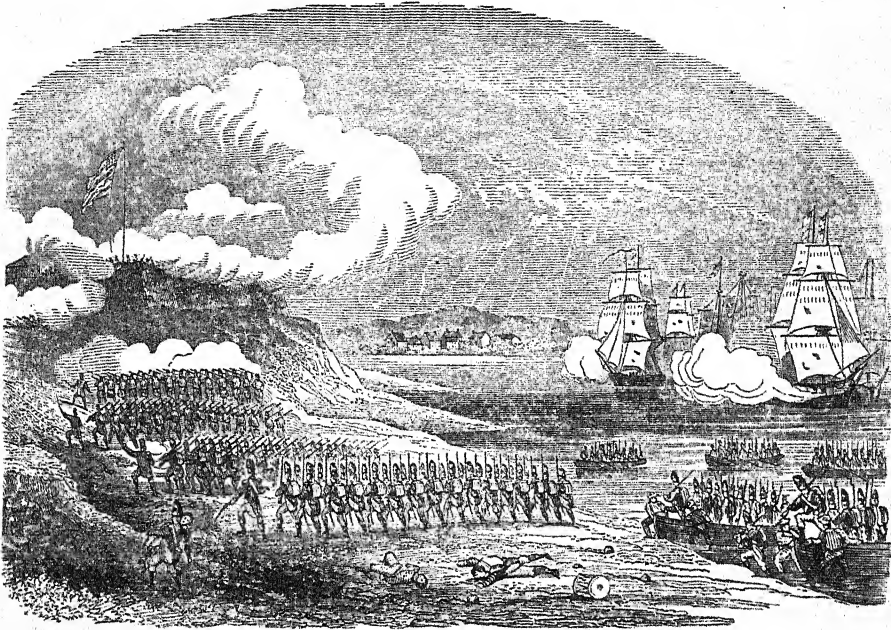
manded a division in the battle of Pea Ridge, and greatly distinguished himself. In June, 1862, he was made brigadier-general, and, commanding a division, he helped to capture Arkansas late in January, 1863. He was in the campaign against Vicksburg and in northern Georgia, and

on the site of Ogdensburg, where he hoped to draw in so many Iroquois converts as would bind all their kindred to the French alliance. By order of General Brown a redoubt was begun in 1812 at the site of old Fort Presentation, which was not finished when

OSWEGO

Ogdensburg was attacked the second time by the British in 1813. See OGDENSBURG. Oswego, a city and county seat of Oswego co., N. Y.; now noted for its manufactures and for its large shipments of grain and lumber; population in 1900,

their weakness through sickness and lack of provisions (of which he was informed by spies), collected about 5,000 Frenchmen, Canadians, and Indians at Frontenac (now Kingston), at the foot of Lake Ontario, crossed that lake, and appeared be-



ATTACK ON FORT ONTARIO, OSWEGO, MAY 5, 1814.

22,199. The following are among its points of historical interest: Governor Burnet, of New York, wisely concluding that it would be important for the English to get and maintain control of Lake Ontario, as well for the benefits of trade and the security of the friendship of the Six Nations as to frustrate the designs of the French to confine the English colonies to narrow limits, began to erect a trading-house at Oswego in 1722. This pleased the Indians, for they saw in the movement a promise of protection from incursions of the French. Soon afterwards, at a convention of governors and commissioners held at Albany, the Six Nations renounced their covenant of friendship with the English.

In 1756 Dieskau was succeeded by the Marquis de Montcalm, who, perceiving the delay of the English at Albany and

fore Oswego in force on Aug. 11. He attacked Fort Ontario, on the east side of the river, commanded by Colonel Mercer, who, with his garrison, after a short but brave resistance, withdrew to an older fort on the west side of the stream. The English were soon compelled to surrender the fort. Their commander was killed, and on the 14th Montcalm received, as spoils of victory, 1,400 prisoners, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions and other stores, 134 pieces of artillery, and several vessels lying in the harbor. The Six Nations had never been well satisfied with the building of these forts by the English in the heart of their territory. To please them, Montcalm demolished the forts, and by this act induced the Six Nations to take a position of neutrality. The capture of this fort caused the English commander-in-chief to abandon all the expedi-

tions he had planned for the campaign of 1756.

During the winter and spring of 1813-14 the Americans and British prepared to make a struggle for the mastery of Lake Ontario. When the ice in Kingston Harbor permitted vessels to leave it, Sir James L. Yeo, commander of the British squadron in those waters, went out upon the lake with his force of about 3,000 land troops and marines. On May 5, 1814, he appeared off Oswego Harbor, which was defended by Fort Ontario, on a bluff on the east side of the river, with a garrison of about 300 men under Lieut.-Col. George E. Mitchell. Chauncey, not feeling strong enough to oppose Yeo, prudently remained with his squadron at Sackett's Harbor. The active cruising force of Sir James consisted of eight vessels, carrying an aggregate of 222 pieces of ordnance. To oppose these at Oswego was the schooner *Growler*, Captain Woolsey. She was in the river for the purpose of conveying guns and naval stores to Sackett's Harbor. To prevent her falling into the hands of the British, she was sunk, and a part of her crew, under Lieutenant Pearce, joined the garrison at the fort. The latter then mounted only six old guns, three of which were almost useless, because they had lost their trunnions. Mitchell's force was too small to defend both the fort and the village, on the west side of the river, so he pitched all his tents near the town and gathered his whole force into the fort. Deceived by the appearance of military strength at the village, the British proceeded to attack the fort, leaving the defenceless town unmolested. The land troops, in fifteen large boats, covered by the guns of the vessels, moved to the shore near the fort early in the afternoon. They were repulsed by a heavy cannon placed near the shore. The next day (May 6) the fleet again appeared, and the larger vessels of the squadron opened fire on the fort. The troops landed in the afternoon, and, after a sharp fight in the open field, the garrison retired, and the British took possession of the fort. The main object of the British was the seizure of naval stores at the falls of the Oswego River (now Fulton), and Mitchell, after leaving the fort, took position up the river for their defence. Early on the morning of

the 7th the invaders withdrew, after having embarked the guns and a few stores found in Oswego, dismantled the fort, and burned the barracks. They also raised and carried away the *Growler*; also several citizens who had been promised protection and exemption from molestation. In this affair the Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, sixty-nine men; the British lost nineteen killed and seventy-five wounded. See ONTARIO, LAKE, OPERATIONS ON.

OTIS, ELWELL STEPHEN, military officer: born in Frederick City, Md., March 25, 1838; removed with his parents to Rochester, N. Y., early in life; graduated at the University of Rochester in 1858, and at the Harvard Law School in 1861. In the summer of 1862 he recruited in Rochester, N. Y., a company of the 140th New York



ELWELL STEPHEN OTIS

Infantry, with which he served throughout the Civil War, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel, Oct. 24, 1863. When the regular army was reorganized he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 23d Infantry, July 28, 1866; served against the Indians in 1867-81; established the school of cavalry and infantry at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., in 1881; and commanded it till 1885. He was promoted brigadier-general U. S. A., Nov. 28, 1893; appointed a major-general of volunteers, May 4,

OTIS

1898; succeeded Gen. Wesley Merritt as military governor of the Philippine Islands in August following; returned to the United States and was promoted major-general, June 16, 1900; retired March 25, 1902. He is the author of *The Indian Question*.

Otis, GEORGE ALEXANDER, surgeon; born in Boston, Mass., Nov. 12, 1830; graduated at Princeton in 1849; appointed army surgeon in 1861; assigned to duty in the surgeon-general's office, Washington, in 1866. Dr. Otis was the author of *Report on Surgical Cases treated in the Army of the United States from 1867-71*; *Plans for the Transport of the Sick and Wounded*, etc.; and was the compiler of the surgical portion of the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 23, 1881.

Otis, HARRISON GRAY, statesman; born in Boston, Mass., Oct. 8, 1765; graduated at Harvard University in 1783, and was admitted to the bar in 1786, where his fine oratory and varied acquirements soon gained him much fame. In Shays's insurrection (see SHAYS, DANIEL) he was aide to Governor Brooks; served in the Massachusetts legislature; was member of Congress from 1797 to 1801; United States district attorney in 1801; speaker of the Assembly from 1803 to 1805; president of the State Senate from 1805 to 1811; judge of common pleas from 1814 to 1818; and mayor of Boston from 1829 to 1832. In 1814 he was a prominent member of the Hartford Convention, and wrote a series of letters upon it. In 1804 he pronounced an eloquent eulogy of General Hamilton. Many of his occasional addresses have been published. His father was Samuel Alleyn Otis, brother of James. He died in Boston, Oct. 28, 1848.

Otis, JAMES, statesman; born in West Barnstable, Mass., Feb. 5, 1725; graduated at Harvard University in 1743, and studied law with Jeremiah Gridley. He began the practice of his profession at Plymouth, but settled in Boston in 1750, where he soon obtained a high rank as a lawyer and an advocate at the bar. Fond of literary pursuits, and a thorough classical scholar, he wrote and published *Rudiments of Latin Prosody* in 1760, which became a text-book at Harvard. He entered public life as a zealous patriot and gifted orator when the

WRITS OF ASSISTANCE (q. v.) called forth popular discussion in 1761. He denounced the writs in unmeasured terms. At a town-meeting in Boston in 1761, when this government measure was discussed by Mr. Gridley, the calm advocate of the crown, and the equally calm lawyer Oxenbridge Thacher, the fiery Otis addressed the multitude with words that thrilled every heart in the audience and stirred every



JAMES OTIS.

patriotic feeling of his hearers into earnest action. Referring to the arbitrary power of the writ, he said, "A man's house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter—may break locks, bars, everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. . . . I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country, in opposition to a kind of power the exercise of which cost one king his head and another his throne." The same year he was chosen a representative in the Massachusetts Assembly, and there-

OTIS, JAMES

in became a leader of the popular party. In 1764 he published a pamphlet entitled *The Rights of the Colonies Vindicated*, which attracted great attention in England for its finished diction and masterly arguments. Otis proposed, June 6, 1765, the calling of a congress of delegates to consider the Stamp Act. He was chosen a delegate, and was one of the committee to prepare an address to the Commons of England (see STAMP ACT CONGRESS). Governor Bernard feared the fiery orator, and when Otis was elected speaker of the Assembly the governor negatived it. But he could not silence Otis. When the ministry required the legislature to rescind its circular letter to the colonies, requesting them to unite in measures for redress (see MASSACHUSETTS), Otis made a speech which his adversaries said was "the most violent, abusive, and treasonable declaration that perhaps was ever uttered." He carried the House with him, and it refused to rescind by a vote of 92 to 17. In the summer of 1769 he published an article in the *Boston Gazette* which greatly exasperated the custom-house officers. He was attacked by one of them (Sept. 9), who struck him on the head with a cane, producing a severe wound and causing a derangement of the brain, manifested at times ever afterwards. Otis obtained a verdict against the inflicter of the wound (Robinson) for \$5,000, which he gave up on receiving a written apology. In 1777 Otis withdrew to the country on account of ill-health. He was called into public life again, but was unable to perform the duties; and finally, when the war for independence (which his trumpet-voice had heralded) had closed, he attempted to resume the practice of his profession. But his death was nigh. He had often expressed a wish that his death might be by a stroke of lightning. Standing at his door at Andover during a thunder-shower, he was instantly killed by a lightning-stroke on May 23, 1783.

Writs of Assistance.—The following is the substance of an address by Mr. Otis before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in February, 1761:

May it please your honors,—I was desired by one of the court to look into the books and consider the question now be-

fore them concerning writs of assistance. I have accordingly considered it; and now appear, not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose, with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villany on the other as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law-book. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of an argument that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual; that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt. I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as advocate-general; and, because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principles; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power the exercise of which in former periods of history cost one king of England his head, and another his throne. I have taken more pains in this cause than I ever will take again; although my engaging in this and another popular cause has raised much resentment. But I think I can sincerely declare that I cheerfully submit myself to every odious name for conscience' sake; and from my soul I despise all those whose guilt, malice, or folly, has made them my foes. Let the consequences be

what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct that are worthy of a gentleman or a man are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause—and even life—to the sacred calls of his country.

These manly sentiments, in private life, make the good citizen; in public life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say that, when brought to the test, I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if ever I should, it will be then known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth. In the mean time, I will proceed to the subject of this writ.

Your honors will find in the old books, concerning the office of a justice of the peace, precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner, I rely on it that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say I admit that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some observations on the writ itself, before I proceed to other acts of Parliament. In the first place, the writ is *universal*, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner; also, may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is *perpetual*; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person

with this writ, in the daytime, may enter all the houses, shops, etc., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation? Now one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and, while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; and we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he endorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from one officer to another; and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr. Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath-day acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied, "Yes." "Well, then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods"; and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar; and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ: if it should be established, I insist upon it every person, by the 14th Charles II., has this power as well as the custom-house officers. The words are: "It shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill-humor, or wantonness to inspect the

inside of his neighbor's house may get a writ of assistance. Others will ask it from self-defence; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood.

Ottawa Indians, a tribe of the Algonquian family, seated on the northern part of the Michigan peninsula when discovered by the French. When the Iroquois overthrew the Hurons in 1649 the frightened Ottawas fled to the islands in Green Bay, and soon afterwards joined the Sioux beyond the Mississippi. They were speedily expelled, when they recrossed the great river; and after the French settled at Detroit a part of the Ottawas became seated near them. Meanwhile the Jesuits had established missions among them. Finally the part of the nation that was at Mackinaw passed over to Michigan; and in the war that resulted in the conquest of Canada the Ottawas joined the French. **PONTIAC** (q. v.), who was at the head of the Detroit family, engaged in a great conspiracy in 1763, but was not joined by those in the north of the peninsula. At that time the whole tribe numbered about 1,500. In the Revolution and subsequent hostilities they were opposed to the Americans, but finally made a treaty of peace at Greenville, in 1795, when one band settled on the Miami River. In conjunction with other tribes, they ceded their lands around Lake Michigan to the United States in 1833 in exchange for lands in Missouri, where they flourished for a time. After suffering much trouble, this emigrant band obtained a reservation in the Indian Territory, to which the remnant of this portion of the family emigrated in 1870. The upper Michigan Ottawas remain in the North, in the vicinity of the Great Lakes. There are some in Canada, mingled with other Indians. Roman Catholic and Protestant missions have been established among them. Their own simple religion embraces a belief in a good and evil spirit. In 1899 there were 162 Ottawas at the Quapaw agency, Indian Territory, and a larger number at the Mackinac agency, Michigan, where 6,000 Ottawas and Chipewas were living on the same reservation.

Ottendorfer, **OSWALD**, journalist; born in Zwittau, Moravia, Feb. 26, 1826; and studied in the universities of Prague and

Vienna; took part in the Austrian Revolution of 1848; the Schleswig-Holstein war against Denmark; and in the revolutions in Baden and Saxony; came to the United States in 1850; was proprietor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, New York; and gave large sums of money to educational and charitable institutions. He was an active Democrat, but opposed to Tammany Hall. He died in New York City, Dec. 15, 1900.

Otterbein, **PHILIP WILLIAM**, clergyman; born in Germany, June 4, 1726; ordained in 1749; removed to America in 1752, where he ministered to the Germans in Pennsylvania, among whom he labored until his death at Baltimore, Md., Nov. 17, 1813.

Ouatanon, **FORT**, a defensive work on the Wabash, just below the present city of Lafayette, Ind. At 8 p.m. on May 31, 1763, a war-belt reached the Indian village near the fort. The next morning the commandant was lured into an Indian cabin and bound with cords. On hearing of this his garrison surrendered. The French living near saved the lives of the men by paying ransom and receiving the Englishmen into their houses. See **PONTIAC**.

Ourray, Indian chief of the Uncompahgre Utes; born about 1820; always friendly to civilization, and generally known as the "White man's friend." Through his influence the Utes were restrained in 1879 from hostilities. He died at Los Pinos agency, Aug. 27, 1880.

Oureouhare, Indian chief of the Cayugas; was treacherously captured by the French in 1687 and sent to France, but was sent back to Canada in 1789 with Frontenac, for whom he conceived a friendship. He was employed by the French to effect an alliance with the Iroquois, but was unsuccessful. In the ensuing war he led the Christian Huron Indians against the Iroquois. He died in Quebec in 1697.

Ouvrier, **PIERRE GUSTAVE**, historian; born in Calais, France, in 1765; was appointed chancellor to the French consulate in Philadelphia in 1795; later he descended the Mississippi River to New Orleans, and also explored the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. In 1796-1804 he explored Missouri, Louisiana, northern Texas, both Carolinas, Georgia, Ohio, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and southern Illinois. He returned to France

on the restoration of Louis XVIII. His publications include *The Political and Civil History of the United States of North America*; and *Critical Studies on the Political Constitution of the United States of North America and the Contradictions which exist between it and the Civil Laws of the Various States of the Union*. He died in Calais, France, in 1822.

Ovando, NICHOLAS DE, military officer; born in Valladolid, Spain, in 1460; was sent by Queen Isabella to supplant Bobadilla as governor of Santo Domingo in 1501, charged by the Queen not to allow the enslavement of the natives, but to protect them as subjects of Spain, and to carefully instruct them in the Christian faith. Ovando sailed for the West Indies, Feb. 13, 1502, with thirty-two ships, bearing 2,500 persons to become settlers in that country. By command of the Queen, the Spaniards and natives were to pay tithes; none but natives of Castile were to live in the Indies; none to go on discoveries without royal permission; no Jews, Moors, nor new converts were to be tolerated there; and all the property that had been taken from Columbus and his brother was to be restored to them. In Ovando's fleet were ten Franciscan friars, the first of that order who came to settle in the Indies. Ovando, like Bobadilla, treated Columbus with injustice. He was recalled in 1508, and was succeeded in office by Diego Columbus, son of the great admiral. Ovando died in Madrid, Spain, in 1518.

Ovenshine, SAMUEL, military officer; born in Pennsylvania, April 2, 1843; served through the Civil War, advancing from second lieutenant to major; appointed brigadier-general United States volunteers in 1898, and ordered on duty in the Philippine Islands; promoted brigadier-general United States army, and retired, both in October, 1899.

Overland Express. See PONY EXPRESS.

Owen, GRIFFITH, pioneer; born in Wales, where he was educated as a physician. In 1684 he induced William Penn to set apart 40,000 acres in Pennsylvania for a Welsh settlement, the land to be sold to Welsh-speaking persons only. Griffith and his family led the settlers to this tract of land, which he called Merion. He died in Philadelphia in 1717.

Owen, ROBERT, social reformer; born in Newtown, North Wales, May 14, 1771. At the age of eighteen he was part proprietor of a cotton-mill, and became a proprietor of cotton-mills at Lanark, Scotland, where he introduced reforms. In 1812 he published his *New Views of Society*, etc., and afterwards his *Book of the New Moral World*, in which he maintained a theory of modified communism. Immensely wealthy, he distributed tracts inculcating his views very widely, and soon had a host of followers. In 1823 he came to the United States and bought 20,000 acres of land—the settlement at New Harmony, Ind.—with dwellings for 1,000 persons, where he resolved to found a communist society. This was all done at his own expense. It was an utter failure. He returned in 1827, and tried the same experiment in Great Britain, and afterwards in Mexico, with the same result. Yet he continued during his life to advocate his peculiar social notions as the founder of a system of religion and society according to reason. During his latter years he was a believer in spiritualism, and became convinced of the immortality of the soul. He was the originator of the "labor leagues," from which sprang the Chartist movement. He died in Newtown, North Wales, Nov. 19, 1858. See NEW HARMONY.

Owen, ROBERT DALE, author; born in Glasgow, Scotland, Nov. 9, 1801; son of Robert Owen; educated in Switzerland; came with his father to the United States in 1825, settled at New Harmony, Ind., and, with Madame d'Arusmont (*née* Frances Wright), edited the *New Harmony Gazette*, afterwards published in New York and called the *Free Inquirer* (1825-34). He returned to New Harmony, and was elected, first to the Indiana legislature, and then to Congress, wherein he served from 1843 to 1847, taking a leading part in settling the north-western boundary question. He introduced the bill (1845) organizing the Smithsonian Institution, and became one of its regents. He was a member of the convention that amended the constitution of Indiana in 1850, and secured for the women of that State rights of property. In 1853 he was sent to Naples as *chargé d'affaires*, and was made minister in 1855.

OWSLEY—OXNARD

He published, in pamphlet form, a discussion he had with Horace Greeley in 1860 on divorce, and it had a circulation of 60,000 copies. During the Civil War he wrote much in favor of emancipating the slaves, and pleaded for a thorough union of all the States. Mr. Owen was a firm believer in spiritualism, and wrote much on the subject. He died at Lake George, N. Y., June 25, 1877.

Owsley, WILLIAM, jurist; born in Virginia in 1782; taken to Kentucky by his

father in 1783, where he became a lawyer and a member of the State legislature. He served as a judge of the Kentucky Supreme Court from 1812 to 1828; elected governor of the State in 1844, serving two terms. He died in Danville, Ky., December, 1862.

Oxnard, BENJAMIN A., manufacturer; born in New Orleans, La., Dec. 10, 1855; graduated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1875; became the founder of the beet-root sugar industry in the United States.

P.

Paca, WILLIAM, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Wye Hall, Harford co., Md., Oct. 31, 1740; studied law in London; and began its practice in Annapolis, where he became a warm opponent to the obnoxious measures of Parliament. He was a member of the committee of correspondence in 1774, and was a delegate in Congress from 1774 to 1779. He was State Senator from 1777 to 1779; chief-justice from 1778 to 1780, and governor from 1782 to 1786. From 1789 until his death he was United States district judge. From his private wealth he gave liberally to the support of the patriot cause. He died in Wye Hall, in 1799.

Pacific Exploring Expedition. The acquisition of California opened the way for an immense commercial interest on the Pacific coast of the United States, and in the spring of 1853 Congress sent four armed vessels, under the command of Captain Ringgold, of the navy, to the eastern shores of Asia, by way of Cape Horn, to explore the regions of the Pacific Ocean, which, it was evident, would soon be traversed by American steamships plying between the ports of the western frontier of the United States and Japan and China. The squadron left Norfolk May 31, with a supply-ship. The expedition returned in the summer of 1856. It made many very important explorations, among them of the whaling and sealing grounds in the region of the coast of Kamtchatka and Bering Strait.

Pacific Ocean. See **CABEZA DE VACA; NUÑEZ DE; MAGELLAN, FERDINANDO.**

Pacific Railway. The greatest of American railroad enterprises undertaken up to that time was the construction of a railway over the great plains and lofty mountain-ranges between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. As early as 1846 such a work was publicly advocated by Asa Whitney. In 1849, after the dis-

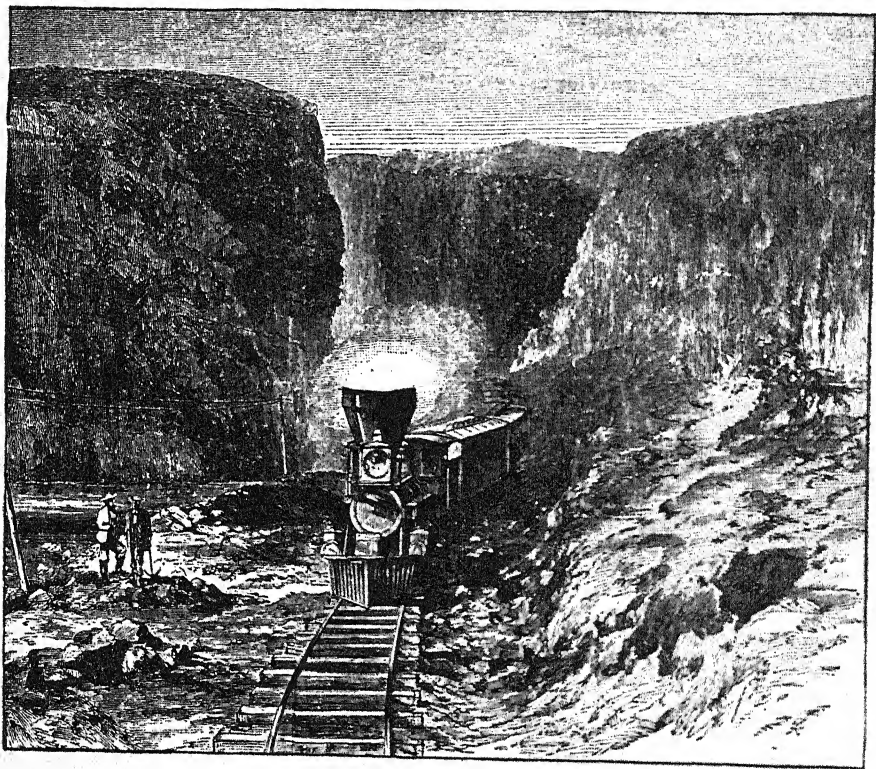
covery of gold in California promised a rapid accumulation of wealth and population on the Pacific coast, Senator Thomas H. Benton introduced a bill into Congress providing for preliminary steps in such an undertaking. In 1853 Congress passed an act providing for surveys of various routes by the corps of topographical engineers. By midsummer, 1853, four expeditions for this purpose were organized to explore as many different routes. One, under Major Stevens, was instructed to explore a northern route, from the upper Mississippi to Puget's Sound, on the Pacific coast. A second expedition, under the direction of Lieutenant Whipple, was directed to cross the continent from a line adjacent to the 36th parallel of N. lat. It was to proceed from the Mississippi, through Walker's Pass of the Rocky Mountains, and strike the Pacific near San Pedro, Los Angeles, or San Diego. A third, under Captain Gunnison, was to proceed through the Rocky Mountains near the head-waters of the Rio del Norte, by way of the Huefnero River and the Great Salt Lake in Utah. The fourth was to leave the southern Mississippi, and reach the Pacific somewhere in Lower California—perhaps San Diego. These surveys cost about \$1,000,000. Nothing further, however, was done, owing to political dissensions between the North and the South, until 1862 and 1864, when Congress, in the midst of the immense strain upon the resources of the government in carrying on the war, passed acts granting subsidies for the work, in the form of 6 per cent. gold bonds, at the rate of \$16,000 a mile from the Missouri River to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, \$48,000 a mile for 300 miles through those mountains, \$32,000 a mile between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, and \$16,000 a mile from the western slope of the latter range to the sea. In addi-

PACIFIC RAILWAY—"PACIFICUS"

tion to these subsidies, Congress granted about 25,000,000 acres of land along the line of the road. Some modifications were afterwards made in these grants. Work was begun on the railway in 1863, by two companies—the "Central Pacific," proceeding from California and working eastward, and the "Union Pacific," working westward. The road was completed in 1869, when a continuous line of railroad communication between the Atlantic

tance being about 3,400 miles. Another railroad with a land-grant from the government, and called the "Northern Pacific Railroad," to extend from Lake Superior to Puget's Sound, on the Pacific, was begun in 1870.

"Pacificus" and "Helvidius." Washington's proclamation of neutrality was violently assailed by the Democratic press throughout the country, and the administration found determined opposition grow-



ONE OF THE FIRST TRAINS ON THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

and Pacific oceans was perfected. The entire length of the road, exclusive of its branches, is about 2,000 miles. It crosses nine distinct mountain-ranges, the highest elevation in the route being 8,235 feet, at the crossing of the Black Hills at Evan's Pass. The route from New York to San Francisco, by way of Chicago and Omaha, is travelled in six or seven days, the dis-

ing more and more powerful. The President received coarse abuse from the opposing politicians. Under these circumstances, Hamilton took the field in defence of the proclamation, in a series of articles over the signature of "Pacificus." In these he maintained the President's right, by its issue, to decide upon the position in which the nation stood. He also de-

fended the policy of the measure. To these articles a reply appeared, July 8, 1793, over the signature of "Helvidius," which was written by Madison, at the special request of Jefferson. The latter, in a letter urging Madison to answer Hamilton, felt compelled to say that Genet (see GENEST, EDMOND CHARLES) was a hot-headed, passionate man, without judgment, and likely, by his indecency, to excite public indignation and give the Secretary of State great trouble. Indeed, Jefferson afterwards offered his resignation, but Washington persuaded him to withdraw it.

Paducah. General Forrest, the Confederate cavalry leader captured Jackson, Tenn., and, moving northward, appeared before Paducah, held by Colonel Hicks, with 700 men. His demand for a surrender was accompanied with the threat, "If you surrender you shall be treated as prisoners of war, but if I have to storm your works you may expect no quarter." He made three assaults, and then retired after losing over 300 men, and moved on to Fort Pillow.

Page, THOMAS JEFFERSON, naval officer; born in Virginia in 1808. In 1815 he was in command of the *Water Witch*, which was sent by the United States to explore the La Plata River, and in 1858 he was authorized to continue his explorations. His report, which was published in New York, was the first definite source of information of the La Plata River and its tributaries. During the Civil War he served in the Confederate navy. He died in Rome, Italy, Oct. 26, 1899.

Page, THOMAS NELSON, author; born in Hanover county, Va., April 23, 1853; graduated at the University of Virginia; is the author of *In Old Virginia: The Old South: Essays, Social and Historical: Before the War; Red Rock: A Chronicle of Reconstruction*, etc.

Paige, LUCIUS ROBINSON, author; born in Hardwick, Mass., March 8, 1802; received an academic education; became a Universalist minister in 1823; retired from pastoral work in 1839. His publications include *Universalism Defended; History of Cambridge, Mass., 1630-1877; History of Hardwick, Mass.*, etc. He died in Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 2, 1896.

Paine, JOHN KNOWLES, musician; born in Portland, Me., Jan. 9, 1839; studied

music in Germany; appointed Professor of Music at Harvard in 1872. He is the author of the music which was sung at the opening of the World's Fair of 1876, and also of the march and hymn for the World's Fair of 1893, etc.

Paine, ROBERT TREAT, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Boston, March 11, 1731; graduated at Harvard University in 1749; taught school to help support his parents, and also made a voyage to Europe. He studied theology, and in 1758 was chaplain of provincial troops. Then he studied law, and practised it in Taunton successfully for many years. He was the prosecuting attorney in the case of Captain Preston and his men after the Boston massacre. A delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1774, he was sent to the Continental Congress the same year, where he served until 1778. On the organization of the State of Massachusetts, he was made attorney-general, he having been one of the committee who drafted the constitution of that commonwealth. Mr. Paine settled in Boston in 1780, and was judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court from 1790 to 1804. He died in Boston, May 11, 1814.

Paine, ROBERT TREAT, JR., poet, son of the signer; born in Taunton, Mass., Dec. 9, 1773; graduated at Harvard University in 1792; was originally named Thomas, but in view of the character of Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*, he had it changed by the legislature, he desiring, as he said, to bear a "Christian" name. He became a journalist and a poet, and was the author of the popular ode entitled *Adams and Liberty*. He became a lawyer in 1802, and retired from the profession in 1809. His last important poem—*The Steeds of Apollo*—was written in his father's house in Boston. He died in Boston, Nov. 13, 1811.

Adams and Liberty.—In the spring and early summer of 1798 a war-spirit of great intensity excited the American people. The conduct of France towards the United States and its ministers had caused the American government to make preparations for war upon the French. In June Paine was engaged to write a patriotic song to be sung at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society. He composed one which he

entitled *Adams and Liberty*. It was adapted to the spirit of the time, and had a wonderful effect upon the people. It was really a war-song, in nine stanzas. The following verses expressed the temper of the people then:

"While France her huge limbs bathes recumbent in blood,
And Society's base threats with wide dissolution,
May Peace, like the dove, who returned from the flood,
Find an ark of abode in our mild Constitution.
But though Peace is our aim,
Yet the boon we disclaim,
If bought by our Sor'relgaty, Justice, or Fame.

"Tis the fire of the flint each American warms;
Let Rome's haughty victors beware of collision,
Let them bring all the vassals of Europe in arms—
We're a world by ourselves, and disclaim a division.
While with patriot pride
To our laws we're allied,
No foe can subdue us, no faction divide.

"Our mountains are crowned with imperial oak,
Whose roots, like our liberties, ages have nourished;
But long ere our nation submits to the yoke,
Not a tree shall be left on the field where it flourished.
Should invasion impend,
Every grove would descend
From the hill-tops they shaded, our shores to defend.

"Let our patriots destroy Anarch's pestilent worm,
Lest our Liberty's growth should be checked by corrosion,
Then let clouds thicken round us, we heed not the storm,
Our realm fears no shock but the earth's own explosion.
Foes assail us in vain,
Though their fleets bridge the main,
For our altars and laws with our lives we'll maintain.
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its waves."

At the home of Major Russell, editor of the *Boston Centinel*, the author offered it to that gentleman. "It is imperfect," said Russell, "without the name of Washington in it." Mr. Paine was about to take some wine, when Russell politely and good-naturedly interfered, saying, "You

can have none of my port, Mr. Paine, until you have written another stanza with Washington's name in it." Paine walked back and forth a few minutes, called for a pen, and wrote the fifth verse in the poem as follows:

"Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's temple asunder;
For, unmoved, at its portal, would Washington stand,
And repulse with his breast the assaults of the thunder!
His sword from the sleep
Of its scabbard would leap,
And conduct with its point ev'ry flash to the deep!
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its waves."

This song became immensely popular, and was sung all over the country—in theatres and other public places, in drawing-rooms and work-shops, and by the boys in the streets.

Paine, THOMAS, patriot; born in Thetford, England, Jan. 29, 1737. His father was a Quaker, from whom he learned the business of stay-making. He went on a privateering cruise in 1755, and after-



wards worked at his trade and preached as a Dissenting minister. He was an exciseman at Thetford, and wrote (1772) a pamphlet on the subject. Being accused of smuggling, he was dismissed from office.

Meeting Dr. Franklin, the latter advised him to go to America. He arrived in Philadelphia in December, 1774, and was employed as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. In that paper he published, October, 1775, *Serious Thoughts*, in which he declared his hope of the abolition of slavery. At the suggestion of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, it is said, he put forward a powerfully written pamphlet, at the beginning of 1776, in favor of the independence of the colonies. It opened with the often-quoted words, "These are the times that try men's souls." Its terse, sharp, incisive, and vigorous sentences stirred the people with irrepressible aspirations for independence. A single extract will indicate its character: "The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the less business there is for a king; in England a king hath little more to do than to make war and give away places. Arms must decide the contest [between Great Britain and America]; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the continent hath escaped the challenge. The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in it even to the end of time. . . . Freedom hath been hunted round the globe: Asia and Africa hath long expelled her; Europe regards her like a stranger; and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh, receive the fugitive, and prepare an asylum for mankind." The effect of *Common Sense* was marvellous. Its trumpet tones awakened the continent, and made every patriot's heart beat with intense emotion. It was read with avidity everywhere; and the public appetite for its solid food was not appeased until 100,000 copies had fallen from the press. The legislature of Pennsylvania voted to the author \$2,500. Washington, in a letter written at Cambridge, highly applauded it, and all over the colonies there were immediate movements in favor of absolute independence.

For a short time after the Declaration of Independence Paine was in the military service, and was aide-de-camp to General

Greene. In December, 1776, he published the first number of his *Crisis*, and continued it at intervals during the war. In 1777 he was elected secretary to the committee on foreign affairs. SILAS DEANE (*q. v.*), who acted as mercantile as well as diplomatic agent of the Continental Congress during the earlier portion of the war, incurred the enmity of Arthur Lee and his brothers, and was so misrepresented by them that Congress recalled him from France. It had been insinuated by Carmichael that Deane had appropriated the public money to his private use. Two violent parties arose, in and out of Congress, concerning the doings of the agents of Congress abroad. Robert Morris, and others acquainted with financial matters, took the side of Deane. The powerful party against him was led by Richard Henry Lee, brother of Arthur, and chairman of the committee on foreign affairs. Deane published (1779) *An Address to the People of the United States*, in which he commented severely on the conduct of the Lees, and justly claimed credit for himself in obtaining supplies from France through Beaumarchais. Paine, availing himself of documents in his custody, published a reply to Deane's address, in which he asserted that the supplies nominally furnished through a mercantile house came really from the French government. This avowal, which the French and Congress both wished to conceal, drew from the French minister, Gérard, a warm protest, as it proved duplicity on the part of the French Court; and, to appease the minister, Congress, by resolution, expressly denied that any present of supplies had been received from France previous to the treaty of alliance. Paine was dismissed from office for his imprudence in revealing the secrets of diplomacy.

Late in November, 1779, he was made clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly; and in that capacity read a letter to that body from General Washington, intimating that a mutiny in the army was imminent because of the distresses of the soldiers. The Assembly was disheartened. Paine wrote a letter to Blair McClenaghan, a Philadelphia merchant, stating the case, and enclosing \$500 as his contribution to a relief fund. A meeting of citizens was

called, when a subscription was circulated, and very soon the sum of £300,000 (Pennsylvania currency) was collected. With this capital a bank (afterwards the



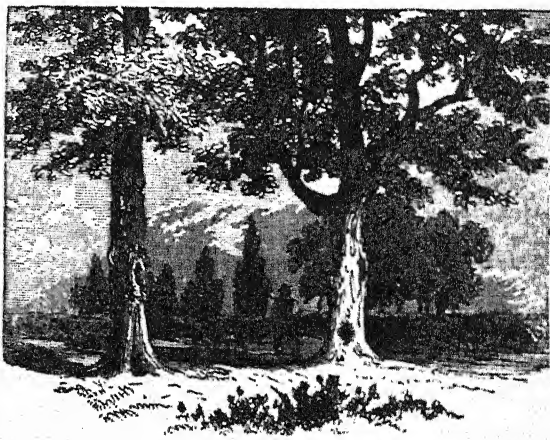
PAINE'S MONUMENT.

Bank of North America) for the relief of the army was established. With Colonel Laurens, Paine obtained a loan of 6,000,000 livres from France in 1781. In 1786 Congress gave him \$3,000 for his services during the war, and the State of New York granted him a farm of 300 acres of land at New Rochelle, the confiscated estate of a loyalist.

Sailing for France in April, 1787, his fame caused him to be cordially received by distinguished men. In 1788 he was in England, superintending the construction of an iron bridge (the first of its kind) which he had invented. It now spans the Wear, at Sunderland. He wrote the first part of his *Rights of Man* in 1791, in reply to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. It had an immense sale, and the American edition had a preface by Thomas Jefferson. An active member of the revolutionary society in England, he was elected to a seat in the French National Convention in 1792. He had a triumphant reception in Paris, but

in London he was indicted for sedition and afterwards outlawed. Paine assisted in framing the French constitution in 1793; and the same year he opposed the execution of the King, and proposed his banishment to America. This action caused his imprisonment by the Jacobins, and he had a narrow escape from the guillotine. It was at that period that he wrote his *Age of Reason*. James Monroe, then American minister to France, procured his release from prison in 1794. After an absence from the United States of fifteen years, he returned in a government vessel in 1802. His admirers honored him with public dinners; his political opponents insulted him. Settled in New York, he died there, June 8, 1809, and was buried on his farm at New Rochelle, the Quakers, for peculiar reasons, having denied his request to be interred in one of their burying-grounds. Near where he was buried a neat monument was erected in 1839. In 1819 William Cobbett took his bones to England. In 1875 a memorial building was dedicated in Boston, having over the entrance the inscription, "Paine Memorial Building and Home of the Boston *Investigator*." See INGERSOLL, ROBERT GREEN.

Pakenham, Sir Edward Michael, military officer; born in County Westmeath, Ireland, March 19, 1778. At the age of about fifteen years he was appointed major of light dragoons, and at twenty lieutenant-colonel of foot. In 1812 he



THE PECAN-TREES AT VILLERÉ'S, NEW ORLEANS.

PALATINES—PALMER

was made major-general; served with distinction under Wellington in the Peninsular campaign; and in 1814 was intrusted with the expedition against NEW ORLEANS (*q. v.*), where he was killed, Jan. 8, 1815. The body of Sir Edward was conveyed to Villere's, when the viscera were removed and buried between two pecan-trees near the mansion. The rest of the body was placed in a cask of rum and conveyed to England for interment. Such was the disposition of the bodies of two or three other officers. It is said the pecan-trees never bore fruit after that year, and the negroes looked upon the spot with superstitious awe.

Palatines. Early in the eighteenth century many inhabitants of the Lower Palatinate, lying on both sides of the Rhine, in Germany, were driven from their homes by the persecutions of Louis XVI. of France, whose armies desolated their country. England received many of the fugitives. In the spring of 1708, on the petition of Joshua Koekerthal, evangelical minister of a body of Lutherans, for himself and thirty-nine others to be transported to America, an order was issued by the Queen in Council for such transportation and their naturalization before leaving England. The Queen provided for them at her own expense. This first company of Palatines was first landed on Governor's Island, New York, and afterwards settled near the site of Newburg, Orange co., N. Y., in the spring of 1709. In 1710 a larger emigration of Palatines to America occurred, under the guidance of Robert Hunter, governor of New York. These, about 3,000 in number, went farther up the Hudson. Some settled on Livingston's Manor, at Germantown, where a tract of 6,000 acres was bought from Livingston by the British government for their use. Some soon afterwards crossed the Hudson into Greene county and settled at West Camp; others went far up the Mohawk and settled the district known as the German Flats; while a considerable body went to Berks county, Pa., and were the ancestors of many patriotic families in that State. Among the emigrants with Hunter a violent sickness broke out, and 470 of them died. With this company came JOHN PETER ZENGER (*q. v.*) and his widowed mother, Johanna.

Palfrey, JOHN GORHAM. author; born in Boston, Mass., May 2, 1796; grandson of William Palfrey (1741-80); graduated at Harvard College in 1815; minister of Brattle Street Church, Boston, from 1818 to 1830; Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature in Harvard; editor of the *North American Review* from 1835 to 1843; member of the legislature of Massachusetts; and from 1844 to 1848 was secretary of state. Mr. Palfrey is distinguished as a careful historian, as evinced by his *History of New England to 1688* (3 volumes, 1858-64). He delivered courses of lectures before the Lowell Institute, and was an early and powerful anti-slavery writer. He died in Cambridge, Mass., April 26, 1881.

Palma, TOMAS ESTRADA, patriot; born in Bayamo, Cuba; studied at the University of Seville, Spain. He was active in the Cuban insurrection of 1867-78, during the latter part of which he was President of the Cuban Republic. He represented the Cuban Republic during the last revolution as plenipotentiary. He was elected President of the Cuban Republic in 1901, and sailed for Cuba from New York on April 17, 1902. He was inaugurated May 20, 1902.

Palmer, ERASTUS DOW, sculptor; born in Pompey, Onondaga co., N. Y., April 2, 1817. Until he was twenty-nine years of age he was a carpenter, when he began cameo-cutting for jewelry, which was then fashionable. This business injured his eyesight, and he attempted sculpture, at which he succeeded at the age of thirty-five. His first work in marble was an ideal bust of the infant *Ceres*, which was exhibited at the Academy of Design, New York. It was followed by two exquisite bas-reliefs representing the morning and evening star. Mr. Palmer's works in bas-relief and statuary are highly esteemed. He produced more than 100 works in marble. His *Angel of the Resurrection*, at the entrance to the Rural Cemetery at Albany, and *The White Captive*, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York City, command the highest admiration. He went to Europe in 1873, and in 1873-74 completed a statue of Robert R. Livingston for the national Capitol. He died in Albany, N. Y., March 9, 1904.

PALMER—PALO ALTO

Palmer, INNES NEWTON, military officer; born in Buffalo, N. Y., March 30, 1824; graduated at West Point in 1846; served in the war against Mexico; and in August, 1861, was made major of cavalry. In September he was made brigadier-general of volunteers, having been engaged in the battle of Bull Run in July previous. He commanded a brigade in the Peninsular campaign in 1862; a division in North Carolina the first half of 1863; and from August of that year until April, 1864, he commanded the defenses of the North Carolina coast. He was in command of the District of North Carolina until March, 1865, participating in Sherman's movements. In 1865 he was brevetted brigadier-general U. S. A.; in 1868 commissioned colonel of the 2d United States Cavalry; and in 1879 was retired.

Palmer, JAMES SHEDDEN, naval officer; born in New Jersey in 1810; entered the navy as midshipman in 1825, and was promoted rear-admiral in 1866. He served in the East India seas in 1838, and in blockading the coast of Mexico from 1846 to 1848. At the beginning of the Civil War he was in the blockade fleet under Dupont. In the summer of 1863 he led the advance in the passage of the Vicksburg batteries, and later in the same year performed the same service. Palmer was Farragut's flag-captain in the expedition against New Orleans and Mobile, and fought the Confederate ram *Arkansas*. In 1865 he was assigned to the command of the North Atlantic squadron. He died in St. Thomas, W. I., Dec. 7, 1867.

Palmer, JOHN McCATLEY, military officer; born in Eagle Creek, Scott co., Ky., Sept. 13, 1817; became a resident of Illinois in 1832; was admitted to the bar in 1840; member of the State Senate from 1852 to 1854; and a delegate to the peace convention in 1861. He was colonel of the 14th Illinois Volunteers in April, 1861; served under Frémont in Missouri; and in December was made brigadier-general of volunteers. He was at the capture of New Madrid and Island Number Ten, and commanded a brigade in the Army of the Mississippi. He commanded a division under Grant and Rosecrans in 1862, and was with the latter at the battle of Stone River. For his gallantry there

he was promoted major-general. He took part in the battle of Chickamauga, and commanded the 14th Corps in the Atlanta campaign. He was governor of Illinois in 1868-72; United States Senator in 1891-97; and candidate of the gold standard Democrats for President in 1896. He died in Springfield, Ill., Sept. 25, 1900.

Palmetto Cockades, ornaments made of blue silk ribbon, with a button in the centre bearing the image of a palmetto-tree. They were also called Secession cockades. Secession bonnets, made by a Northern milliner in Charleston, were worn by the ladies of that city on the streets immediately after the passage of the ordinance of secession.



PALMETTO COCKADE.

Palmetto State, a popular name given to the State of South Carolina, its coat-of-arms bearing the figure of a palmetto-tree.

Palo Alto, BATTLE OF. On a part of a prairie in Texas, about 8 miles north-east of Matamoras, Mexico, flanked by ponds and beautified by tall trees (which gave it its name), General Taylor, marching with less than 2,300 men from Point Isabel towards Fort Brown, encountered about 6,000 Mexicans, led by General Arista, in 1846. At a little past noon a furious battle was begun with artillery by the Mexicans and a cavalry attack with the lance. The Mexicans were forced back, and, after a contest of about five hours, they retreated to Resaca de la Palma and encamped. They fled in great disorder, having lost in the engagement 100 men killed and wounded. The Americans lost fifty-three men. During the engagement Major Ringgold, commander of the American Flying Artillery, which did terrible work in the ranks of the Mexicans, was mortally wounded by a small cannon-ball that passed through both thighs and through his horse. Rider and horse both fell to the ground. The latter was dead; the major died at Point Isabel four days afterwards. See MEXICO, WAR WITH.

PANAMA—PANAMA CANAL

Panama, CONGRESS AT. In 1823 Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia, South America, and then President of that republic, invited the governments of Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres to unite with him in forming a general congress at Panama. Arrangements to that effect were made, but the congress was not held until July, 1826. The object was to settle upon some line of policy having the force of international law respecting the rights of those republics, and to adopt measures for preventing further colonization by European powers on the American continent. They fully accepted the Monroe doctrine (see MONROE, JAMES). In the spring of 1825 the United States was invited to send commissioners to the congress. These were appointed early in 1826, and appeared at the congress early in July; but its results were not important to any of the parties concerned.

Panama Canal. The first exploration for an interoceanic canal at the isthmus was made by H. de la Serna in 1527-28, and a canal was proposed by Lopez de Gomarfa in 1551, William Paterson in 1698, Gogonche, the Spaniard, in 1799, and Humboldt in 1803. Naval officers of the United States, Great Britain, and France made a number of independent surveys in the ensuing fifty years. A ship-canal was proposed in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in 1850; the United States and Colombia signed a treaty for the construction of a canal in 1870; an international canal congress was held in Paris in 1879; and French engineers began work on the Panama route in 1881. In the meantime a canal through Nicaragua was proposed by Americans and favored by General Grant. The de Lesseps company, organized with a capital of \$100,000,000, continued work till December, 1888, when it was compelled to suspend payments. By that time the canal had been excavated for about fourteen miles only on the first section. The French government ordered an investigation of the canal company's affairs; amazing evidences of fraud and bribery were discovered; and by 1894 the costly plant and works had reached the stage of decay and ruin. In 1897 a new company was organized in France, with a capital of \$10,000,000, to continue the work, and in 1899 the Panama

Canal Company of America was incorporated with a capital of \$30,000,000. The Colombian government extended the limit of its concessions several times, the last one till Oct. 31, 1910.

In 1897 President McKinley appointed an Isthmian Canal Commission to examine available routes; in 1900 the commission recommended the Nicaragua route; and soon afterwards the French Panama Canal Company offered to sell its unfinished canal, franchises, and rights to the United States for \$40,000,000. The Isthmian Commission then recommended the purchase of the Panama canal, estimating that it could be completed in ten years, that it would cost \$45,630,700 less to complete it than to construct the Nicaragua canal, and that the annual cost of maintenance and operation would be \$1,300,000 less. On June 28, 1902, President Roosevelt approved an act which authorized the President to acquire, for \$40,000,000, all the rights, privileges, franchises, etc., of the French Panama Canal Company. Also to acquire from Colombia perpetual control of a strip of land not less than six miles wide, and to construct and perpetually operate and maintain the canal, the control to include the right to maintain and operate the Panama Railroad, also jurisdiction over said strip and the ports at the ends thereof. Failing to secure such title and such control, he, having obtained for the United States perpetual control of the necessary territory from Costa Rica and Nicaragua, should construct a canal from Greytown on the Caribbean Sea to Brito on the Pacific. The act appropriated \$10,000,000 and authorized additional appropriations, not to exceed \$135,000,000 should the Panama route be adopted, or \$180,000,000 should the Nicaragua route be adopted. The act also requested the President to open negotiations with Great Britain for the abrogation of the canal clause in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and on Nov. 18, 1901, a convention was signed in Washington, D. C., to this effect.

After the approval of this act the United States sought to secure from Colombia the rights and privileges enumerated in the act, and a treaty to this effect was negotiated, but was not ratified by Colombia. On Nov. 3, 1903, the Colombian Depart-

ment of Panama seceded and proclaimed its independence of Colombia. On Nov. 18 a treaty between the new republic and the United States was signed, in which the latter secured all the desired rights and privileges. On Feb. 29, 1904, the President appointed a Panama Commission consisting of the following: Rear-Admiral John G. Walker; Maj.-Gen. George W. Davis, William Barclay Parsons, William H. Burr, Benjamin M. Harrod, Carl E. Grunsky, and Frank J. Hecker. General Davis was appointed governor of the Canal Zone. The purchase-price of \$40,000,000 was paid to the French company in April, 1904.

The engineering committee of the Panama Canal Commission recommended a sea-level canal at cost of \$230,500,000 on Feb. 26, 1905.

The members of the Canal Commission resigned, March 29, 1905, and the President appointed a new commission, consisting of Theodore P. Shonts, chairman; Charles E. Magoon, governor of Canal Zone; John F. Wallace, chief engineer; M. T. Endicott, Rear-Admiral, U.S.N.; Peter C. Hains, Brigadier-General, U.S.A., retired; Oswald H. Ernst, Colonel, U. S. Engineers; and Benjamin M. Harrod—on April 3, 1905.

A few days later the President invited Germany, England, and France to nominate one engineer each to serve on the Panama Canal Commission.

A force of about 8,000 men were engaged in the active work of excavation in May, 1905, but several thousand additional men will be put to work on the completion of the surveys and the arrival of new and improved machinery from the United States.

Panama Railway. THE. A railway extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific side of the isthmus that connects North and South America: completed in 1855. It extends from Colon on the Caribbean Sea to Panama on the Pacific Ocean. The railway was purchased by the United States, March 29, 1905.

Pan-American Conference, a conference of representatives of the American republics inspired by James G. Blaine, opened in Washington, D. C., Oct. 2, 1889, and extended into 1890, during which time the delegates visited the principal cities

of the United States. Questions of international importance were discussed, and ten republics signed an arbitration treaty. Another conference was held in Mexico City in 1901-02, when the following measures affecting the United States were endorsed:

A pan-American railway; a pan-American bank; the St. Louis Exposition; the Philadelphia Commercial Museum; the Olympian games at Chicago; adhesion to The Hague conference; compulsory arbitration between seventeen states (the United States refused to endorse this measure); an interoceanic ship-canal; the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics; improved maritime communication; the exchange of official and other publications; the codification of the public and private international law; conventions as to patents, trade-marks, copyrights, and extradition; the appointment of coffee experts to meet in New York City to study the coffee crisis; the preservation of archaeological remains. These measures are to be submitted to the separate governments for ratification.

Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., held May 1-Nov. 3, 1901: one of the most important expositions in the United States, as it confined itself to the productions of North and South America. Entirely novel architectural, electrical, and landscape effects were developed, the electrical exhibition particularly being far superior to that of any other world's fair. The electric tower was the centre of the exposition and was 375 feet high, the main structure being 80 square feet and 200 feet high. This tower and the surrounding buildings and grounds were most brilliantly illuminated by electric lights, on a scale never before attempted, and with a result never before approached. The general style of the architecture was the Spanish Renaissance, making a general use of many brilliant tints and colors. The popular name for the exposition was the Landscape City. A portion of Delaware Park, Buffalo, embracing 350 acres, was selected as the site for the fair, the total cost of which was estimated at \$10,000,000. Buffalo is the chief gateway between the East and the West. Within a radius of 500 miles there is a population of over 40,000,000 people.

In addition to the classified and special exhibit was the Midway Pleasure Ground, comprising many interesting and novel exhibits.

While holding a public reception in the Temple of Music on Sept. 6, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist named Leon Czolgosz, and died of the wounds Saturday, Sept. 14, 1901. See **McKINLEY, WILLIAM**.

Pan-American Union. See **ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY**.

Panics, exceptional disturbances in financial and commercial affairs. Periods of prosperity generally run a course of ten years in England, as, 1816, 1825, 1837, 1847, 1857, 1866, 1875, and 1885, in each of which years there was a commercial crisis in that country. In the United States the periodical return has been less regular and less frequent, the most notable panics that were followed by crises being those of 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893. Of these that of 1837 was caused by excessive land speculations and the operations of "wild-cat" banks (see **BANKS, WILD-CAT**); that of 1857, in large measure also due to land speculations, causing suspension of many banks, and 5,123 commercial failures with liabilities exceeding \$300,000,000; that of 1873, caused by over-speculation and the suspension of specie payments, was precipitated by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co.; and that of 1893, attributed both to silver legislation in Congress and a fear of changes in the tariff.

Paoli Tavern. Near this building, on the Lancaster road, General Wayne lay encamped, with 1,500 men and two cannon, in a secluded spot, on the night of Sept. 20, 1777. A Tory informed Howe of this encampment, and he sent General Grey, with a considerable force, to attack it at midnight. The night was dark and stormy. Grey gave orders to use only the bayonet, and give no quarter. He approached stealthily, murdering the pickets near the highway. Warned by this, Wayne immediately paraded his men, but, unfortunately, in the light of his campfires. Towards midnight Grey's force, in two divisions, crept up a ravine, and at

1 A.M. (Sept. 21) leaped from the gloom like tigers from a jungle, and began the work of death at different points. The patriots, not knowing at what point was the chief attack, fired a few volleys, and, breaking into fragments, fled in confusion towards Chester. The British and Hessians killed 150 Americans, some of them in cold blood, after they had surrendered and begged for quarter. A Hessian sergeant afterwards said: "We killed 300 of the rebels with the bayonet. I stuck them myself like so many pigs, one after another, until the blood ran out of the touch-hole of my musket." This event has been properly spoken of as a massacre. The dead were buried on the site of the encampment. The spot is enclosed by a wall, and a monument of marble within commemorates the dead.

Paper Money in America. To defray the expenses of De Nonville's expedition, a paper currency, similar to the Continental bills of credit, was issued by the government of Canada in 1684, which was called "card money." It was redeemable in bills on France. Levies for the French and Indian War were raised in Virginia, and in 1755 the Virginia Assembly, having



PAOLI MONUMENT.

voted £20,000 towards their support, authorized the issue of treasury notes—the first paper money of that province. See **CURRENCY**.

Papineau, LOUIS JOSEPH, politician; born in Montreal, Canada, in October, 1789; educated at the Seminary of Quebec; admitted to the bar; and entered the

Lower Canadian Parliament in 1809, becoming speaker in 1815. He became a leader of the radical, or opposition, party at the beginning of his public life. He opposed the union of the two Canadas, at which the English party aimed, and in 1823 he was sent on a mission to London, to remonstrate against that measure. In 1827 he was again a member of the House, and elected its speaker; and in 1834 he introduced to that body a list of the demands and grievances of the Lower Canadians, known as the "Ninety-two Resolutions." He supported the resolutions with great ability, and recommended constitutional resistance to the British government and commercial non-intercourse with England. Matters were brought to a crisis in 1837, when the new governor (Lord Gosford) decided to administer the government without the assistance of the colonial Parliament. The Liberal party flew to arms. Papineau urged peaceful constitutional opposition, but an insurrection was begun that could not be allayed by persuasion, and he took refuge in the United States at the close of that year. In 1839 he went to France, where he engaged in literary pursuits about eight years. After the union of the Canadas, in 1841, and a general amnesty for political offences was proclaimed, in 1844, Papineau returned to his native country (1847), and was made a member of the Canadian Parliament. After 1854 he took no part in public affairs. He died in Montebello, Quebec, Sept. 23, 1871.

Paredes y Arrillaga, MARIANO, military officer; born in Mexico City in 1797; became an active participant in the political events in Mexico in 1820. When, upon the annexation of Texas to the United States (1845), President Herrera endeavored to gain the acquiescence of the Mexicans to the measure, Paredes assisted him, and with 25,000 men defeated Santa Ana, who was banished. Afterwards Paredes, with the assistance of Arista, defeated Herrera, and was installed President of Mexico June 12, 1845. The next day he took command of the army, leaving civil affairs in the hands of Vice-President Bravo. He was at the head of the government on the breaking-out of war with the United States (May, 1846).

When Santa Ana reappeared in Mexico, Paredes was seized and confined, but escaped to Havana. Going to Europe, he sought to place a Spanish or French prince at the head of the Mexicans. He afterwards returned to Mexico City, where he died on Sept. 11, 1849.

Parke, JOHN GRUBB, military officer; born in Chester county, Pa., Sept. 22, 1827; graduated at West Point in 1849. Entering the engineer corps, he became brigadier-general of volunteers Nov. 23, 1861. He commanded a brigade under Burnside in his operations on the North Carolina coast early in 1862, and with him joined the Army of the Potomac. He served in McClellan's campaigns, and when Burnside became its commander he was that general's chief of staff. In the campaign against Vicksburg he was a conspicuous actor. He was with Sherman, commanding the left wing of his army after the fall of Vicksburg. He was also engaged in the defence of Knoxville; and in the Richmond campaign, in 1864, he commanded the 9th Corps, and continued to do so until the surrender of Lee. In 1865 he was brevetted major-general; in 1889 was retired. He died in Washington, D. C., Dec. 16, 1900.

Parker, ALTON BROOKS, jurist; born in Cortland, N. Y., May 14, 1852; acquired a public-school education; taught school in Virgil, Binghamton, and Rochester, N. Y., and later attended the Albany Law School, where he was graduated in 1872. Admitted to the bar in 1872, practising in Kingston, N. Y.; became clerk of the board of supervisors of Ulster county in 1873, surrogate in 1877, and was re-elected in 1883; elected justice of the Supreme Court of New York in 1885 to fill a vacancy, and was re-elected; was a member of the Second Division of the Court of Appeals of New York in 1889-93, and of the General Term of the First District in 1893-96; elected chief-justice of the Court of Appeals of New York in 1897; and Democratic nominee for President of the United States, in 1904.

Gold-Standard Telegram.—Immediately after his nomination he broke his silence as to his political views by sending to the national convention the following telegram:

PARKER

"ESOPUS, N. Y., July 9, 1904.

"I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established and shall act accordingly if the action of the convention to-day shall be ratified by the people.

"As the platform is silent on the subject, my view should be made known to the convention, and if it is proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

"ALTON B. PARKER."

After the election Judge Parker removed to New York City and engaged in active law practice.

Parker, EDWARD GRIFFIN, lawyer; born in Boston, Mass., Nov. 16, 1825; graduated at Yale College in 1847; admitted to the bar in 1849, and practised in Boston till 1861, when he entered the National army as an aide on the staff of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. After the war he removed to New York City. His publications include *The Golden Age of American Oratory and Reminiscences of Rufus Choate*. He died in New York City, March 30, 1868.

Parker, ELY SAMUEL, military officer; born on the Seneca Indian reservation, Tonawanda, N. Y., in 1828; became chief of the Six Nations; was educated for a civil engineer; was a personal friend of Gen. U. S. Grant, and during the Civil War was a member of his staff, and military secretary. In the latter capacity he drew up the first copy of the terms of capitulation of General Lee's army. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of U. S. cavalry in 1866; brevetted brigadier-general U. S. A. in 1867; and was commissioner of Indian affairs in 1869-71. He died in Fairfield, Conn., Aug. 31, 1895.

Parker, FOXHALL ALEXANDER, naval officer; born in New York City, Aug. 5, 1821; graduated at the Naval Academy in 1843; served through the Civil War with distinction; was promoted commodore in 1872. His publications include *Fleet Tactics; Squadron Tactics; The Naval Howitzer; The Battle of Mobile Bay*; etc. He died in Annapolis, Md., June 10, 1879.

Parker, SIR HYDE, naval officer; born in England in 1739; was in command of one of the ships which attacked New York

City in 1776. He also participated in the capture of Savannah in 1778. He died in Copenhagen, Denmark, March 7, 1807.

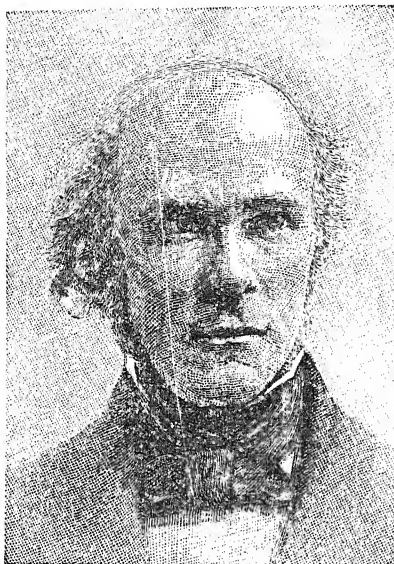
Parker, JOEL, jurist; born in Jaffrey, N. H., Jan. 25, 1795; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1811; admitted to the bar and began practice in Keene, N. H., in 1815; became chief-justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire in 1836; was Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in Dartmouth College in 1847-57. His publications include *Daniel Webster as a Jurist; The Non-Extension of Slavery; Personal Liberty Laws and Slavery in the Territories; The Right of Secession; Constitutional Law; The War Powers of Congress and the President; Revolution and Construction; The Three Powers of Government; Conflict of Decisions*; etc. He died in Cambridge, Mass., Aug. 17, 1875.

Parker, SIR PETER, naval officer; born in England in 1721; became a post-captain in the British navy in 1747. As commander of a fleet, he co-operated with Sir Henry Clinton in an unsuccessful attack on Charleston, June 28, 1776. He afterwards assisted both Viscount General Howe and Admiral Lord Howe in the capture of New York, and commanded the squadron which took possession of Rhode Island late in that year. He died in England, Dec. 21, 1811.

Parker, SIR PETER, grandson of the above; born in England in 1786; entered the navy at an early age, and commanded the *Menelaus* in the War of 1812. On a plundering expedition, Aug. 30, 1814, he met a band of Maryland militia, and in the fight Sir Peter was killed.

Parker, THEODORE, clergyman; born in Lexington, Mass., Aug. 24, 1810. His grandfather, Capt. John Parker, commanded the company of minute-men in the skirmish at Lexington. In 1829 he entered Harvard College, but did not graduate; taught school until 1837, when he was settled over a Unitarian society at West Roxbury. In 1846 he became minister of the 28th Congregational Society in Boston. Parker became the most famous preacher of his time. He urgently opposed the war with Mexico as a scheme for the extension of slavery; was an early advocate of temperance and anti-slavery measures; and after the passage of the fugitive slave law he was one of its

most uncompromising opponents. So marked was his sympathy for Anthony Burns, the seized fugitive slave at Boston (January, 1854), as to cause his indictment and trial for a violation of the fugitive slave law. It was quashed. In 1859 hemorrhage of the lungs terminated his public career. He sailed first to Santa Cruz, thence to Europe, spending the winter



THEODORE PARKER.

of 1859-60 in Rome, whence, in April, he set out for home, but only reached Florence, where he died, May 10, 1860. He bequeathed 13,000 valuable books to the Public Library of Boston.

The following are extracts from Parker's oration on the dangers of slavery:

I. Will there be a separation of the two elements, and a formation of two distinct states—freedom with democracy, and slavery with a tendency to despotism? That may save one-half the nation, and leave the other to voluntary ruin. Certainly, it is better to enter into life halt or maimed rather than having two hands and two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. . . .

But I do not think this "dissolution of the Union" will take place immediately or very soon. For America is not now

ruled—as it is commonly thought—either by the mass of men who follow their national, ethnological, and human instincts, or by a few far-sighted men of genius for politics, who consciously obey the law of God made clear in their own masterly mind and conscience, and make statutes in advance of the calculation or even the instincts of the people, and so manage the ship of state that every occasional tack is on a great circle of the universe, a right line of justice, and therefore the shortest way to welfare: but by two very different classes of men—by mercantile men, who covet money, actual or expectant capitalists; and by political men, who want power, actual or expectant officeholders. These appear diverse: but there is a strong unanimity between the two—for the mercantile men want money as a means of power and the political men power as a means of money. There are noble men in both classes, exceptional, not instancial, men with great riches even, and great office. But, as a class, these men are not above the average morality of the people, often below it; they have no deep religious faith, which leads them to trust the higher law of God. They do not look for principles that are right, conformable to the constitution of the universe, and so creative of the nation's permanent welfare, but only for expedient measures, productive to themselves of selfish money or selfish power. In general, they have the character of adventurers, the aims of adventurers, the morals of adventurers; they begin poor, and of course obscure, and are then "democratic," and hurrah for the people: "Down with the powerful and the rich," is the private maxim of their heart. If they are successful and become rich, famous, attaining high office, they commonly despise the people: "Down with the people!" is the axiom of their heart—only they dare not say it; for there are so many others with the same selfishness, who have not yet achieved their end, and raise the opposite cry. The line of the nation's course is a resultant of the compound selfishness of these two classes.

From these two, with their mercantile and political selfishness, we are to expect no comprehensive morality, which will secure the rights of mankind; no compre-

hensive policy which will secure expedient measures for a long time. Both will unite in what serves their apparent interest, brings money to the trader, power to the politician—whatever be the consequence to the country.

As things now are, the Union favors the schemes of both of these classes of men; thereby the politician gets power, the trader makes money.

If the Union were to be dissolved and a great Northern commonwealth were to be organized, with the idea of freedom, three-quarters of the politicians, federal and State, would pass into contempt and oblivion; all that class of Northern demagogues who scoff at God's law, such as filled the offices of the late Whig administration in its day of power or as fill the offices of the Democratic administration to-day—they would drop down so deep that no plummet would ever reach them; you would never hear of them again. . . .

II. The next hypothesis is, freedom may triumph over slavery. That was the expectation once, at the time of the Declaration of Independence; nay, at the formation of the Constitution. But only two national steps have been taken against slavery since then—one the ordinance of 1787, the other the abolition of the African slave-trade; really that was done in 1788, formally twenty years after. In the individual States the white man's freedom enlarges every year; but the federal government becomes more and more addicted to slavery. This hypothesis does not seem very likely to be adopted.

III. Shall slavery destroy freedom? It looks very much like it. Here are nine great steps, openly taken since '87, in favor of slavery. First, America put slavery into the Constitution. Second, out of old soil she made four new slave States. Third, America, in 1793, adopted slavery as a federal institution, and guaranteed her protection for that kind of property as for no other. Fourth, America bought the Louisiana territory in 1803, and put slavery into it. Fifth, she thence made Louisiana, Missouri, and then Arkansas slave States. Sixth, she made slavery perpetual in Florida. Seventh, she annexed Texas. Eighth, she fought the Mexican War, and plundered a feeble sister republic of California, Utah, and New

Mexico, to get more slave soil. Ninth, America gave ten millions of money to Texas to support slavery, passed the fugitive slave bill, and has since kidnapped men in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, in all the East, in all the West, in all the Middle States. All the great cities have kidnapped their own citizens. Professional slave-hunters are members of New England churches; kidnappers sit down at the Lord's table in the city of Cotton, Chauncey, and Mayhew. In this very year, before it is half through, America has taken two more steps for the destruction of freedom. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the enslavement of Nebraska: that is the tenth step. Here is the eleventh: the Mexican treaty, giving away \$10,000,000 and buying a little strip of worthless land, solely that it may serve the cause of slavery.

Here are eleven great steps openly taken towards the ruin of liberty in America. Are these the worst? Very far from it! Yet more dangerous things have been done in secret.

I. Slavery has corrupted the mercantile class. Almost all the leading merchants of the North are pro-slavery men. They hate freedom, hate your freedom and mine! This is the only Christian country in which commerce is hostile to freedom.

II. See the corruption of the political class. There are 40,000 officers of the federal government. Look at them in Boston—their character is as well known as this hall. Read their journals in this city—do you catch a whisper of freedom in them? Slavery has sought its menial servants—men basely born and basely bred: it has corrupted them still further, and put them in office. America, like Russia, is the country for mean men to thrive in. Give him time and mire enough—a worm can crawl as high as an eagle flies. State rights are sacrificed at the North; centralization goes on with rapid strides; State laws are trodden under foot. The Northern President is all for slavery. The Northern members of the cabinet are for slavery; in the Senate, fourteen Northern Democrats were for the enslavement of Nebraska; in the House of Representatives, forty-four Northern Democrats voted for the bill—fourteen in the Senate, forty-

four in the House; fifty-eight Northern men voted against the conscience of the North and the law of God. Only eight men out of all the South could be found friendly to justice and false to their own local idea of injustice. The present administration, with its supple tools of tyranny, came into office while the cry of "No higher law" was echoing through the land!

III. Slavery has debauched the press. How many leading journals of commerce and politics in the great cities do you know that are friendly to freedom and opposed to slavery? Out of the five large daily commercial papers in Boston, Whig or Democratic, I know of only one that has spoken a word for freedom this great while. The American newspapers are poor defenders of American liberty. Listen to one of them, speaking of the last kidnapping in Boston: "We shall need to employ the same measures of coercion as are necessary in monarchical countries." There is always some one ready to do the basest deeds. Yet there are some noble journals, political and commercial, such as the *New York Tribune* and *Evening Post*.

IV. Then our colleges and schools are corrupted by slavery. I do not know of five colleges in all the North which publicly appear on the side of freedom. What the hearts of the presidents and professors are, God knows, not I. The great crime against humanity, practical atheism, found ready support in Northern colleges in 1850 and 1851. Once the common reading-books of our schools were full of noble words. Read the school-books now made by Yankee peddlers of literature, and what liberal ideas do you find there? They are meant for the Southern market. Slavery must not be offended!

V. Slavery has corrupted the churches! There are 28,000 Protestant clergymen in the United States. There are noble hearts, true and just men among them, who have fearlessly borne witness to the truth. I need not mention their names. Alas! they are not very numerous; I should not have to go over my fingers many times to count them all. I honor these exceptional men. Some of them are old, far older than I am, older than my father need have been; some of them are far younger than I; nay, some of them

younger than my children might be: and I honor these men for the fearless testimony which they have borne—the old, the middle-aged, and the young. But they are very exceptional men. Is there a minister in the South who preaches against slavery? How few in all the North!

At this day 600,000 slaves are directly and personally owned by men who are called "professing Christians," "members in good fellowship" of the churches of this land; 80,000 owned by Presbyterians, 225,000 by Baptists, 250,000 owned by Methodists—600,000 slaves in this land owned by men who profess Christianity, and in churches sit down to take the Lord's Supper, in the name of Christ and God! There are ministers who own their fellow-men—"bought with a price."

Does this not look as if slavery were to triumph over freedom?

VI. Slavery corrupts the judicial class. In America, especially in New England, no class of men has been so much respected as the judges; and for this reason: we have had wise, learned, excellent men for our judges; men who revered the higher law of God, and sought by human statutes to execute justice. You all know their venerable names, and how reverentially we have looked up to them. Many of them are dead; some are still living, and their hoary hairs are a crown of glory on a judicial life, without judicial blot. But of late slavery has put a different class of men on the benches of the federal courts—mere tools of the government; creatures which get their appointment as pay for past political service, and as pay in advance for iniquity not yet accomplished. You see the consequences. Note the zeal of the federal judges to execute iniquity by statute and destroy liberty. See how ready they are to support the fugitive slave bill, which tramples on the spirit of the Constitution, and its letter, too; which outrages justice and violates the most sacred principles and precepts of Christianity. Not a United States judge, circuit or district, has uttered one word against that "bill of abominations." Nay, how greedy they are to get victims under it! No wolf loves better to rend a lamb into fragments than these judges to kidnap

a fugitive slave, and punish any man who dares to speak against it. You know what has happened in fugitive slave bill courts. You remember the "miraculous" rescue of Shadrach: the peaceable snatching of a man from the hands of a cowardly kidnapper was "high treason"; it was "levying war." You remember the "trial" of the rescuers! Judge Sprague's charge to the grand jury that, if they thought the question was which they ought to obey, the law of man or the law of God, then they must "obey both!" serve God and mammon, Christ and the devil, in the same act! You remember the "trial," the "ruling" of the bench, the swearing on the stand, the witness coming back to alter and "enlarge his testimony" and have another gird at the prisoner! You have not forgotten the trials before Judge Kane at Philadelphia, and Judge Grier at Christiana and Wilkesbarre.

These are natural results of causes well known. You cannot escape a principle. Enslave a negro, will you?—you doom to bondage your own sons and daughters by your own act. . . .

All this looks as if the third hypothesis would be fulfilled, and slavery triumph over freedom; as if the nation would expunge the Declaration of Independence from the scroll of time, and, instead of honoring Hancock and the Adamses and Washington, do homage to Kane and Grier and Curtis and Hallett and Loring. Then the preamble to our Constitution might read "to establish justice, insure domestic strife, hinder the common defence, disturb the general welfare, and inflict the curse of bondage on ourselves and our posterity." Then we shall honor the Puritans no more, but their prelatical tormentors, nor reverence the great reformers, only the inquisitors of Rome. Yea, we may tear the name of Jesus out of the American Bible; yes, God's name. . . .

See the steady triumph of despotism! Ten years more like the ten years past, and it will be all over with the liberties of America. Everything must go down, and the heel of the tyrant will be on our neck. It will be all over with the rights of man in America, and you and I must go to Austria, to Italy, or to Siberia for our freedom; or perish with the liberty which our fathers fought for and secured

to themselves—not to their faithless sons! Shall America thus miserably perish? Such is the aspect of things to-day!

Parkhurst, CHARLES HENRY, clergyman; born in Framingham, Mass., April 17, 1842; graduated at Amherst in 1866; studied at Halle and Leipzig; became pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York City, in 1880. In 1891 he accepted the presidency of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. The revelations made by the society led to an investigation of the New York police by the State authorities in 1894. Among Dr. Parkhurst's publications is *Our Fight with Tammany*.

Parkman, FRANCIS, author; born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 16, 1823; graduated at Harvard College in 1844, and fitted himself for the legal profession, but soon abandoned it. He made a tour of the Rocky Mountains, and lived for some time among the Dakota Indians. The hardships he



FRANCIS PARKMAN.

there endured caused a permanent impairment of his health, and through life he suffered from a chronic disease and partial blindness. Notwithstanding these disabilities he long maintained a foremost rank among trustworthy and accomplished American historians. His chief literary labors were in the field of inquiry concerning the power of the French, political and ecclesiastical, in North America. So careful and painstaking were his

labors that he was regarded as authority on those subjects which engaged his pen. Mr. Parkman's first work was *The California and Oregon Trail*, in which he embodied his experience in the Far West. His first work on the French in America was *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). It was followed by *Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865); *The Jesuits in North America*; *The Discovery of the Great West*. (1869); *The Old Régime in Canada* (1874); *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1883). He died in Boston, Mass., Nov. 8, 1893.

Parks in the United States. The development of the park system, national, state, and civic, in the United States, is recent, though Boston had its "Common," part of a purchase for a cow pasture in 1634, and since 1878 protected from encroachment by law. Interest in public parks was created by the papers of A. J. Downing in 1849, and led to the establishment of Central Park (862 acres) in the city of New York in 1857. The most important national parks or reservations in the United States are:

Yosemite Park and Mariposa Grove, on the Merced River in Mariposa county, Cal., discovered in 1851, and established by Congress.....	1864
Yellowstone National Park, 3,575 square miles, nearly all in northwestern Wyoming, established by act of Congress.....	May 1, 1872
A State forestry commission was appointed by New York State for the preservation of the Adirondack forest.....	1885
State reservation at Niagara Falls opened to the public.....	July 15, 1885

Parliament, ENGLISH. The Teutonic Witenagemot or assembly of the wise, the noble, and the great men of the nation was the origin of parliament. Coke declared that the term parliament was used in the time of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1041. The first regular parliament, according to many historians, was that of Edward I. in 1294. The first speaker of the House of Commons, Peter De La Mare, was elected in 1377. The powers and jurisdiction of Parliament are absolute, and cannot be confined either by causes or persons within bounds. It has sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making and repealing laws; it can regulate and new-model the succession to the

crown; it can alter and establish the religion of the country.

The first act of the British Parliament relating to the American colonies was passed in 1548, and prohibited the exaction of any reward by an officer of the English admiralty from English fishermen and mariners going on the service of the fishery at Newfoundland. The next of importance, and the first that elicited debate, was in 1621, when the House of Commons denounced the new charter given to the **PLYMOUTH COMPANY** (*q. v.*) as a "grievance." The King, angered by what he regarded as an attack upon his prerogative, had Sir Edward Coke, Pym, and other members imprisoned, or virtually so, for what he called "factious conduct." The debates involved the declaration of the right of Parliament to absolutely rule colonial affairs and a flat denial of the right—the course of debate followed before the War of the Revolution began. At that session King James took high-handed measures against the representatives of the people. He declared the proceedings of the House of Commons the work of "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits," to which they replied by inserting in their journals a declaration that they had the right of discussing all subjects in such order as they might think proper, and asserting that they were not responsible to the King for their conduct. James sent for the book, tore out the obnoxious entry with his own hand, and suspended their sittings.

In 1763 the extent of the powers of Parliament over the colonies began to be seriously questioned. A certain supremacy was admitted. For a long time the colonies, especially of New England, had carried on a struggle with Parliament concerning its interference with colonial manufactures, trade, and commerce. It had interfered with their currency, with joint-stock companies, the collection of debts, laws of naturalization, assumed to legislate concerning the administration of oaths, and to extend the operations of the mutiny act to the colonies. Against these and other interferences in their local affairs the colonists had protested. Parliament had persisted, and, by a sort of forced, though partial, acquiescence, these interferences came to be regarded as vest-

ed rights. The Parliament had never ventured to impose direct taxes on the colonies—a supereminent power—but the indirect taxation, by means of custom-house officers, was regarded as an equivalent by the colonists, and watched with jealous vigilance. When, in 1765, schemes of indirect taxation were put in operation to increase the imperial revenue, and not for the mere regulation of trade, the colonists rebelled.

The second Parliament of George III. opened in December, 1768. All the papers relating to the American colonies were laid before it. The House of Lords severely denounced the public proceedings in Massachusetts. Approving the conduct of the ministry, they recommended instructions to the governor of Massachusetts to obtain full information “of all treasons,” and to send the offenders to England for trial, under an unrepealed statute of Henry VIII. for the punishment of treason committed out of the kingdom. These recommendations met powerful opposition in the House of Commons, in which Barré, Burke, and Pownall took the lead. But Parliament, as a body, considered the proceedings in the colonies as indicative of a factious and rebellious spirit, and the recommendations of the House of Lords were adopted by a very decided majority; for each member seemed to consider himself insulted by the independent spirit of the Americans. “Every man in England,” wrote Franklin, “regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America—seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies.”

The election for members of a new Parliament that took place in November, 1774, resulted in a large ministerial majority, which boded no good for the American colonies. The King, in his opening speech (Nov. 30), spoke of the “daring spirit of resistance in the colonies,” and assured the legislature that he had taken measures and given orders for the restoration of peace and order, which he hoped would be effectual. A large majority of both Houses were ready to support the King and his ministers in coercive measures; but there was a minority of able men, in and out of Parliament, utterly opposed to subduing the colonies by force of arms, and anxious to promote an amicable

adjustment. The mercantile and trading interests of every kind, whose business was seriously menaced by the American Association, formed a powerful class of outside opponents of the ministers. The English Dissenters, also, were inclined, by religious sympathies, to favor the Americans. In the House of Commons, the papers referring to America were referred to a committee of the whole; while in the House of Lords, Chatham (William Pitt), after long absence, appeared and proposed an address to the King advising a recall of the troops from Boston. This proposition was rejected by a decisive majority. Petitions for conciliation, which flowed into the House of Commons from all the trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, were referred to another committee, which the opposition called the “committee of oblivion.” Among the petitions to the King was that of the Continental Congress, presented by Franklin, Bollen, and Lee, three colonial agents, who asked to be heard upon it, by counsel, at the bar of the House. Their request was refused on the ground that the Congress was an illegal assembly and the alleged grievances only pretended.

On Feb. 1, Chatham brought forward a bill for settling the troubles in America, which provided for a full acknowledgment on the part of the colonies of the supremacy and superintending power of Parliament, but that no tax should ever be levied except by consent of the colonial assemblies. It provided for a congress of the colonies to make the acknowledgment, and to vote, at the same time, a free grant to the King of a certain perpetual revenue to be placed at the disposal of Parliament. His bill was refused the courtesy of lying on the table, and was rejected by a vote of two to one at the first reading. The ministry, feeling strong in their large majority of supporters, presented a bill in the House of Commons (Feb. 3) for cutting off the trade of New England elsewhere than to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies. This was intended to offset the American Association. It also provided for the suspension of these colonies from the prosecution of the Newfoundland fisheries, a principal branch of their trade and industry. In an address to the throne proposed by ministers (Feb.

7), it was declared that rebellion existed in Massachusetts, countenanced and fomented by unlawful combinations in other colonies. Effectual measures were recommended for suppressing the rebellion. The support of Parliament was pledged to the King.

Then Lord North astonished his party and the nation by proposing a scheme for conciliation, not much unlike that of Chatham. It proposed that when any colony should offer to make a provision for raising a sum of money disposable by Parliament for the common defence, and should provide for the support of civil government and the administration of justice within its own limits, and such offer should be approved by the King, Parliament should forbear the levy of any duties or taxes within such colony, so long as it should be faithful to its promises, excepting such as might be required for the regulation of trade. The bill was warmly opposed by the ultra advocates of parliamentary supremacy, until North explained that he did not believe it would be acceptable to all the colonies, and that it was intended to divide and weaken them. Then the bill passed. With a similar design, a bill with the features of the New England "restraining bill" was passed, after hearing of the general support given by the colonial assemblies to the proceedings of the Congress. It extended similar restrictions to all the colonies excepting New York, North Carolina, and Georgia, the first and last named having declined to adopt the American Association, and the ministers entertaining hope of similar action by the Assembly of North Carolina.

Finally Burke offered a series of resolutions to abandon all attempts at parliamentary taxation and to return to the old method of raising American supplies by the free grant of the colonial assemblies. His motion was voted down. Soon afterwards John Wilkes (then Lord Mayor of London, as well as member of the House of Commons), whom the ministry had tried to crush, and whom they regarded as their mortal enemy, presented to the King, in his official capacity, a remonstrance from the City authorities expressing "abhorrence" of the measures in progress for "the oppression of their fellow-subjects in the

colonies," and entreating the King, as a first step towards the redress of grievances, to dismiss his present ministry. In these debates the speakers exhibited various phases of statesmanship, from the sagacious reasoner to the flippant optimist, who, believing in the omnipotence of Great Britain and the cowardice and weakness of the Americans, felt very little concern. Charles James Fox advised the administration to place the Americans where they stood in 1763, and to repeal every act passed since that time which affected either their freedom or their commerce. Lord North said if such a scheme should be effected there would be an end to the dispute. His plan was to send an armament to America, accompanied by commissioners to offer mercy upon a proper submission, for he believed the Americans were aiming at independence. This belief and its conclusion were denied by General Conway, who asked, "Did the Americans set up a claim for independence previous to 1763?" and answered, "No, they were then dutiful and peaceable subjects, and they are still dutiful." He declared that the obnoxious acts of Parliament had forced them into acts of resistance. "Taxes have been levied upon them," he said; "their charters have been violated, nay, taken away; administration has attempted to overawe them by the most cruel and oppressive laws." Edmund Burke condemned the use of discretionary power made by General Gage at Boston. James Grenville deprecated the use of force against the Americans, because they did not aim at independence; while Mr. Adam thought it absolutely necessary to reduce them to submission by force, because, if they should be successful in their opposition, they would certainly "proceed to independence." He attempted to show that their subjugation would be easy, because there would be no settled form of government in America, and all must be anarchy and confusion.

Mr. Burke asked leave to bring in a bill for composing the troubles in America, and for quieting the minds of the colonists. He believed concession to be the true path to pursue to reach the happy result. He proposed a renunciation of the exercise of taxation, but not the right; to preserve the power of laying duties for

the regulation of commerce, but the money raised was to be at the disposal of the several general assemblies. He proposed to repeal the tea duty of 1767, and to proclaim a general amnesty. His speech on that occasion embraced every consideration of justice and expediency, and warned ministers that if they persisted in vexing the colonies they would drive the Americans to a separation from the mother-country. The plan was rejected. Mr. Luttrell proposed to ask the King to authorize commissioners to receive proposals for conciliation from any general convention of Americans, or their Congress, as the most effectual means for preventing the effusion of blood. It was rejected. In the House of Lords the Duke of Grafton proposed to bring in a bill for repealing every act which had been passed by Parliament relative to America since 1763. It was not acted upon. Lord Lyttelton severely condemned the measures of the administration, and united with the Duke of Grafton in his proposition for a repeal of the obnoxious acts. He, with others, had believed that a show of determination to reduce the colonies to submission would cause them to quail. He now knew he was mistaken. The valiant declaration went forth, backed by 10,000 men, but it had not intimidated a single colony. Notwithstanding the strong reasons given by the opposition for ministers to be conciliatory towards the Americans, the majority of Parliament were in favor of attempting coercion with a strong hand. Towards the end of the session Burke asked leave to lay before the Commons the remonstrance lately voted by the Assembly of New York. The ministry and their friends had counted largely on the defection of that province; and they were so sorely disappointed when they found the document so emphatic in its claims of the rights of Englishmen that Lord North opposed and prevented its reception by the House. The acts of that session of Parliament greatly widened the breach between Great Britain and her American colonies.

Parliament of Religions, held at the World's Fair in Chicago, Sept. 11-27, 1893. The objects proposed were: (1) To bring together in conference the leading representatives of different religions;

(2) to define and expound the important truths they hold and teach in common; (3) to promote and deepen human brotherhood; (4) to strengthen the foundations of theism and the faith in immortality; (5) to hear from scholars, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Parsee, Mohammedan, Jewish, and other faiths, and from all sects and denominations of the Christian Church, accounts of the influence of each belief on literature, art, science, commerce, government, social life, etc.; (6) to record the present condition and outlook of the various religions of the world.

Parmentier, AUGUSTE HENRY, historian; born in Sancerre, France, in 1752, ordained a priest in 1791. He wrote *The History of the French Provinces in North America; The History of the French Colony of Louisiana*, etc. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1816.

Parnell, CHARLES STEWART, Irish leader, born in Avondale, Ireland, in 1846; entered Parliament in 1875; and died in Brighton, England, Oct. 2, 1891. His father, John Henry Parnell, visited the United States in 1824 and married Delia Tudor Stewart, daughter of Admiral Charles Stewart, "Old Ironsides."

Parris, SAMUEL, clergyman; born in London, England, in 1653; was first a merchant and then a minister. It was in his family that Salem witchcraft began its terrible work, and he was the most zealous prosecutor of persons accused of the "black art." In April, 1693, his church brought charges against him. He acknowledged his error and was dismissed. He preached in various places afterwards, but was an unhappy wanderer, and died in Sudbury, Mass., Feb. 27, 1720.

Parrott, ENOCH GREENLEAF, naval officer; born in Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 10, 1814; entered the navy as midshipman in 1831, and was with Commodore Perry on the coast of Africa in 1843. In the frigate *Congress* he assisted at the capture of Guaymas and Mazatlan on the Mexican Pacific coast, and in 1861 was made commander. He assisted in the destruction of the war-vessels at Norfolk and the navy-yard opposite, in April, 1861, and was at the capture of the *Savannah*. In active service on the Atlantic coast from the Chesapeake to Georgia, and on the James River, he was in command of

the *Monadnock* in the two attacks on Fort Fisher, and was at the surrender of Charleston. He became a rear-admiral in 1873; retired in 1874. He died in New York City, May 10, 1879.

Parrott, ROBERT PARKER, military officer; born in Lee, N. H., Oct. 5, 1804; graduated at West Point in 1824; served in the army until 1836, when he resigned to accept the superintendency of the West Point foundry. He invented a system of casting and rifling cannon which he placed at the disposition of the United States government. This system was used in the United States during the Civil War. He died in Cold Spring, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1877.

Parry, SIR WILLIAM EDWARD, Arctic navigator; born in Bath, England, Dec. 19, 1790; entered the royal navy at thirteen. Being engaged in blockading the New England coast in 1813, he ascended the Connecticut River about 20 miles, and destroyed twenty-seven privateers and other vessels. In 1818 he joined Sir John Ross's expedition to the Polar seas, and the next year he commanded a second expedition, penetrating to lat. 70° 44' 20" N. and long. 110° W., which entitled him to receive the reward of \$20,000 offered by Parliament for reaching thus far west within the Arctic Circle. He was promoted to commander on his return, in 1820, and was knighted in 1829. He made another expedition in 1821-23; and in another, in 1826, he reached the lat. of 82° 45' in boats and sledges, the nearest point to the north pole which had then been reached. Parry was made rear-admiral of the white in 1852, and in 1853 lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital. He died in Ems, Germany, July 8, 1855.

Parsons, FRANK, lawyer; born in Mount Holly, N. J., Nov. 14, 1854; graduated at Cornell in 1873; lecturer on law in the Boston University in 1892; Professor of History and Political Science in the Kansas Agricultural College in 1897. He is the author of a large number of articles on economics in the public press, and among his books are *Our Country's Need*; *Rational Money*; *The Drift of Our Time*, etc.

Parsons, SAMUEL HOLDEN, military officer; born in Lyme, Conn., May 14, 1737; graduated at Harvard College in

1756; admitted to the bar in 1759; was a representative in the Connecticut Assembly for eighteen sessions. He was an active patriot at the beginning of the Revolution. He was made colonel of a Connecticut regiment in 1775, and engaged in the siege of Boston. In August, 1776, he was made a brigadier-general, and as such engaged in the battle on Long Island. In 1779 Parsons succeeded General Putnam in command of the Connecticut line, and in 1780 was commissioned a major-general. At the close of the war he resumed the practice of law, and was appointed by Washington first judge of the Northwestern Territory. He was also employed to treat with the Indians for the extinguishment of their titles to the Connecticut Western Reserve, in northern Ohio. He went to the new territory in 1787; settled there; and was drowned in the Big Beaver River, Ohio, Nov. 17, 1789.

Parsons, THEOPHILUS, jurist; born in Byfield, Mass., Feb. 24, 1750; graduated at Harvard College in 1769; admitted to the bar in 1774; and was at the head of a grammar-school in Falmouth (now Portland), Me., when it was destroyed. He began practice in Newburyport in 1777, and in 1780 was one of the principal framers of the State constitution of Massachusetts. He removed to Boston in 1800, where, until his death, he was regarded as the brightest of the legal lights of New England. He had been a zealous advocate of the national Constitution in 1788, and in 1806 was made chief-justice of Massachusetts. His decisions are embraced in six volumes. His memory was wonderful, and he was eloquent as a speaker. His *Opinions* were published in New York in 1836, under the title of *Commentaries on American Law*. He died in Boston, Oct. 30, 1813.

Parsons, THEOPHILUS, lawyer; born in Newburyport, Mass., May 17, 1797; graduated at Harvard College in 1815; studied law; was Professor of Law in Harvard in 1847-52. His publications include *Elements of Mercantile Law*; *Laws of Business for Business Men*; *Maritime Law*; *Notes on Bills of Exchange*; *Shipping and Admiralty*; *The Political, Personal, and Property Rights of a Citizen of the Unit-*

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ed States, etc. He died in Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 22, 1882.

Parsons' Case, THE. A short crop of tobacco in Virginia having enhanced the value of that staple, and the issuing of bills of credit (1755) for the first time in that province having depreciated the currency, the Assembly passed a temporary act authorizing the payment of all tobacco debts in the depreciated currency, at a stipulated price. Three years later (1758) an expected short crop caused the re-enactment of this tender-law. The salaries of the parish ministers, sixty-five in number, were payable in tobacco, and they were likely to become losers by this tender-law. The clergy sent an agent to England, who obtained an Order in Council pronouncing the law void. Suits were brought to recover the difference between twopence per pound in depreciated currency and the tobacco, to which, by law, the ministers were entitled. In defending one of these suits the rare eloquence of Patrick Henry was first developed.

Parton, JAMES, author; born in Canterbury, England, Feb. 9, 1822; was brought to the United States when a child; received a common school education in New York City; removed to Newburyport, Mass., in 1875. His publications include *Life of Horace Greeley*; *Life and Times*

of Aaron Burr; *Life of Andrew Jackson*; *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*; *Manual for the Instruction of Rings, Railroad and Political, and How New York is Governed*; *Famous Americans of Recent Times*; *The Words of Washington*; *Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States*, etc. He died in Newburyport, Mass., Oct. 17, 1891.

Parvin, THEODORE SUTTON, author; born in Cedarville, N. J., Jan. 15, 1817; removed to Ohio and later to Iowa. In the latter State he served in the legislature and also filled many public offices. He was the author of a *History of Iowa* and a *History of the Knights Templar in America*. For fifty-five years he was grand secretary of the Knights Templar in Iowa. He died in 1901.

Paschal, GEORGE WASHINGTON, lawyer; born in Skull Shoals, Ga., Nov. 23, 1812; received an academic education; was admitted to the bar in 1832; removed to Texas in 1847. During the Civil War he earnestly supported the National cause; settled in Washington, D. C., in 1869. His publications include *Annotated Digest of the Laws of Texas*; *Annotated Constitution of the United States*; *Decisions of the Supreme Court of Texas*; *Sketch of the Last Years of Samuel Houston*, etc. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 16, 1878.

PASTORIUS, FRANCIS DANIEL

Pastorius, FRANCIS DANIEL, author of *A Particular Geographical Description of the Lately Discovered Province of Pennsylvania, Situated on the Frontiers of this Western World, America*; published in Frankfort and Leipzig in 1700; translated from the original German by Lewis H. Weiss.

John G. Whittier, in an introductory note to his poem, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*, wrote: "The beginning of German emigration to America may be traced to the personal influence of William Penn, who in 1677 visited the Continent, and made the acquaintance of an intelligent and highly cultivated circle of Pietists, or Mystics, who, reviving in the seventeenth century the spiritual faith and worship of Tauler and the 'Friends of God' in

the fourteenth, gathered about the pastor Spener, and the young and beautiful Eleonora Johanna von Merlau. In this circle originated the Frankfort Land Company, which bought of William Penn, the governor of Pennsylvania, a tract of land near the new city of Philadelphia.

"The company's agent in the New World was a rising young lawyer, Francis Daniel Pastorius, son of Judge Pastorius, of Windenheim, who studied law at Strasbourg, Basle, and Jena, and at Ratisbon, and received the degree of Doctor of Law, at Nuremberg, in 1676. In 1679 he became deeply interested in the teachings of Dr. Spener. In 1680-81 he travelled in France, England, Ireland, and Italy with his friend Herr von Rodeck. 'I was,' he says, 'glad to enjoy again the company

of my Christian friends rather than be with Von Rodeck, feasting and dancing.' In 1683, in company with a small number of German Friends, he emigrated to America, settling upon the Frankfort Company's tract. The township was divided into four hamlets—namely, Germantown, Krisheim, Crefield, and Sommerhausen. He united with the Society of Friends, and became the recognized head and law-giver of the settlement. He married, two years after his arrival, Anneke, daughter of Dr. Klosterman, of Muhlbach.

"In the year 1688 he drew up a memorial against slave-holding, which was adopted by the Germantown Friends, and sent up to the monthly meeting, and thence to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia. It is noteworthy as the first protest made by a religious body against negro slavery. The original document was discovered in 1844, by the Philadelphia antiquarian, Nathan Kite, and published in *The Friend*. It is a bold and direct appeal to the best instincts of the heart. 'Have not,' he asks, 'those negroes as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?'

"Under the wise direction of Pastorius, the Germantown settlement grew and prospered. The inhabitants planted orchards and vineyards, and surrounded themselves with souvenirs of their old home. A large number of them were linen-weavers, as well as small farmers. The Quakers were the principal sect; but men of all religions were tolerated, and lived together in harmony. In 1692 Richard Frame published, in what he called verse, a *Description of Pennsylvania*, in which he alludes to the settlement:

"'The German town of which I spoke before,
Which is at least in length one mile or more,
Where lives High German people and Low Dutch,
Whose trade in weaving linen cloth is much—
There grows the flax, as also you may know
That from the same they do divide the tow.
Their trade suits well their habitation—
We find convenience for their occupation.'"

OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE PENNSYLVANIAN REGIONS.

Although, after the successful expeditions of Columbus and Americus, many

colonies had arisen in this Western World, such as Nova Hispania, Nova Gallia, Brasilia, Peru, Golden Castilia, Hispaniola, Cumana, Jamaica, Nova Anglia, Florida, Virginia, etc., it so happened, anno 1665 [!], by means of the skilful and enterprising navigators sent out under the auspices of *Caroli Stuardus I.*, King of England, a new and large country was discovered, lying far beyond the above-mentioned colonies. For the time being, however, no name was given to it, inasmuch as the natives roamed about the forests, not having any fixed residences or towns from which any name could have been derived; but they lived here and there in the wilderness in *Tuguriis*, or huts made of the bark of trees.

About the time of this discovery the Duke of York, having great numbers of Swedes and others under his control, commanded that a town should be commenced on the Delaware River, which was fortified; and he called the place New Castle. He likewise granted to the Swedes large privileges to induce them to remain there, and to cultivate the lands, intending to settle it, also, with English emigrants. The Swedes began to clear away the forests, and soon became a flourishing community.

About this time the unheard-of tragedy was enacted in England, that the King was taken by his own subjects and beheaded; his son, the heir to the throne, pursued for his life; but he managed to make his escape through the instrumentality of his general, Lord Penn, who carried him to France in disguise, for which goodly service Penn's entire estates were confiscated or destroyed; and he himself died in exile, before the restoration of the prince.

Upon the reinstating of Carolus II. on the throne of his father, he was visited by William Penn, the only son of Lord Penn; and he received him very graciously. In consideration of the services of his father, he presented to him this entire region, together with the colony of New Castle, forever. This royal bounty bears the date April 21, 1681. Penn now published it in the city of London, that he intended to establish a colony there, and offered to sell lands to all such as wished to emigrate. Upon this many

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persons offered to go, and Penn accompanied them thither, where he founded the city of Philadelphia, in 1682. A German society also contracted with his agents in London for several thousand acres of land to establish a German colony there. The entire region was named Pennsylvania, which signifies Penn's forest lands.

[Here follow Penn's charter and plans of settlement, which are already well known and are therefore omitted.]

CONCERNING THE GERMAN SOCIETY.

The German society commissioned myself, Francis Daniel Pastorius, as their licensed agent, to go to Pennsylvania and to superintend the purchase and survey of their lands.

I set out from Franckfort-on-the-Mayne, went to London, where I made the purchase, and then embarked for America.

Under the protection of the Almighty, I arrived safely at Philadelphia; and I was enabled to send my report home to Germany on the 7th of March, 1684.

The lands I purchased were to be as follows: fifteen thousand acres in one tract on some navigable stream.

Three hundred acres in the City Liberties, which is the strip of land lying between the rivers Dellavarra and Scolkill, above Philadelphia.

Three lots in the city proper for the purpose of building thereon.

Upon my arrival I applied to the governor, William Penn, for warrants, so as to survey and take possession of the aforesaid lands.

His first answer, concerning the three hundred acres in the Liberties and the three lots in the city, was this: "That these could by right not be claimed by the German Company, because they had been purchased after he had left London, the books closed, and all the lots previously disposed of." He, however, had three lots in the city surveyed for me, out of his youngest son's portion, instead of those above mentioned.

Beginning to number the houses from the Dellavarra River, our trading-house is the ninth in order.

Our first lot in the city is of the following dimensions. It has one hundred

feet front, and is four hundred feet deep. Next to it is to be a street. Adjoining it lies the second lot of the same size as No. 1. Then another street. Lot No. 3 joins this street, its size being the same as the other two. On these lots we can build two dwellings at each end, making in all twelve buildings with proper yards and gardens, and all of them fronting on the streets.

For the first few years, little or no profit can reasonably be expected to accrue from these lots, on account of the great scarcity of money in this province, and, also, that as yet this country has no goods or productions of any kind to trade with or export to Europe.

Our governor, William Penn, intends to establish and encourage the growing and manufactory of woollens; to introduce the cultivation of the vine, for which this country is peculiarly well adapted, so that our company had better send us a quantity of wine barrels and vats of various sorts, also all kinds of farming and gardening implements. *Item*, several iron boilers of various sizes, and copper and brass kettles. *Item*, an iron stove, several blankets and mattresses, also a few pieces of *Barchet* and white linens, which might be sold in our trading-house here to good advantage.

On the 16th of November last a fair had been held at Philadelphia; but we only sold about ten dollars' worth at our trading-house, owing altogether to the scarcity of money, as has been already mentioned.

As relating to our newly laid out town, Germanopolis, or Germantown, it is situated on a deep and very fertile soil, and is blessed with an abundance of fine springs and fountains of fresh water. The main street is sixty and the cross street forty feet in width. Every family has a plot of ground for yard and garden three acres in size.

[Here follow William Penn's laws, which are already well known and therefore omitted.]

OF THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE RIVERS THEREOF.

The situation of Pennsylvania is like unto that of Naples in Italy. This region

lies in the fortieth degree of north latitude, is bounded on the east by the Dellavarra River, and extends in length 75 miles, in breadth 45.*

The islands bordering upon this province are New Jersey, Marieland, and Virginia. In these regions, several new and beautiful stars and constellations are visible, which have heretofore been entirely unknown to the European astrologi and learned ones.

The river Dellavarra is so beautiful a stream as not to have its equal among all the rivers of Europe.

It is navigable for vessels of one hundred tons thirty miles beyond Philadelphia. It separates Pennsylvania from New Jersey. At Philadelphia it is two and at New Castle three miles wide; is abundantly stocked with the finest fish, as is likewise the river Scolkill.

The springs and fountains of water are innumerable.

The woods and copses are filled with beautiful birds of great variety, which proclaim their Creator's praises, in their pleasantest manner. There is, besides, a great abundance of wild geese, ducks, turkeys, quails, pigeons, partridges, and many other sorts of game.

OF THE TOWNS AND CITIES IN THIS PROVINCE.

The governor, William Penn, laid out the city of Philadelphia, between the two rivers Dellavarra and Scolkill, naming it with the pious wish and desire that its inhabitants might dwell together in brotherly love and unity.

The Dellavarra is deep enough so that the largest vessels can come up close to the bank, which is but about a stone's cast from the city.

Another English company have laid out the new town of Frankfort, five miles above Philadelphia, at which now so flourishing and pleasant place they have already established several good mills, a glass-house, pottery, and some stores and trading-houses.

New Castle lies forty miles from the ocean on the Dellavarra, and has a very good harbor.

* German miles, one of which is equal to 5 English miles.

The town of Uplandt is twenty miles above New Castle on the river, and is a fine large place, inhabited mostly by Swedes.

On the twenty-fourth day of Octobriis, anno 1685, I, Francis Daniel Pastorius, with the wish and concurrence of our governor, laid out and planned a new town, which we called Germantown or Germanopolis, in a very fine and fertile district, with plenty of springs of fresh water, being well supplied with oak, walnut, and chestnut trees, and having besides excellent and abundant pasturage for the cattle. At the commencement there were but twelve families of forty-one individuals, consisting mostly of German mechanics and weavers. The principal street of this, our town, I made sixty feet in width, and the cross street, forty feet. The space or lot for each house and garden I made three acres in size; for my own dwelling, however, six acres.

Before my laying out of this town, I had already erected a small house in Philadelphia, thirty feet by fifteen in size. The windows, for the want of glass, were made of oiled paper. Over the door I had placed the following inscription:

Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profani.

at which our governor, when he paid me a visit, laughed heartily, at the same time encouraging me to build more.

I have also obtained 15,000 acres of land for our company, in one tract, with this condition—that within one year at least thirty families should settle on it; and thus we may, by God's blessing, have a separate German province, where we can all live together in one.

OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

Inasmuch as this region lies in the same degree of latitude as Montpelier and Naples, but has a much richer soil, and that better watered by its many springs and rivulets, it is but reasonable to suppose that such a country must be well calculated to produce all kinds of fruit. The air is pure and serene, the summer is

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longer and warmer than it is in Germany, and we are cultivating many kinds of fruits and vegetables, and our labors meet with rich reward.

Of cattle we have a great abundance, but for want of proper accommodation they roam at large for the present.

Sugar and syrup we import from Barbados, and he that has not money barterers with such articles of produce as he may have. The articles of trade between the Indians and the Christians consist of fish, birds, deer-skins, and the furs of beavers, otters, foxes, etc. They usually exchange these things for liquor or else for their own kind of money, which they call wampum, and consists of red and white sea-shells, which are neatly prepared, and strung like beads. These strings of wampum they make use of to decorate themselves with. Their king wears a crown made of the same.

Twelve strings of the red are valued as much as twenty-four white ones. They like this kind of money much better than our silver coin, because they are so often deceived by it, not being able to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine, and, as they cannot well calculate the difference in its value, they do not much like to take it.

The money in circulation among ourselves is Spanish and English coin. Gems and precious stones we have none, neither do we desire any. We would not give him any great thanks who would dig them out of the earth; for these things which God has created for good and wise purposes have been most shamefully abused by man, and have become the servants of human pride and ostentation rather than being conducive to the Creator's glory.

OF THE GROWTH AND IMPROVEMENT OF THIS COLONY.

Although this far-distant land was a dense wilderness—and it is only quite recently that it has come under the cultivation of the Christians—there is much cause of wonder and admiration how rapidly it has already, under the blessing of God, advanced, and is still advancing, day by day. The first part of the time

we were obliged to obtain our provisions from the Jerseys for, money, and at a high price; but now we not only have enough for ourselves, but a considerable surplus to dispose of among our neighboring colonies. Of the most needful mechanics we have enough now; but day-laborers are very scarce, and of them we stand in great need. Of mills, brick-kilns, and tile-ovens we have the necessary number.

Our surplus of grain and cattle we trade to Barbados for rum, syrup, sugar, and salt. The furs, however, we export to England for other manufactured goods.

We are also endeavoring to introduce the cultivation of the vine, and also the manufacture of woollen cloths and linens, so as to keep our money as much as possible in the country. For this reason we have already established fairs to be held at stated times, so as to bring the people of different parts together for the purposes of barter and trade, and thereby encourage our own industry and prevent our little money from going abroad.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THIS LAND.

The inhabitants may be divided into three classes: (1) the Aborigines, or, as they are called, the savages; (2) those Christians who have been in the country for years, and are called old settlers; (3) the newly arrived colonists of the different companies.

1. The savages, or Indians, are in general strong, nimble, and well-shaped people, of a dark, tawny complexion, and wore no clothing whatever when the first Europeans came to this country. Now, however, they hang a blanket about their shoulders, or some of them also have shirts.

They have straight black hair, which they cut off close to the head, save one tuft, which they leave stand on the right side. Their children they anoint with the fat of the bears and other animals, so as to make their skin dark, for by nature they would be white enough. They cultivate among themselves the most scrupulous honesty, are unwavering in keeping promises, defraud and insult no one, are

Alalahabad Man 2. 10. 10

very hospitable to strangers, obliging to their guests, and faithful even to death towards their friends.

Their huts, or wigwams, they make by bending down several young trees, and covering them with bark.

They use neither tables nor chairs nor furniture of any kind, except, perhaps, a single pot or kettle to cook their food.

I once saw four of them dining together in great enjoyment of their feast. It consisted in nothing more than a pumpkin, simply boiled in water, without salt, butter, or spice of any kind. Their seat and table was the bare ground, their spoons were sea-shells, wherewith they supped the warm water, and their plates were the leaves of the nearest tree, which, after they were done their meal, they had no occasion of washing or any need of carefully preserving for future use. I thought to myself on witnessing this scene how these poor savages, who have never heard of the Saviour's doctrines and maxims of contentment and temperance, how far superior they are to ourselves, so-called Christians, at least so far as these virtues are concerned.

They are otherwise very grave and reserved, speak but little, and in few words, and are greatly surprised when they hear much needless and even foolish talking and tale-bearing among us Christians.

They are true and faithful in their matrimonial relations, abhorring licentiousness in the extreme. Above all do they despise deception and falsehood. They have no idols, but adore one great, good Spirit, who keeps the devil in subjection. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and, according as they have lived in this world, do they expect a reward or punishment in the future.

Their peculiar mode of worship consists principally in singing and dancing, during which they make use of the most singular contortions and positions of the body: and, when the remembrance of the death of parents or dear friends is brought to their mind, they break forth into the most piteous cries and lamentations.

They are fond of hearing us speak about the Creator of heaven and the earth, and

of his wisdom and divine power, and particularly do they listen with emotion to the narrative of the Saviour's life and sufferings; but it is greatly to be regretted that we are not yet sufficiently acquainted with their language, so as to explain the great plan of salvation to them fully.

They behave with the greatest respect and decorum whenever they attend public worship in our churches; and it is my firm belief that many of these poor American savages will in the great day rise up in judgment with those of Tyre and Sidon against our own wicked and perverse generation. As regards their domestic arrangements, the men attend to the chase, hunting, and fishing, the women bring up their children, instructing them in virtue and honor. They raise some few vegetables, such as corn and beans; but, as to any extensive farming and cultivation, they concern themselves nothing about it, but are rather surprised that we, as Christians, should have so many cares and anxieties as to our support and nourishment, just as if we did not believe that God will and can sustain and provide for us.

They speak a most beautiful and grave language, which sounds very much like the Italian, although it has entirely different words.

They are in the habit of painting their faces with various colors, and the women as well as the men are very fond of tobacco.

2. The earlier European or old settlers. These never had the proper motives in settling here; for, instead of instructing the poor Indians in the Christian virtues, their only desire was gain, without ever scrupling about the means employed in obtaining it.

By these means they have taught those natives who had dealings with them nothing but deception and many other evil habits, so that there is very little of virtue or honesty remaining on either side.

These wicked people make it a custom to pay the savages in rum and other liquors for the furs they bring to them, so that these poor deluded Indians have become very intemperate, and sometimes drink to such excess that they can neither

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walk nor stand. On such occasions they often commit thefts and other vices.

3. The newly arrived colonists of our and other companies. We who have come over to this land with good and honest intentions have purchased considerable tracts of land where we will settle, and endeavor to live in happiness and contentment; and we are living in the hope and expectation that we can in time do something for the eternal welfare and salvation of the aborigines. May our God prosper and bless our undertakings!

OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THIS LAND.

The aborigines of this country had their own chiefs and kings.

We Christians acknowledge as our governor and chief magistrate the oft-named and excellent, the Hon. William Penn, to whom this region was granted and given as his own by his Majesty of England, Carolus II., with the express command that all the previous and future colonists should be subject to Penn's laws and jurisdiction.

This wise and truly pious ruler and governor did not, however, take possession of the province thus granted without having first conciliated, and at various councils and treaties duly purchased from, the natives of this country the various regions of Pennsylvania. He, having by these means obtained good titles to the province, under the sanction and signature of the native chiefs, I therefore have purchased from him some thirty thousand acres for my German colony.

Now, although the oft-mentioned William Penn is one of the sect of Friends, or Quakers, still he will compel no man to belong to his particular society; but he has granted to every one free and untrammelled exercise of their opinions and the largest and most complete liberty of conscience.

OF THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF THESE PARTS.

The native Indians have no written religious belief or creed; and their own peculiar ideas, which are by no means so rude or so barbarous as those of many other heathens, have to be transmitted

from the parents to their children only *per traditionem*.

The English and the Dutch adhere to the Calvinistic persuasion.

The colonists of William Penn are nearly all Quakers.

The Swedes and Germans are Evangelical Lutherans, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Upsala. The Swedes have their own churches. The name of their clergyman is Fabricius, of whom I must say with deep regret that he is an intemperate man, and, as regards spiritual things, very dark and ignorant. We in Germantown built a little chapel for ourselves in 1686, but did not so much care for a splendid stone edifice as for having an humble but true temple devoted to the living God, in which true believers might be edified to the salvation of their souls. The ministers here might have an excellent opportunity to obey and practise the command of the Saviour, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel"; but, unfortunately, they seek more their own comfort and ease than they do the glory of the Redeemer.

OF THE GERMAN SOCIETY FOR THE SETTLING IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The principal participants in this society of ours are the following-named gentlemen:

Jacob von De Walle, Dr. John Jacob Schuetz, and Daniel Behagel, all of Franckfort-on-the-Mayne.

Gerhard von Maastricht, of Duisburg; Thomas von Wylich, and John Lebrunn, of Wesel.

Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam; Philip Fort, of London.

These persons will attend to and care for all letters and papers for our colony, and will also assist and give advice to all such as desire to emigrate, if such applicants be of good moral character and standing, and their motives and intentions for emigrating are honest and good.

In Pennsylvania the whole direction and management of the colony has been intrusted to my humble abilities, for the time being; and may the Almighty give me the proper wisdom and strength to fulfil all my arduous duties.

OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AND WAYS OF EMIGRATING TO THIS COUNTRY.

From the month of April until in the fall of every year there are vessels sailing to Pennsylvania, at frequent times, from England, principally from the port of Deal, although there is no fixed time or day set for sailing, and persons are therefore compelled to watch their opportunity. Whenever there is a company of thirty-five or forty passengers together, exclusive of the ship's crew, a vessel is despatched. Every grown-up man pays for his passage the sum of £6 sterling, or thirty-six rix dollars. For a female or servant, twenty-two rix dollars. One round sterling is equal to six rix dollars.

OF MY OWN VOYAGE HITHER.

After I had left London, where I had made all my arrangements with Penn's agent, and arrived at Deal, I hired four male and two female servants, and on the 7th of June, 1683, set sail with a company of eighty passengers. Our ship drew thirteen feet of water. Our fare on board was poor enough. The allowance of provision for ten persons per week was as follows: three pounds of butter; daily, four cans of beer and one can of water; every noon, two dishes of pease; four times per week salt meat, and three times salt fish, which we were obliged to cook, each man for himself, and had daily to save enough from dinner to serve for our suppers also. And, as these provisions were usually very poor, and the fish sometimes tainted, we were all compelled to make liberal use of liquors and other refreshments of a similar nature to preserve the health amid such hard fare. Moreover, it is the practice of the masters of these vessels to impose upon their passengers in a shameful manner by giving them very short allowances. It is therefore advisable not to pay the passage in full in England, but to withhold a part until the arriving in America, so that they are obliged to fulfil their part of the contract. Furthermore, it is advisable to endeavor to obtain passage in vessels bound to Philadelphia direct, inasmuch as those who come in such, landing at Upland, are subjected to many and grievous molestations.

On the sixteenth day of August, 1683, we came in sight of the American continent, but did not enter the Capes of Delaware until the 18th *ejusdem*. The 20th *ejusdem* we passed by New Castle and Upland, and arrived toward evening at Philadelphia, in perfect health and safety, where we were all welcomed with great joy and love by the governor, William Penn, and his secretary. He at once made me his confidential friend, and I am frequently requested to dine with him, where I can enjoy his good counsel and edifying conversations. Lately I could not visit him for eight days, when he waited upon me himself, requesting me to dine with him in future twice in each week, without particular invitation, assuring me of his love and friendship toward myself and the German nation, hoping that all the rest of the colonists would do the same.

OF THE DUTIES AND LABORS OF THE GERMAN COLONIST.

Our German society have in this place now established a lucrative trade in woollen and linen goods, together with a large assortment of other useful and necessary articles, and have intrusted this extensive business to my own direction. Besides this they have now purchased and hold over thirty thousand acres of land, for the sake of establishing an entirely German colony. In my newly laid out Germantown there are already sixty-four families in a very prosperous condition. Such persons, therefore, and all those who still arrive, have to fall to work and swing the axe most vigorously; for wherever you turn the cry is. *Itur in antiquam sylvam*, nothing but endless forests. So that I have been often wishing for a number of stalwart Tyrolians, to throw down these gigantic oak and other forest trees, but which we will be obliged to cut down ourselves by degrees and with almost incredible labor and exertion, during which we can have a very forcible illustration of the sentence pronounced upon our poor old father Adam, that in the sweat of his brow he should eat his bread. To our successors, and others coming after us, we would say that they must not only bring over money, but a firm determination to labor and make themselves useful to our

PATCH—PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

infant colony. Upon the whole, we may consider that man blessed whom the devil does not find idling. In the mean time we are employing the wild inhabitants as day-laborers, for which they are, however, not much inclined; and we ourselves are gradually learning their language, so to instruct them in the religion of Christ, inviting them to attend our church services, and therefore have the pleasing hope that the spirit of God may be the means of enlightening many of these poor heathens unto their souls' salvation. To Him be honor, praise, thanks, and glory, forevermore. Amen.

Patch, SAMUEL, diver; born in Rhode Island in 1807. As an athlete he became known as a diver, making his first celebrated leap from the bridge over the Passaic River at Paterson, N. J. He met his death Nov. 13, 1829, in jumping from a bridge over the Genesee River at Rochester, N. Y., at a height of 125 feet above the water.

Patent Laws. Clause 8, section 8, article 3 of the national Constitution gives to Congress power to "promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing, for a limited time, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." The first law framed under this provision was approved April 10, 1790, and secured to authors and inventors the exclusive rights in the use of their productions for fourteen years. It remained in force three years, when it was repealed. Only three patents were granted the first year, thirty-three the second, and eleven the third. A new law was passed in 1793. It was amended from time to time, and remained in force until 1836, when all existing patent laws were repealed, and a new one was approved. During the ten years from 1790 to 1800 the number of patents granted was 276. The matter of infringement of patents was first brought under the equity jurisdiction of the United States courts in 1819, and in 1832 provision was made by Congress for the re-issue of patents under certain conditions. Prior to the new law of 1836, only 10,020 patents had been issued. From 1837 to 1890, the number of patents issued was 475,785. In 1861 the time for which patents were issued was extended to seventeen years.

In 1870 the Patent Office was made a branch of the State Department; it afterwards became a bureau of the Interior Department. During the fiscal year 1903-04 there were 56,023 applications for patents, re-issues, etc.

Paterson, JOHN, military officer; born in New Britain, Conn., in 1744; graduated at Yale College in 1762; became a lawyer, and was an active patriot in Massachusetts at the breaking-out of the Revolution, being a member of the Provincial Congress. After the affair at Lexington he hastened with a regiment of minute-men to Cambridge, where he cast up the first redoubt of the fortifications around Boston. After the evacuation of that city he was sent to Canada, and a part of his regiment was engaged at the Cedars. When the army left Canada he joined Washington, and was engaged in the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and in February, 1777, he was made brigadier-general and attached to the Northern Department, where he rendered important services in the events which ended in the capture of Burgoyne. At the battle of Monmouth, the next year, he was very efficient, and remained in the service until the close of the war. In 1786 he commanded a detachment of Berkshire militia which was sent to suppress Shays's insurrection. He removed to Lisle, N. Y., after that, where he became a member of the legislature, member of the convention that revised the State constitution in 1801, and member of Congress from 1803 to 1805. He died in Lisle, N. Y., July 19, 1808.

Paterson, WILLIAM, jurist; born at sea in 1745; graduated at Princeton in 1763; admitted to the bar in 1769; attorney-general for New Jersey in 1776; elected to the Continental Congress in 1780; to the Constitutional Convention in 1787; elected United States Senator in 1789; governor of New Jersey, 1791; appointed justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1793. He died in Albany, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1806.

Patrons of Husbandry, a secret order organized in the United States, Dec. 4, 1867, by O. H. Kelly, of the United States bureau of agriculture, for the purpose of promoting the social and material interests of persons engaged directly or indi-

rectly in the agricultural and allied industries. The unit of organization is the local grange, subordinate to the State grange, and that in turn under the jurisdiction of the national grange. Although the order is non-political, the national grange has expressed favor towards the following subjects of reform:

1. Postal savings-banks.
2. Enactment of pure food laws.
3. Rural free-mail delivery.
4. Additional powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission.
5. Speedy construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States.
6. To prevent the pooling of railroads.
7. Impartial investigation of foreign trade relations.
8. Election of United States Senators by popular vote.
9. Settlement of international differences by arbitration.

In 1901 the national grange had established 27,689 subordinate granges in forty-four States and Territories. See FARMERS' ALLIANCE; PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Patroons. To induce private capitalists to engage in making settlements in NEW NETHERLAND (*q. v.*), the West India Company, in 1629, resolved to grant lands and manorial privileges to such as should accept the conditions of a proposed charter of privileges and exemptions. Reserving the island of Manhattan, they offered to grant lands in any part of New Netherland, to the extent of 16 miles along any navigable stream (or 4 miles if on each shore), and indefinitely in the interior, to any person who should agree to plant a colony of fifty adults within four years; or, if he should bring more, his domain to be proportionately enlarged. He was to be absolutely lord of the manor, politically and otherwise, holding inferior courts for the jurisdiction of petty civil cases; and, if cities should grow up on his domain, he was to have power to appoint the magistrates and other officers of such municipalities, and have a deputy to confer with the governor. These lords of manors were called patroons, or patrons, and the settlers under them were to be exempted from all taxation and tribute for the support of the provincial government for ten years; and for the same period every man, woman, and child was bound not to leave the service of the patroon without his written consent. The colonists were forbidden to

manufacture cloth of any kind, on pain of banishment from the colony; and the company agreed to furnish them with as many African slaves "as they conveniently could"; also, to protect them against foes.

Each colony was bound to support a minister of the Gospel and a school-master, and so provide a comforter of the sick and a teacher of the illiterate. Such was the modified feudalism introduced into the young Dutch colony, which naturally fostered aristocratic ideas. It recognized the right of the Indians to the soil by compelling its purchase from them; it invited independent farmers, to whom a homestead should be secured, and promised protection to all in case of war, and encouraged religion and learning. Yet the free New England system was far better for the development and growth of popular liberty. Several of these patroon domains were secured by directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. The patroons began vigorously to make settlements on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, and so construed the charter of privileges and exemptions that they claimed a right to traffic with the Indians. This brought them into collision with the other directors, whose jealousy was aroused. The patroons persisted, and an appeal was made to the States-General, which prudently postponed a decision, "in order to enable the parties to come to an amicable settlement." So ended the action of the Dutch government in the matter.

The patroon system discouraged individual enterprise. Private persons who wished to emigrate dared not attempt it. Some of the best tracts of land in the colony were appropriated by the patroons. The latter, ambitious and grasping, attempted to enlarge their privileges, and boldly presented to the States-General a new plan for the purpose, in which they demanded that they should monopolize more territory; have longer time to settle colonists; be invested with larger feudal powers; be made entirely independent of the control of the company with respect to the internal government of the colonies; enjoy free-trade throughout and around New Netherland; have a vote in the council of the director-general; be supplied with convicts from Holland as servants,

PATROONS—PATTERSON

and with negro slaves; and, finally, that all private persons and poor immigrants should be forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians, and should be required to settle themselves within the established colonies and under the control of the manorial lords. These extravagant demands caused their existing privileges to be curtailed by a new charter of privileges and exemptions, issued in 1640. A host of smaller "masters of colonies" was created, and the legal powers of the old patroons were abridged. Quarrels between these lords of manors and the civil government of New Netherland continued until the province passed from the possession of the Dutch to that of the English.

These feudal tenures having been abolished, the proprietors of manor grants contrived a form of deed by which the grantees agreed to pay rents and dues almost precisely as before. This tenure became burdensome and odious to the tillers; and in 1839 associations of farmers were formed for the purpose of devising a scheme of relief from the burdens. The movement was soon known as *anti-rentism*, and speedily manifested itself in open resistance to the service of legal processes for the collecting of manorial rents. The first overt act of lawlessness that attracted public attention was in the town of Grafton, Rensselaer county, where a band of anti-renters, disguised, killed a man, yet the criminal was never discovered. In 1841 and 1842 Governor Seward in his messages recommended the reference of the alleged grievances and matters in dispute on both sides to arbitrators, and appointed three commissioners to investigate and report to the legislature. Nothing was accomplished, and the disaffection increased. So rampant was the insubordination to law in Delaware county that Governor Wright, in 1845, recommended legislation for its suppression, and he declared the county in a state of insurrection. Finally, the trial and conviction of a few persons for conspiracy and resistance to law, and their confinement in the State prison, caused a cessation of all operations by masked bands.

There was so much public sympathy manifested for the cause of the anti-renters that the association determined to

form a political party favorable to their cause. It succeeded in 1842, and several years afterwards, in electing one-eighth of the legislature who favored the anti-renters; and in 1846 a clause was inserted in the revised constitution of the State, abolishing all feudal tenures and incidents, and forbidding the leasing of agricultural lands for a longer term than twelve years. The same year Governor Wright, who was a candidate for re-election as chief magistrate, was defeated by 10,000 majority given to John Young, the anti-rent candidate, who afterwards released all offenders of the law who were in prison. The excitement gradually subsided, and only in courts of law were the anti-rent associations actively seen. The last proprietor of the Van Rensselaer manor sold his interests in his lands to a person who made amicable arrangements with all the tenants for the rent, sale, and purchase of the farms.

Patten, GEORGE WASHINGTON, military officer; born in Newport, R. I., Dec. 25, 1808; graduated at Brown University in 1824, and at West Point in 1830. He served in the war against the Seminoles and in Mexico and was brevetted major for gallantry at Cerro Gordo, where he lost a hand. He was made lieutenant-colonel of the 2d Infantry, June 7, 1862, and retired Feb. 17, 1864. Colonel Patten was a contributor of poetical pieces for periodicals from his youth, and a volume of his poems was published in 1867. He was also author of an *Army Manual* (1863); and *Tactics and Drill for Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry* (3 volumes, 1861-63). He died in Houlton, Me., April 28, 1882.

Patterson, DANIEL TON, naval officer; born in New York, March 6, 1786; entered the navy as midshipman in 1800; was with Bainbridge at Tripoli, and master-commander in 1813. In 1814 he commanded the naval force at and near New Orleans that co-operated with General Jackson in defence of that city. Patterson was active, afloat and ashore, for nearly forty years. He died in Washington, D. C., Aug. 15, 1839.

Patterson, ROBERT, military officer; born in Tyrone county, Ireland, Jan. 12, 1792; was brought to America by his parents in his early youth; engaged in mer-

cantile pursuits; but entered the army in 1813; was made full captain in 1814, and served to the end of the war. He resumed mercantile life and became largely interested in manufactures. Commissioned major-general of volunteers when the war with Mexico broke out, he took an active part in the campaign under Scott from



ROBERT PATTISON.

Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. When the Civil War broke out, he was placed in command of a division of three months' men. In command of troops watching the forces under the Confederate General Johnston at Winchester, Va., the failure of General Scott to send him orders caused him to fail to co-operate with McDowell in his movements that resulted in the battle of BULL RUN (q. v.). For this failure he was unjustly dismissed from the service, and he was under a cloud for some time. He did not re-enter the service. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 7, 1881.

Pattison, ROBERT EMORY, statesman; born in Quantico, Md., Dec. 8, 1850; comptroller of Philadelphia, 1877-82; governor of the State, 1883-86 and 1891-94; United States Pacific Railway commissioner, 1887-90. He died in Overbrook, Pa., Aug. 1, 1904.

Patton, JACOB HARRIS, author; born in Fayette county, Pa., May 20, 1812; graduated at Jefferson College, Pa., in 1839; and at the Union Theological Seminary in 1846; was principal of a private classical school in

New York in 1846-87. His publications include *Four Hundred Years of American History*; *Natural Resources of the United States*; *Yorktown, 1781-1881*; *The Democratic Party, its History and Influence*; *A Brief History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*; *Political Parties in the United States*, etc.

Paulding, HIRAM, naval officer; born in New York City, Dec. 11, 1797; entered the United States navy as midshipman in September, 1811; was under Macdonough, on Lake Champlain, and received a sword from Congress for his services there. He accompanied Porter against the pirates in the West Indies in 1823, and became master-commander in 1837. He was commissioned captain in 1844, and was in active service in the West Indies and on the Pacific coast; and for the important services which he rendered the State of Nicaragua in suppressing the filibuster Walker, that republic gave him a sword. He was made a rear-admiral on the retired list (1861). In command of the navy-yard at Brooklyn (1862-65) he did excellent service in preparing ships for the different squadrons, and in 1866 was governor of the Philadelphia Naval Asylum. Admiral Paulding was a son of John Paulding, one of the captors of Major



HIRAM PAULDING.

PAULDING—PAULUS'S HOOK

André. He died in Huntington, L. I., Oct. 20, 1878.

Paulding, JAMES KIRKE, author; born in Dutchess county, N. Y., Aug. 22, 1779; was a son of an active Revolutionary soldier, who was commissary-general of New York troops in the Continental service, and was ruined by the non-acceptance by the government of his drafts, or non-redemption of his pledges, and he was imprisoned for debt. James went to New York City, and in early life became engaged in literary pursuits with Washington Irving, whose brother William married Paulding's sister. They began, in 1807, the popular publication *Salmagundi*. He was introduced to the government through his pamphlet on *The United States and England*, and, in 1814, was made secretary of the board of naval commissioners. Afterwards he was navy agent at New York, and, from 1839 to 1841, was Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Paulding was a facile and elegant writer of essays and stories, and was possessed of a fund of humor that pervaded his compositions. He contributed to the periodicals of the day, and wrote and published several volumes. He died in Hyde Park, N. Y., April 6, 1860.

Paulding, JOHN, patriot, and one of the captors of André; born in New York City in 1758. Three times he was made a prisoner during the Revolutionary War,

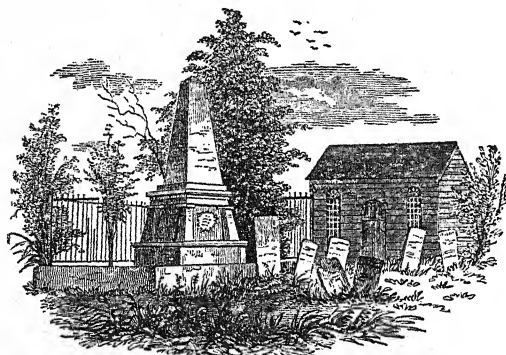
and were awarded a silver medal each, and were awarded an annuity of \$200. In 1827 a marble monument was erected by the corpora-



JOHN PAULDING.

tion of New York City in St. Peter's church-yard near Peekskill, as a memorial of him. He died in Staatsburg, N. Y., Feb. 18, 1818.

Paulus's Hook, SURPRISE OF. In 1779 there was a British military work at Paulus's Hook (now Jersey City), garrisoned by 500 men, under Major Sutherland. A plan was formed for taking it by surprise, and its execution was intrusted to Maj. Henry Lee, then back of Bergen. With 300 picked men, followed by a strong detachment under Lord Stirling as a reserve, at 3.30 A.M. on Aug. 19, he passed the unguarded outer works and entered the main works undiscovered; for the garrison, feeling secure, had not barred the sally-port, and the sentinels were all absent or asleep. The surprise was most complete. He captured



PAULDING'S MONUMENT.

and had escaped, the second time, only 159 of the garrison, including officers. The four days before the capture of André. remainder retreated to a circular redoubt. He and his associates received from Con- It was too strong to be affected by small-



MEDAL AWARDED TO. HENRY LEE.

arms, and Lee retreated, with his prisoners, back to camp. His loss was only two killed and three wounded. In September following Congress voted thanks and a gold medal to Lee for this exploit.

Pauncefote, LORD JULIAN OF PRESTON, diplomatist; born in Preston Court, England, in 1828; was called to the bar in 1852; appointed attorney-general of Hong-Kong in 1865; acting chief-justice of the Supreme Court in 1869-72; became permanent foreign under secretary in 1882;

minister to the United States in 1889; and ambassador in 1893. He represented Great Britain at the Suez Canal conference in 1885, and at the peace conference at The Hague in 1899, and in the latter year was created first Lord Pauncefote. Since his official residence in the United States he won the esteem of the United States government and people. He died in Washington, D. C., May 24, 1902. His body was sent to England in a United States man-of-war.

PAUPERISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Pauperism in the United States. Professor Richard T. Ely, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, now of the University of Wisconsin, contributes the following to the study of this question:

While we may deplore the lack of careful statistical information concerning pauperism in this and other countries, there are certain facts which we do know. First of all is this fact: there exists in the United States an immense mass of pauperism. No one knows either how great this mass is, or whether it is relatively, or even absolutely, larger than in former times. Several States in the Union, as New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, publish statistics concerning the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes, but many of the States gather no statistics at all, or very inadequate ones. Such statistics as we have cannot well be brought together and compared, because they have not been col-

lected in the same year in different States, nor have they been collected according to similar methods. The word pauper in one State means one thing, and in another State something else. For example, dependent children are in one place classed among the paupers, and in another place they are put in a category by themselves.

The only authority competent to gather the facts which we ought to know for the whole country is the federal government, and it has attempted to do something in the various censuses. The census reports, however, have been heretofore incomplete and unsatisfactory. Mr. Frederick H. Wines, a high authority, was the special agent of the tenth census appointed to gather the statistics concerning pauperism, and he reported altogether about 500,000. This, however, is an underestimate. Only a little over 21,000 out-door paupers were reported, whereas a single city undoubtedly has a larger number receiving public relief out-

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side of public institutions. It is admitted in the report that "the attempt to secure anything like a complete or adequate enumeration of them in the present census was a failure." "The present census" means the census of 1880.

At the sixteenth conference of charities and correction, in Omaha, in 1889, the committee on reports from States expressed the opinion that it was safe to estimate the number of persons in the United States receiving out-door relief at an average of 250,000 during the year, including at least 600,000 different persons. This same committee, including Messrs. F. B. Sanborn and H. H. Hart, did not regard 110,000 persons as an overestimate of the population of the almshouses of the country. Five States of the Union alone report nearly half that number. These are New York, with 19,500 inmates of almshouses; Pennsylvania, with 13,500; Massachusetts, with 9,000; Ohio, with 8,000; and Illinois, with 5,000. These States, however, do not include much over one-third of the population of the country. Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the able and devoted secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, has estimated that 3,000,000 people in the United States were wholly or partially supported by alms during a recent year, and that the support received by this number was equal to the total support of 500,000 paupers during the entire year. This estimate is based upon such facts as he had been able to gather, and even a guess from one situated as he is has some weight. . . .

The number of paupers varies greatly from year to year, according to the general prosperity of the country and other causes, and even within the same year, according to the season. The estimate of 3,000,000 cannot be regarded as an extravagant one for the United States during hard times. We have, then, that number of persons who at some time or another are compelled to ask support which they will not or cannot obtain for themselves. If we should cut down this number to 500,000, it would be sufficient to cause distress to every lover of his kind, and to justify inquiry into the nature of pauperism, its causes and its cure.

Numerous estimates have been made of

the direct and indirect cost of pauperism to this country. The direct pauper expenditures of the United States may be placed at \$25,000,000 at least; indeed, this must be an underestimate, for New York State alone expends for charitable purposes through its various institutions over \$13,000,000. If we place the average number of persons in the country supported by charity at 500,000, and estimate the loss of productive power for each one of these at \$100 per year, we shall have an indirect loss of \$50,000,000 to be added to the direct expenditures. One hundred millions of dollars a year must be regarded as a conservative estimate of the total direct or indirect pecuniary loss to the country on account of pauperism. A far more serious loss, however, is the loss in manhood and womanhood.

In contrast to this first fact of the great mass of pauperism, we have the second equally indisputable fact that it is for the most part a curable disease. Wherever there has been any earnest and intelligent attempt to remedy the evil, the success has been equal to all the most sanguine could anticipate. I have read accounts of many such attempts to lessen pauperism, and everything that I have read has confirmed in my mind the belief that it is a curable evil. A few illustrations out of a great number at hand must suffice for present purposes. The Elberfeld system of charitable relief is well known. About 1830 an earnest attempt was made in that city to deal with the question of pauperism. At that time the number of inhabitants was 50,000; in 1880 it was 90,000; but the number of friendly visitors required had not increased. The number needing help fell from 2,948 in the year 1853 to 1,287 in 1876, or from fifty-seven in the thousand of population to between fifteen and sixteen in the thousand. The city of Leipzig introduced the Elberfeld system in 1881, and in a single year the number of paupers fell off 2,000. Even England seems to have met with some success in dealing with pauperism, for the paupers comprised $5\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of the population in 1863, $4\frac{6}{10}$ in 1871, and only 2 per cent. in 1882.

The experience of Buffalo, in this country, has been as instructive as it is

gratifying. During the first ten years of the existence of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society—namely, from 1877 to 1887—the pauperism of the city decreased, so far as statistics indicate, at least 50 per cent. Of 763 families dealt with by that society in 1878-79, Mr. Rosenau, the secretary, was able to state that, so far as he knew, 458 families had never been applicants for charity since 1879, and only 81 were met with in 1887. Mr. Rosenau further said that, if the citizens of Buffalo would furnish the society with funds and workers, the close of 1897 would see the city practically free from pauperism, and, he hoped, with very little abject poverty within her limits. Mr. Kellogg, of the New York society, in his fifth annual report, claims that of 4,280 cases treated during the preceding year, 697 became self-supporting by securing employment for them, by training them in industry, or by starting them in business. During the same year 1,508 cases treated during the first year of the society's existence were re-examined, and over 20 per cent. of these cases were *known to continue self-supporting*. Of course some of the others treated during the first year who could not be traced continued self-supporting.

There is reason to believe that there are adult paupers who can never be rendered entirely independent and self-supporting. Some of these are willing to work, but have simply not been furnished with qualities requisite for success in the competitive world of to-day, or their latent faculties, which might once have been developed, have been allowed to remain unused so long that their present development is practically impossible. These require permanent treatment in establishments adapted to them, where such powers as they have can be utilized for their own good and the benefit of society. With some others the trouble is not so much mental or physical as moral, and these require permanent treatment, severe but kind, in separate establishments. The first of these permanently helpless classes belongs to a certain extent to the imbeciles, while the second belongs rather to the criminal class. Both of these classes, however, are few in number, and all others can be redeemed. Nearly all

children belong to the redeemable portion of humanity. This second fact states, then, this proposition: pauperism as now known may be considered a needless evil; in other words, in modern society there are sufficient resources to cure it if men would but apply them.

The third indisputable fact observed is that only slight effort is put forth by the community at large to cure the evil of pauperism. Mr. Rosenau has shown that only one in 713 persons, in thirty-two cities where there are charity organization societies which reported, contributed to their funds. These cities represented a population of about 7,250,000, and the number of contributors was only a little over 10,000. When we put this in contrast with the church-membership of the country, which comprises something like one-third of the population, or, if we count only adult members, one-fourth, we are reminded of the conclusion reached by Mr. Frederic Harrison and others that for social regeneration Christianity is a failure. Of course many cannot contribute money, but there is equal complaint of a lack of persons who are willing to contribute their time and sympathy as friendly visitors. Those who have read Tolstoi's book, *What to Do*, will find there described the experience of every sincere friend of humanity who has attempted to secure genuine co-operation among the fortunate classes to help elevate the less fortunate classes out of their economic, physical, and moral wretchedness—namely, general but vague expressions of interest, with a final refusal of the aid needed. As in the parable of the New Testament, they all begin to make excuses. . . .

What are the causes of pauperism? These causes are many, and they cannot be stated in any single sentence. The most general statement possible is that the causes of poverty are heredity and environment, producing weak physical, mental, and moral constitutions. If sociological investigations have made one thing clearer than another, it is that paupers are a class into which one is often born, and from which, when born into it, one can be rescued, as a rule, only by a change of environment. These in-

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vestigations show likewise that paupers are a class of inferior men. Inquiry was made at the Prison Association two years ago as to the chief cause of crime, and every expert in criminal studies was reported to have replied, "Bad homes and heredity." The same reply may be given as to the causes of pauperism. Four different careful studies of the causes of pauperism have been made, two in New York State, one in Indiana, and one in Berlin.

The first which I have in mind was made by Mr. Richard L. Dugdale, and was called "The Jukes." The ancestor of the Jukes is called "Margaret, the mother of criminals." Mr. Dugdale estimated that 1,200 of this family in seventy-five years cost the community directly and indirectly not less than \$1,250,000.

The second study was made in New York State under the direction of the legislature by the State board of charities. The investigation occupied the secretary of this board and various assistants for nearly two years, and the antecedents of every inmate of the poor-houses of the State were examined. Mrs. C. R. Lowell, who has been so active in the charities of New York State, and who has achieved a well-merited reputation, read a report on the results of this investigation. She describes typical women. The description of two cases may be quoted, and they will serve for all.

"In the Herkimer county poor-house a single woman, aged sixty-four years, twenty of which have been spent in the poor-house; has had six illegitimate children, four of whom have been paupers."

"In the Montgomery county poor-house a woman twenty years of age, illegitimate, uneducated, and vagrant; has two children in the house, aged, respectively, three years and six months, both illegitimate, and the latter born in the institution; recently married an intemperate, crippled man, formerly a pauper."

Mrs. Lowell says: "These mothers are women who began life as their own children have begun it—inheriting strong passions and weak wills, born and bred in the poor-house, taught to be wicked before they could speak plain, all the strong evil in their natures strengthened by their surroundings, and the weak good trampled out of life."

The third study to which I referred is that made by Mr. Oscar McCulloch, and is called *The Tribe of Ishmael*. Mr.

McCulloch, who is a clergyman in Indianapolis, found the poor and degraded in that part of the country closely connected by ties of blood and marriage. This band of paupers and criminals takes its name from one Ben Ishmael, who can be traced as far back as 1790, when he was living in Kentucky. The descendants of this family have intermarried with thirty other families. In the first generation we know the history of 3, in the second of 84, in the third of 283, in the fourth of 640, in the fifth of 679, and in the sixth of 57. We have a total of 1,750 individuals, with but scant records previous to 1840. Among these we find 121 prostitutes. Several murders can be traced to the Tribe of Ishmael. Thieving and larceny are common among them, and they are nearly all beggars. Looking back into the history of the family of Ben Ishmael, we find that three of his grandchildren married three sisters from a pauper family. Death is frequent among them, and they are physically unable to endure hard work or bad climate. They break down early and go to the poor-house or hospital. . . .

The fourth of the studies is that made by city missionaries in Berlin a few years ago, and reported by Court Pastor Stöcker. The ancestors of this criminal and pauper family were two sisters, of whom the older died in 1825. Their posterity numbers 334 persons. The criminalists are able to trace the history of 709 with tolerable accuracy. Among these there were 106 illegitimate children, 164 prostitutes, 17 pimps, 142 beggars, 64 inmates of poor-houses, and 76 guilty of serious crimes, who together had passed 116 years in prison. It is estimated that this single family cost the State over \$500,000. It is worthy of note in this connection that the members of the Tribe of Ishmael are, as a rule, temperate, and total abstainers are found among the worst classes. . . .

There are those, undoubtedly, whose pauperism can be traced neither to heredity nor unfavorable environment, but they are comparatively few. Well-brought-up children of morally and physically sound parents seldom become paupers.

Perhaps the most careful analysis of

the causes of pauperism has been made by Professor Amos G. Warner, of the University of Nebraska. He presents the following analysis of the more immediate or proximate causes of poverty:

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| Subjective. | { | Characteristics: |
| | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Undervitalization and indolence. 2. Lubricity. 3. Specific disease. 4. Lack of judgment. 5. Unhealthy appetites. |
| Objective. | { | Habits producing and produced by the above: |
| | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shiftlessness. 2. Self-abuse and sexual excess. 3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics. 4. Unhealthy diet. 5. Disregard of family ties. |
| Objective. | { | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inadequate natural resources. 2. Bad climatic conditions. 3. Defective sanitation, etc. 4. Evil associations and surroundings. 5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery. 6. Misdirected or inadequate education. 7. Bad industrial conditions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Variations in value of money. b. Changes in trade. c. Excessive or ill-managed taxation. d. Emergencies unprovided for. e. Undue power of class over class. f. Immobility of labor. 8. Unwise philanthropy. |

According to all careful investigations, intemperance plays a minor, although an important, rôle, the returns under this head depending largely upon the prejudices of the person making the investigation. One Prussian table of causes of destitution attributes less than 2 per cent. to intemperance. The tenth report of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society shows that during the period of its existence over 11 per cent. of the cases of pauperism were traced by its secretary to intemperance. In London Mr. Charles Booth — not General Booth — attributes from 13 to 14 per cent. of the cases to intemperance. There are others who attribute a much larger percentage of pauperism to intemperance, but nearly if not quite always a minority. Lack of employment, or involuntary idleness, is a more prominent cause of pauperism, and undoubtedly many cases of intemperance may be traced back to a period of involuntary idleness. The number of unemployed in England and Wales has been placed at

6,000,000, and in the United States at over 1,000,000, and an extremely small percentage is due to strikes or lockouts. Child-labor, which has assumed terrible proportions in recent years, and the employment of women must be placed among the causes of poverty, both of them tending to break up the home. Industrial crises are a chief cause of modern pauperism, it having been observed in every modern nation that the number of tramps and paupers increases immensely during a period of industrial depression. Many men, while seeking work during these periods, fall hopelessly into vagabondage and pauperism, and those dependent upon them are thrown upon the public.

What has been said about causes of pauperism makes it easy to understand the nature of the remedies required. It is necessary to go back of the phenomena which lie on the surface to underlying causes. Things which are not seen are of more importance than things which are seen. I have said that the two chief causes of pauperism are heredity and environment, and the question arises, How change these for the better? Fortunately the more powerful is environment, and that is the more easily controlled. The remedy is to break up these pauper and criminal bands, and at the earliest age to remove the children from their poisonous atmosphere. Wherever an attempt has been made to improve the children of the lowest classes by placing them in wholesome environment, the results have been eminently satisfactory. Not all, but a large majority, grow up to be independent, self-respecting, and respected citizens. Less may be done for adults who have once become thoroughly identified with the "lost and lapsed classes," but even for most of these much can be accomplished by bringing wholesome influences to bear. The class regarded as most helpless of all is that of fallen women, but the Salvation Army's "Slum Sisterhood," consisting of young women of character who go among the most degraded, have secured success even among these. The secret is to go among these people of the submerged tenth as Christ went among men, sharing their sorrows and helping them with the personal contact of superior natures. Self-sacrifice, enjoined by true Christianity, is

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the neglected social force which solves social problems.

Germany has a large number of "laborers' colonies" for the dependent classes, and these colonies have succeeded well, on the whole. It seems clear that there is a class which must be kept permanently isolated in asylums and subjected to kind but firm discipline. They are called by General Booth the "morally incurable," and include those who "will not work and will not obey." These are to be regarded, from the stand-point of competitive society, as social refuse, but they are not entirely useless on that account. Their own good requires strong government, which will utilize whatever powers they possess, and only in case improvement is seen in individuals among them should greater liberty be allowed to these relatively more hopeful cases. It is felt by all specialists in sociology that these hopelessly lost and lapsed should not be allowed to propagate their kind.

The analysis of applicants for relief made by American charity organization societies shows that the number of poor and worthy people is much larger than one would gather from superficial newspaper articles. Nearly 28,000 cases were analyzed, with this result:

Worthy of continuous relief...	10.3 per cent.
Worthy of temporary relief...	26.6 " "
Needing relief in the form of	
work	40.4 " "
Unworthy of relief.....	22.7 " "

It is difficult to say who ought to be called unworthy of relief, but evidently those are placed in that category whose trouble is above everything else moral, and among these are some who ought most of all to excite our compassion.

Turning now to more specific remedies, we may instance two which have been tried and failed. One is miscellaneous alms-giving, which has been a social curse, producing the very evil which we want to cure. Every time money is given on the street to a beggar without inquiry harm is done. The other remedy which has been tried is still advocated by some, and that is tract-distribution and preaching. Social reformers have long said that conditions must first be changed before we can work upon the individual by appeals to his moral nature. Social reformers

have been much abused for emphasizing external circumstances, but they seem at last to have carried conviction to those actually at work among the poor. The late Mr. Charles Loring Brace, who worked successfully among the poor of New York City, although himself a religious man, warned us against the effort to cure the worst evils of the slums of cities by technical religious means. Mr. Brace speaks of a too great confidence in "the old technical methods, such as distributing tracts, holding prayer-meetings, and scattering Bibles," and assures us that "the neglected and ruffian classes are in no way affected directly by such influences as these." But if the testimony of a layman is doubted, we may quote the Rev. Mr. Barnett, rector of St. Jude's, in London, who tells us that "the social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary." The Methodists have generally as much confidence as any denomination in these technically religious methods, but the well-known Methodist minister, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, of London, says: "I have had almost as much experience of evangelistic work as any man in this country, and I have never been able to bring any one who was actually starving to Christ." Let us hear the chief of the Salvation Army, who certainly does not underrate religious exhortation. General Booth says:

"I have had some experience on this subject, and have been making observations with respect to it ever since the day I made my first attempt to reach these starving, hungry crowds—just over forty-five years ago—and I am quite satisfied that these multitudes will not be saved in their present circumstances. All the clergymen, home missionaries, tract-distributors, sick-visitors, and every one else who cares about the salvation of the poor, may make up their minds as to that. The poor must be helped out of their present social miseries."

Some specific remedies must, on account of lack of space, be merely mentioned. A prominent cause of misery in all cities is found to be early and thoughtless marriages. A public sentiment must be formed on this subject. The results are weak and feeble children, and often ultimate discouragement and pauperism on the part of parents unable to carry the burdens which they have taken upon themselves. A further development of charity

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organization societies will be helpful. Friendly societies and trades - unions should be encouraged in every way, and the example of a few educated and cultured people not of the wage-earning class, who have joined societies like the Knights of Labor, ought to be more generally followed. The close association with one's fellows in these societies is most helpful, and this keeps their members from pauperism. Very few paupers are members of any trades-union. When in a time of great distress a large fund was raised in London for distribution, in one district 1,000 men applied for help before one mechanic came, and among all the applicants there was only one member of a trades-union.

The chief agency of reform, however, must be sought in the helpful co-operation of citizens with public authorities, particularly with those of the city. Private societies have made a failure of efforts to improve social conditions. The Elberfeld system, so often quoted, means precisely this co-operation of private effort with municipal authorities. This organization of charities is a municipal one, which drafts into its service the best citizens as friendly visitors in such numbers that there is one to every four poor families.

Finally, every social improvement tends to diminish the number of paupers, and the question of pauperism thus involves the whole of social science. Remedies are of two kinds, positive and preventive—namely, those which seek to cure the evil and those which aim to prevent its coming into existence. The number of our almshouses, asylums, and charitable institutions of all sorts, of which we boast so much, is really our shame. They show that we are but half-Christians. As we progress in real Christianity, preventive measures will be more and more emphasized. They will include, among other things, improved education of every grade, better factory legislation, including employers' liability acts, means for the development of the physical man, like gymnasiums, play-grounds, and parks, increased facilities for making small savings, like postal savings-banks, and more highly developed sanitary legislation and administration. We may hope to see the time when the practice of Christians will

to such an extent conform to their proud professions that the slums of cities will disappear and be replaced by wholesome dwellings, permitting in these quarters once more to spring up that old and beneficent institution—the Home.

Pavonia. Michael Pauw, one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, bought of the Indians (1630) a large tract of land in the present limits of New Jersey, including what are now Jersey City and Hoboken, to which he presently added, by purchase, Staten Island and neighboring districts, and became a patroon. This region was called Pavonia, and one of the ferries to New York City now bears that name.

Pawnee Indians, a warlike tribe of North American Indians, which lived in villages of earth-covered logs, on the borders of the Platte River, in Nebraska and Kansas. They appear to be of the Illinois family, divided into several bands, and were continually at war with the Sioux and other surrounding tribes. Hostile to the Spaniards, they have ever been friendly to the Americans. Sometimes they sacrificed prisoners to the sun; cultivated a few vegetables; and shaved their heads, excepting the scalp-lock. The women dressed decently, and the men went on a hunt regularly to the plains for buffalo. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they numbered about 6,000, with 2,000 warriors. In 1833 they were seated upon a reservation north of the Nebraska River, and made rapid progress towards civilization, when the fierce Sioux swept down upon them, ravaged their country, and killed many of their people. Driven south of the Nebraska, they lost nearly half their number by disease. In 1861 they numbered 3,414, and assisted the government in a war with the Sioux. As soon as the latter made peace with the government, they fell upon the Pawnees and slaughtered them without mercy. In 1872 their crops were destroyed by locusts, and they removed to another section, where they were placed under charge of the Quakers, with a perpetual annuity of \$30,000. In 1899 there were 706 of them on a reservation in Oklahoma.

Paxton Massacre, THE. The atrocities of Pontiac's confederates on the frontiers of Pennsylvania aroused the ferocity of

PAYNE

the Scotch-Irish settlers there, and on the night of Dec. 14, 1763, nearly fifty of them fell upon some peaceful and friendly Indians at Conestoga, on the Susquehanna, who were living quietly there, under the guidance of Moravian missionaries. These Indians were wrongly suspected of harboring or corresponding with hostiles. Very few of the Indians were ever at Conestoga, and all who remained—men, women, and children—were murdered by the "Paxton Boys," as they called themselves. The village, with the winter stores, was laid in ashes. The citizens of Lancaster collected the scattered survivors into the workhouse for protection. The "Paxton Boys" burst into it, and before the citizens could assemble, murdered all the Indians and fled. The Moravian Indians at Wyalusing and Nain hurried to Philadelphia for protection, but the "Paxton Boys" threatened to go there in large numbers and kill them, and they were sent to Province Island, put under the charge of the garrison there, and were saved. The government offered a reward for the arrest of the murderers, but such was the state of feeling in the interior of Pennsylvania that no one dared to move in the matter. It assumed a political and religious aspect. The participants in the crime were not ignorant and vulgar borderers, but men of such high standing and consequence that the press, in denouncing their acts, forbore to give their names.

Payne, HENRY B., statesman; born in Hamilton, N. Y., Nov. 30, 1810; removed to Cleveland, O., in 1834; State Senator, 1849; member of Congress, 1875-77; United States Senator, 1885-91. He died in Cleveland, O., Sept. 9, 1896.

Payne, HENRY C., statesman; born in Ashfield, Mass., Nov. 23, 1843; removed to Wisconsin in 1863; postmaster of Milwaukee, 1876-86; appointed Postmaster-General, Jan. 8, 1902.

Payne, JOHN HOWARD, dramatist; born in New York City, June 9, 1792; was very precocious, editing *The Thespian Mirror* when only thirteen years of age. He became a poet, a dramatist, and an actor of renown. At the age of fifteen and sixteen he published twenty-five numbers of a periodical called *The Pastime*, and in 1809, at the age of seventeen, he made a successful entrance upon the theatrical profession at the Park Theatre, New York, as *Young Norval*. In 1810 he played *Hamlet* and other leading parts with great success, and, at the age of twenty and twenty-one, he played with equal success at Drury Lane, London. While there he produced many dramas, chiefly adaptations from the French. In one of these occurs the song *Home, Sweet Home*, by which he is chiefly known. Payne be-



JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

came a correspondent of Coleridge and Lamb; and, in 1818, when he was twenty-six years of age, his tragedy of *Brutus* was successfully brought out at Drury Lane. He returned to the United States in 1832. He was appointed consul at Tunis, and died in office there, April 10, 1852. His remains were brought to Washington late

PAYSON—PEACE COMMISSION

in March, 1883, and interred at Georgetown.

Payson, PHILLIPS, clergyman; born in Walpole, Mass., Jan. 18, 1736; graduated at Harvard College in 1754; studied theology, and was pastor of the Congregational Church in Chelsea, Mass., in 1757-1801. His publications include *Transactions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*; *Battle of Lexington*; *Death of Washington*, etc. He died in Chelsea, Mass., Jan. 11, 1801.

Peabody, GEORGE, philanthropist; born at Danvers, Mass., Feb. 18, 1795. After serving as a clerk in his uncle's store in Georgetown, D. C., in 1812-13, he became a partner with Elisha Riggs, in New York City, and afterwards in Baltimore. In July, 1843, he became a banker, in London, and amassed an immense fortune, which he used in making princely benefactions, as follows: To his native town, \$200,000, to establish a lyceum and library; to the first Grinnell expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, \$10,000; to found an institute of science, literature, and the fine arts, in Baltimore, \$1,400,000; and, in 1862, to the city of London, \$2,500,000, for the benefit of its poor. In 1866 he gave to Harvard University \$150,000 to establish a professorship of American archæology, and, the same year, to the Southern Educational Fund, \$2,000,000. The trustees dissolved the fund, Jan. 24, 1905, giving \$1,000,000 to found the Peabody School at Nashville, Tenn. He also gave to Yale College, to found a chair of geology, \$150,000. He died in London, England, Nov. 4, 1869, and his remains were sent to the United States on the British man-of-war *Monarch*, and received by an American squadron under command of Admiral Farragut.

Peabody, SELIM HOBART, scientist; born in Rockingham, Vt., Aug. 20, 1829; graduated at the University of Vermont in 1852; was connected with a number of colleges as professor of physics, mathematics, civil engineering, etc. He was the chief of the department of liberal arts in the World's Fair of 1893, and first editor-in-chief of the *International Cyclopædia*. He died May 26, 1903.

Peace Commission. In addition to the Hampton Roads Conference (see **PEACE**

CONFERENCE OF 1864) there were in the year 1864 two semi-official attempts to bring about peace between the North and the South. General Grant, under date of July 8, wrote a letter to Gen. Robert E. Lee, requesting that Col. James S. Jacques, 78th Illinois Infantry, and James R. Gilmour be allowed to meet Col. Robert Ould, Confederate commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. The reply was satisfactory, and the two Northern commissioners, after meeting Colonel Ould, had an interview with President Davis. The plan proposed by the Northern commissioners was declared by President Davis to be altogether impracticable.

Mr. Benjamin, Confederate Secretary of State, in an official letter to James M. Mason, commissioner in Europe, states "it was proposed that there should be a general vote of all the people of both federations, the majority of the vote thus taken to determine all disputed questions. President Davis replied that as these proposals had been prefaced by the remark that the people of the North were in the majority, and that the majority ought to govern, the offer was in effect a proposal that the Confederate States should surrender at discretion, admit that they had been wrong from the beginning, submit to the mercy of their enemies, and avow themselves to be in need of pardon; that extermination was preferable to dishonor."

Later in the year, Messrs. Clement C. Clay, of Alabama, Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Prof. James P. Holcombe, of Virginia, and George N. Sanders, of Kentucky, arrived in Canada *via* the Bermudas, and opened communications with a view to a conference. Horace Greeley wrote President Lincoln urging him to invite the Confederate commissioners to Washington, there to submit their propositions. The President acquiesced in Mr. Greeley's request, but directed that Mr. Greeley should proceed to Niagara and accompany the Confederate commissioners to Washington.

In an exchange of letters between Mr. Greeley and Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, the latter stated that the safe conduct of the President of the United States had been tendered them under a misapprehension of the facts; that they were not ac-

PEACE COMMISSIONERS

credited by the Confederacy as bearers of propositions looking to the establishment of peace; that they were, however, in the confidential employ of their government, and entirely familiar with its wishes and opinions. Under the circumstances, Mr. Greeley declined to meet Messrs. Clay and Holcombe without further instructions from the President of the United States. July 20 Mr. Greeley and Major Hay, President Lincoln's private secretary, crossed the Niagara and met Messrs. Clay and Holcombe, to whom the following letter was handed:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

"To Whom It May Concern:

"Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points; and the bearer thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

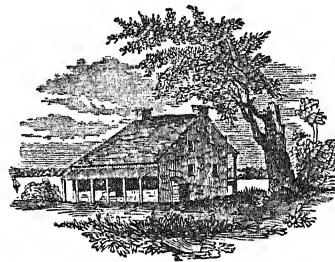
"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

In the absence of any official authority on the part of Messrs. Clay, Holcombe, Sanders, and Thompson, all negotiations ceased.

Peace Commissioners. Viscount General Howe and Admiral Lord Howe, who arrived at New York almost simultaneously (July, 1776), were authorized as joint commissioners to treat with the Americans for reconciliation, pursuant to a recent act of Parliament. They had very limited powers. They were not allowed to recognize the validity of any congress, or of the commission of any military officer among the colonies; they could only treat with persons as individuals; grant pardons to individuals or communities which should lay down their arms or dissolve their governments, but they might not be judges of any complaints, nor promise any redress. They began the business of their mission in the spirit of these instructions by addressing the American commander-in-chief as "Mr. Washington, Esq.," in superscribing a note which they sent by a flag, accompanied with a copy of the declaration of the royal clemency.

Washington refused to receive it. An officer who bore a second note (which also was not received) assured Washington that the commissioners were invested with large powers to effect reconciliation. "They seem to have power only to grant pardons," said Washington—"having committed no fault, we need no pardon."

The admiral addressed a letter to Dr. Franklin, whom he had known personally in England, and received a reply, courteous in tone, but in nowise soothing to his feelings as a statesman or a Briton. As they had equal power to negotiate peace or wage war, the commissioners now prosecuted the latter, and not long afterwards the battle on Long Island occurred, in which the Americans were defeated. General Sullivan was among the prisoners. Thinking it to be a favorable time to try their peace measures again, the commissioners sent Sullivan, on his parole, to Congress, to induce that body to designate



THE BILLOP HOUSE.

some person with whom the admiral might hold a conference. They appointed Messrs. Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge a committee to meet him, informally, at a place on Staten Island (which he had indicated) opposite Amboy. They met there, Sept. 11, 1776, at the house of the loyalist Colonel Billop. Both parties were very courteous. Lord Howe told them he could not receive them as representatives of the Congress, but as private gentlemen, and that the independence of the colonists, lately declared, could not be considered for a moment. "You may call us what you please," they said, "we are nevertheless the representatives of a free and independent people, and will entertain no proposition which does not recognize

our independence." Further conference was unnecessary.

On June 4, 1778, the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden, commissioners appointed by the King under Lord North's conciliatory bills, arrived at Philadelphia. The brothers Howe, who were to be of the commission, could not join them, but Sir Henry Clinton took the place of Sir William. The commissioners sent their credentials and other papers by their secretary to the Congress at York, Pa., with a flag. That body and the American people, having already perused the bills and found in them no word about independence, had resolved to have nothing to do with commissioners that might be sent, and to meet no advance on the part of the government of Great Britain unless the fleets and armies should be withdrawn and the independence of the United States be declared. Their papers were returned to them with a letter from the president of the Congress saying they could not treat excepting on a basis of acknowledged independence. The commissioners tried by various arts to accomplish their purpose, but failed, and, after issuing an angry and threatening manifesto, sailed for England in October.

After the total destruction of the Southern army near Camden, in August, 1780, some of the Southern members of Congress, alarmed at the progress of the British, became so anxious for the aid of Spain that they proposed, in October, 1780, to abandon all claims to the navigation of the Mississippi as the price of a Spanish subsidy and alliance. Meanwhile (January, 1781) the Empress of Russia had been joined by the Emperor of Germany in an offer of mediation. Great Britain, getting wearied of the war, had accepted the offer. These facts being communicated to Congress by the French minister, a committee was appointed to confer with him. Their report, the opinions of the French ambassador, and the financial pressure made Congress greatly modify its terms of peace on which they had so strenuously insisted. They waived an express acknowledgment of independence. They were willing to accept anything which substantially amounted to it. The treaty with France was to be maintained in full force, but all else was in-

trusted to the discretion of the negotiators for peace who might be appointed, former instructions indicating the wishes of Congress. These concessions were opposed by the New England delegates, but were adopted by the votes of Southern members, who were anxious for peace. It was proposed to have five commissioners who should represent the different sections of the Union, and John Adams, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry Laurens were appointed. The Russian and German mediation resulted in nothing, and Great Britain haughtily refused to acknowledge the independence of the United States in any form.

Peace Conference of 1864. Francis P. Blair, Sr., conceived the idea that through his personal acquaintance with most of the Confederate leaders at Richmond he might be able to effect a peace. So, without informing the President of his purpose, he asked Mr. Lincoln for a pass through the National lines to the Confederate capital. On Dec. 26, the President handed Mr. Blair a card on which was written, "Allow Mr. F. P. Blair, Sr., to pass our lines to go South and return," and signed his name to it. This self-constituted peace commissioner went to Richmond, had several interviews with President Davis, and made his way back to Washington in January, 1865, with a letter written to himself by Jefferson Davis, in which the latter expressed a willingness to appoint a commission "to renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries." This letter Mr. Blair placed in the hands of the President, when the latter wrote a note to Blair which he might show to Davis, in which he expressed a willingness now, as he had ever had, to take proper measures for "securing peace to the people of our common country." With this letter Blair returned to Richmond.

Mr. Lincoln's expression, "our common country," as opposed to Davis's "the two countries," deprived the latter of all hope of a negotiation on terms of independence for the Confederate States. But there was an intense popular desire for the war to cease which he dared not resist, and he appointed Alexander H. Stephens, John A.

PEACE CONFERENCE

Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter commissioners to proceed to Washington. They were permitted to go on a steamer only as far as Hampton Roads, without the privilege of landing, and there, on board the vessel that conveyed them, they held a conference (Feb. 3, 1865) of several hours with President Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward. That conference clearly revealed the wishes of both parties. The Confederates wanted an armistice by which an immediate peace might be secured, leaving the question of the separation of the Confederate States from the Union to be settled afterwards. The President told them plainly that there would be no suspension of hostilities and no negotiations, except on the basis of the disbandment of the Confederate forces and the recognition of the national authority throughout the republic. He declared, also, that he should not recede from his position on the subject of slavery, and the commissioners were informed of the adoption by Congress three days before of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. So ended the peace conference.

In a speech at a public meeting in Richmond on Jan. 6, Davis, in reference to the words of President Lincoln—"our common country"—said, "Sooner than we should ever be united again, I would be willing to yield up everything I hold on earth, and, if it were possible, would sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." The meeting passed resolutions spurning with indignation the terms offered by the President as a "gross insult" and "premeditated indignity" to the people of the "Confederate States." Davis declared that in less than twelve months they would "compel the Yankees to petition them for peace upon their own terms." He spoke of "his Majesty Abraham the First," and said that "before the campaign was over, Lincoln and Seward might find they had been speaking to their masters." At a war-meeting held a few days afterwards at Richmond, it was resolved that they would never lay down their arms until their independence was won. See PEACE COMMISSION.

Peace Conference, UNIVERSAL. Count Mouravieff, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, on Aug. 24, 1898, suggested a conference of the powers with a view to

the maintenance of universal peace, and the limiting of excessive armaments. As the suggestion met with general favor, the Emperor of Russia, on Jan. 11, 1899, proposed a congress to be held at The Hague, May 18, 1899, in which each power, whatever the number of its delegates, would have only one vote. The subjects to be submitted for international discussion at the congress could be summarized as follows:

1. An understanding not to increase for a fixed period the present effective of the armed military and naval forces, and at the same time not to increase the budgets pertaining thereto; and a preliminary examination of the means by which a reduction might even be effected in future in the forces and budgets above-mentioned.

2. To prohibit the use in the armies and fleets of any new kind of fire-arms whatever and of new explosives, or any powders more powerful than those now in use either for rifles or cannon.

3. To restrict the use in military warfare of the formidable explosives already existing, and to prohibit the throwing of projectiles or explosives of any kind from balloons or by any similar means.

4. To prohibit the use in naval warfare of submarine torpedo-boats or plungers, or other similar engines of destruction; to give an undertaking not to construct vessels with rams in the future.

5. To apply to naval warfare the stipulations of the Geneva Convention of 1864, on the basis of the Additional Articles of 1868.

6. To neutralize ships and boats employed in saving those overboard during or after an engagement.

7. To revise the declaration concerning the laws and customs of war elaborated in 1874 by the conference of Brussels, which has remained unratified to the present day.

8. To accept in principle the employment of good offices, of mediation and facultative arbitration in cases lending themselves thereto, with the object of preventing armed conflicts between nations; to come to an understanding with respect to the mode of applying these good offices, and to establish a uniform practice in using them.

The following governments were repre-

sented: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States of America.

The United States were represented by the Hon. Andrew D. White, ambassador to Berlin; the Hon. Seth Low, president of Columbia University; the Hon. Stanford Newel, minister to The Hague; Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. N.; Capt. William Crozier, U. S. A., and the Hon. Frederick W. Holls, of New York.

At the opening of the conference, May 18, M. de Staal, the Russian ambassador, was elected President.

The subjects suggested in the Russian circular of Jan. 11 were referred to three committees, the reports of which were submitted July 29 and signed by all. Accompanying the report were the following proposed conventions:

I. Convention for the pacific settlement of international conflicts.

II. Convention regarding the laws and customs of war by land.

III. Convention for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of Aug. 22, 1864.

Added to the convention relative to laws and customs of war were three declarations, separately signed as follows:

1. The contracting powers agree to prohibit, for a term of five years, the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons, or by other new methods of a similar nature.

2. The contracting parties agree to abstain from the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as bullets with a hard envelope which does not entirely cover the core, or is pierced with incisions.

3. The contracting parties agree to abstain from the use of projectiles the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases.

The United States signed the first of these declarations, but declined to sign the second and third.

On receiving the members of the International Parliamentary Peace Union at the White House, Sept. 24, 1904, Presi-

dent Roosevelt announced his intention of inviting at an early day the leading nations to join in a second peace conference at The Hague. The members of the Union assembled in Boston, Oct. 3, following, to hold the thirteenth annual convention of the International Peace Congress. See ARBITRATION. INTERNATIONAL.

Peace Congresses. In 1782 Prince Kaunitz agreed with Vergennes that, in a proposed peace congress at Vienna, the United States government should be represented, so that direct negotiations between it and Great Britain might proceed simultaneously with those of the European powers. The proposition was pronounced by the able Queen of France to be a masterpiece of political wisdom. But England refused to negotiate for peace with France until that power should give up its connection with the American "rebels." This proposition was embodied by Kaunitz in the preliminary articles which he prepared for the peace congress. He cast the blame of its ill-success on the unreasonable pretensions of the British ministry.

On Jan. 19, 1861, a series of resolutions were adopted by the Virginia legislature recommending a national peace convention or congress to be held in the city of Washington on Feb. 4, for the purpose of effecting a general and permanent pacification; commending the Crittenden compromise as a just basis of settlement; and appointing two commissioners, one to go to the President of the United States, and the other to the governors of the seceding States, to ask them to abstain from all hostile action pending the proceedings of the proposed convention. The proposition for such a convention was received with great favor. President Buchanan laid it before Congress with a commendatory message, but the Virginians had accompanied this proposition with a menace. On the same day the legislature resolved, "That if all efforts to reconcile the unhappy differences between the sections of our country shall prove abortive, then every consideration of honor and interest demands that Virginia shall unite her destinies with the slave-holding States." Delegates to the peace convention were chosen from nearly every State but the seven seceding ones. They met at Wil-

PEACE CONGRESSES

lard's Hotel, in Washington, D. C., Feb. 4. The convention was permanently organized by the appointment of ex-President John Tyler, of Virginia, to preside, and Crafts J. Wright, of Ohio, as secretary. The convention was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. P. D. Gurley. Mr. Guthrie, of Kentucky, opened the business by offering a resolution for the appointment of a committee consisting of one from each State represented, to whom all resolutions and propositions for the adjustment of difficulties might be referred, with authority to report a plan to "restore harmony and preserve the Union." The committee was appointed, and Mr. Guthrie was chosen its chairman. He made a report on the 15th, in which several amendments to the Constitution were offered. It proposed:

First. The re-establishment of the boundary between slavery and freedom on the line fixed by the Missouri Compromise—lat. 36° 30' N. It also proposed that when any territory north or south of that line should contain the requisite number of inhabitants to form a State, it should be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, either with or without slavery, as the constitution of the new State may determine.

Second. That territory should not be acquired by the United States unless by treaty, nor, except for naval or commercial stations, unless such treaty should be ratified by four-fifths of all the members of the Senate.

Third. That neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof should be construed to give power to Congress to interfere with slavery in any of the States of the Union, nor in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and the slave-holders concerned, compensation to be made for slaves emancipated to owners who refuse their consent; nor to interfere with slavery under the jurisdiction of the United States, such as in arsenals, navy-yards, etc., in States where it was recognized; nor to interfere with the transportation of slaves from one slave-labor State to another; nor to authorize any higher taxation on slaves than on land.

Fourth. That the clause in the Constitution relating to the rendition of slaves

should not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor should be due.

Fifth. That the foreign slave-trade should be forever prohibited.

Sixth. That the first, second, third, and fifth of the foregoing propositions, when in the form of ratified amendments to the Constitution, and the clause relating to the rendition of fugitive slaves, should not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

Seventh. That Congress should provide by law that the United States should pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive slave in all cases where the law-officer whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive should be prevented from doing so by violence or intimidation, or where such fugitive should be rescued, after arrest, and the claimant thereby should lose his property.

This was the majority report, and was substantially the Crittenden compromise then before the Senate. Two members of the committee—Baldwin, of Connecticut, and Seddon, of Virginia—each presented a minority report. The former proposed a general convention of all the States to consider amendments to the Constitution; the latter objected to the majority report because it fell short of the demands of Virginia. He proposed an amendment to the Constitution that would protect the slave-holder in transporting his slaves anywhere, as property; also that should forever exclude from the ballot-box and public office "persons who are in whole or in part of the African race." He also proposed an amendment recognizing the right of peaceable secession. Other propositions were submitted by members in open convention, among them one from Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, proposing an adjournment of the convention to April 4, to enable all the States to be represented. The various propositions were earnestly discussed for several days. David Dudley Field, of New York, proposed, Feb. 26, to amend the majority report by striking out the seventh section and inserting the words, "No State shall withdraw from the

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PEACE CONGRESSES—PEACE ESTABLISHMENT

Union without the consent of all the States convened in pursuance of an act passed by two-thirds of each House of Congress." This was rejected by a vote of 11 States against 10. The votes were by States. When, on the same day, the majority report was taken up for final action, Baldwin's proposition, offered as a substitute, was rejected by a vote of 13 States against 8. Seddon then offered his substitute, and it was rejected—16 States against 4. James B. Clay, a son of Henry Clay, then offered Crittenden's compromise. It was rejected by 14 States against 5. Guthrie's report was then taken up, and after some modifications was adopted.

Following this, T. E. Franklin moved, as the sense of the convention, that the highest political duty of every citizen of the United States is allegiance to the national government, and that no State has a constitutional right to secede therefrom. It was rejected by 10 States against 7. Mr. Guthrie offered a preamble to his propositions, which was agreed to, and Mr. Tyler was requested to present the plan to Congress forthwith. This ended the business of the convention, when Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, obtained leave to place on record and have printed with the proceedings of the convention a resolution deploring the secession of some of the States; expressing a hope that they would return; that "the republican institutions guaranteed each State cannot and ought not to be maintained by force," and that therefore the convention deprecated any effort of the federal government to coerce, in any form, the said States to reunion or submission, as tending to an irreparable breach, and leading to incalculable ills. The proceedings of the convention were laid before the Senate, March 2, 1861. After a long debate on that and several other propositions, it was finally decided by a vote of 25 to 11 to postpone the "Guthrie plan" in favor of a proposition of amendment adopted by the House of Representatives, which provided that "no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof." The Senate concurred, and the Crittenden compromise being called up, it was

rejected. The peace convention was a failure. It was a vain attempt to conciliate the slave power.

Peace Establishment. When the evacuation of the seaboard by the British was completed in November, 1783, the northern and western frontier posts continued to be held by British garrisons. These were Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg), Oswego, Niagara, Presque Isle (now Erie), Sandusky, Detroit, Mackinaw, and some of lesser importance. The occupation of these posts by garrisons did not enter into the calculations for an immediate peace establishment at the close of the Revolution, and the military force retained was less than 700 men. These were under the command of Knox, and placed in garrison at West Point and Pittsburg. Even these were discharged very soon afterwards, excepting twenty-five men to guard the stores at Pittsburg and fifty-five for West Point. No officer above the rank of captain was retained in the service. It was provided, however, that whenever the western posts should be surrendered by the British, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania should furnish their quota of 700 twelve-months' men to do garrison duty.

At the close of the War of 1812 President Madison proposed a military peace establishment of 20,000 men. When Congress considered it, the House of Representatives proposed 6,000, and the Senate proposed 15,000. There was a compromise, and 10,000 was the number agreed to. Two major-generals, four brigadier-generals, and the necessary staff, regimental, and company officers, were selected by the President from those in the service. The supernumerary officers and men, according to the original terms of enlistment, were to be discharged, with three months' extra pay. The naval establishment was left as it was, with an additional appropriation of \$200,000 annually for three years for its gradual increase. A board of three naval officers was created to exercise, under the Secretary of the Navy, the general superintendence of the Navy Department. The grade of officers in the naval service remained unaltered, a proposition to create the offices of admiral and vice-admiral having failed. See

ARMY.

PEACE MEDALS—PEACE PARTY

Peace Medals.
There was rejoicing in Great Britain as well as in the United States on the conclusion of peace in 1814, particularly among the manufacturing and mercantile classes. A medal was struck in commemoration of the great event, which bore upon one side the words, "Treaty of Peace

and Amity between Great Britain and the United States of America. Signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814"; and upon the other a feminine figure standing on the segment of a globe, holding in one hand the olive branch of peace. Another was struck, which is represented in the accompanying engraving. The British government, grateful for the loyalty of Canada during the war, caused a medal of gratitude to be struck, as seen below.



MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

members of the Congressional minority, whose protest against the war had been conscientiously made, this peace faction endeavored—by attempting to injure the public credit, preventing enlistments into the armies, spreading false stories concerning the strength of the British and the weakness of the Americans, and public speeches, sermons, pamphlets, and newspaper essays—to compel the government to sheathe the sword and hold out the



MEDAL OF GRATITUDE.

Peace Party. On the declaration of war in June, 1812, an organization known as the peace party soon appeared, composed of the more violent opposers of the administration and disaffected Democrats, whose partisan spirit held their patriotism in complete subordination. Lacking the sincerity and integrity of the patriotic

olive branch of peace at the cost of national honor and independence. Their unscrupulous, and sometimes treasonable, machinations were kept up during the whole war, and prolonged it by embarrassing their government. The better portion of the Federal party discountenanced these acts. With a clear percep-

PEACE PARTY—PEACE RESOLUTIONS

tion of duty to the country, rather than to their party, leaders like Quincy, Emott, and a host of others gave their support to the government in its hour of need.

The first call for the marshalling of the hosts of the peace party, so conspicuous during the Civil War, was sounded in Congress when (July 10, 1861), a loan bill was introduced authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow \$250,000,000 for the support of the government and to prosecute a war in its defence. Clement L. Vallandigham, Representative in Congress from Ohio, made an elaborate speech against the measure and the entire policy of the administration in its vindication of the national authority by force of arms. He charged the President with usurpation in calling out and increasing the military and naval forces of the country; in blockading ports; in suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*; and other acts which the safety of the government seemed to require—and all done without the express authority of Congress. He declared that the denunciation of slavery and slave-holders was the cause of the war; denounced the revenue laws as injurious to the cotton-growers; charged his political opponents with being anxious for war instead of peace, and of having adopted a war policy for partisan purposes; warned the country that other usurpations would follow, such as the denial of the right of petition and the freedom of conscience; and pronounced the war for the "coercion of sovereign States" to be "unholy and unjust." From that time until the close of the war, and even afterwards, Mr. Vallandigham used all his powers in giving "aid and comfort" to the Confederates. He and the peace party opposed every measure of the administration for ending the war. They were doubtless sincere; but the friends of the republic regarded them as mistaken and mischievous.

Benjamin Wood, Representative from New York, proposed (July 15) that Congress should take measures for assembling a border-State convention to devise means for securing peace. Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, introduced (July 18) an addition to a bill for the reorganization of the army, which declared that no part of the army or navy should be employed in "sub-

jecting or holding as a conquered province any sovereign State now or lately one of the United States." To this John C. Breckinridge added, "or to abolish slavery therein." From the beginning of the Civil War there was a faction, composed of the disloyal politicians of the opposition, who used every means in their power to embarrass the government. They affiliated with the KNIGHTS OF THE GOLD-EN CIRCLE (*q. v.*), and, like the peace faction in 1812-15, they were practical enemies of their country. Matthew F. Maury, formerly superintendent of the National Observatory, in a letter to the *London Times* (Aug. 17, 1863), said, in proof that there was no chance for the preservation of the Union, "There is already a peace party in the North. All the embarrassments with which that party can surround Mr. Lincoln, and all the difficulties that it can throw in the way of the war party in the North, operate directly as so much aid and comfort to the South." The faction issued many publications in furtherance of their views, and never ceased their operations until the close of the war which they had prolonged.

Peace Resolutions. During the holiday recess of Parliament in 1781-82, the people and legislators of England had the surrender of Cornwallis to reflect upon, and came to the conclusion that further efforts to subdue the colonies were useless. On Feb. 22, 1782, a motion was offered by Conway, in the House of Commons, against continuing the war in America. It was then negatived by a majority of one. Five days later, Conway's resolution for an address to the King on the subject was carried by a majority of 19. To this address the King gave an equivocal answer. On March 4 Conway brought forward an address to the King to declare that the House would consider as enemies to the King and country all those who should further attempt the prosecution of a war on the continent of America for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience. It was adopted without a division. The next day, with like unanimity, leave was given by the House to bring in an "enabling bill," allowing the King to make a peace or truce with America. It was accordingly brought in, but

PEACH-TREE CREEK—PEACOCK

it was ten weeks before it became a law under a new administration. The North administration was no more. Of it Dr. Johnson said: "Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced the country. It was composed of many corrupt and greedy men, who yielded to the stubbornness of the King for the sake of the honors and emoluments of office."

Peach-tree Creek, BATTLE OF. See ATLANTA.

Peacock, THE, a notable war-vessel of the United States in the War of 1812, mounting eighteen guns. In March, 1814, under command of Captain Warrington, she sailed from New York on a cruise. She

were killed or wounded. Only two of the *Peacock's* men were wounded; and so little was she injured that an hour after the battle she was in perfect fighting order. The *Épervier* sold for \$55,000, and on board of her was found \$118,000 in specie. She was such a valuable prize that Warrington determined to take her into Savannah himself. On the way, when abreast of Amelia Island, on the coast of Florida, the *Épervier*, in charge of Lieut. John B. Nicholson, came near being captured by two English frigates. She entered the Savannah River in safety on May 1, 1814. The *Peacock* reached the same port on May 4. This capture produced much ex-



WARRINGTON MEDAL.

was off the coast of Florida for some time without encountering any conspicuous adventure. On April 29, Warrington discovered three sails to the windward, under convoy of an armed brig of large dimensions. The two war-vessels made for each other, and very soon a close and severe battle ensued. The *Peacock* was so badly injured in her rigging at the beginning that she was compelled to fight "running at large," as the phrase is. She could not manœuvre much, and the contest became one of gunnery. The *Peacock* won the game at the end of forty minutes. Her antagonist, which proved to be the *Épervier*, eighteen guns, Captain Wales, struck her colors. She was badly injured, no less than forty-five round-shot having struck her hull. Twenty-two of her men

ultation. Congress thanked Warrington in the name of the nation, and gave him a gold medal. In another cruise to the shores of Portugal soon afterwards, the *Peacock* captured fourteen vessels, and returned to New York at the end of October.

In 1815, after parting with Biddle, Captain Warrington pursued his cruise in the *Peacock*, and on June 30, when off Anjer, in the Strait of Sunda, between Sumatra and Java, he fell in with the East India cruiser *Nautilus*, fourteen guns, Lieut. Charles Boyce. Broadships were exchanged, when the *Nautilus* struck her colors. She had lost six men killed and eight wounded. The *Peacock* lost none. This event occurred a few days after the period set by the treaty of peace for the cessation of

hostilities. Warrington was ignorant of any such treaty, but, being informed the next day of its ratification, he gave up the *Nautilus* and did everything in his power to alleviate the sufferings of her wounded crew. He then returned home, bearing the distinction of having fired the last shot in the second war for independence. When the *Peacock* reached the United States every cruiser, public and private, that had been out against the British had returned to port, and the war was over.

Peale, CHARLES WILSON, painter; born in Chestertown, Md., April 16, 1741; was at first apprenticed to a saddler, and afterwards carried on that business, as well as silversmith, watch-maker, and carver. He finally became a portrait-painter, and was a good sportsman, naturalist, preserver of animals, an inventor, and was the first dentist in the country who made sets of artificial teeth. He took instruc-



CHARLES WILSON PEALE.

tions from Copley, in Boston, in 1770-71; studied at the Royal Academy in London; and in 1772 painted the first portrait of Washington ever executed, in the costume of a Virginia colonel, and at the same time painted a miniature of Mrs. Washington. He did military service and carried on portrait-painting during the Revolutionary War, and for fifteen years he was the only portrait-painter in America. He made a portrait gallery of Revolutionary worthies, and opened, in Philadelphia, the first museum in the country, and was the first to give lectures on natural history.

Mr. Peale painted several portraits of Washington, among them one for Houdon's use in making his statue of the patriot. He labored long for the establishment of an academy of fine arts in Philadelphia, and when it was founded he co-operated faithfully in its management, and contributed to seventeen annual exhibitions. Most of his family inherited his artistic and philosophical tastes. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 22, 1827. REMBRANDT, his son, born in Bucks county, Pa., Feb. 22, 1778; died in Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1860; painted a portrait of Washington from life, which is now in the Senate chamber in Washington, and was commended by personal friends of the patriot as the best likeness of him (excepting Houdon's statue) ever made. He studied under West in London, and, going to Paris, painted portraits of many eminent men for his father's museum. Charles Wilson Peale's youngest son, TITIAN RAMSEY, born in Philadelphia in 1800; died there, March 13, 1885, was also a painter and naturalist. He was painter and naturalist to the South Sea Surveying and Exploring Expedition.

Pearce, JAMES ALFRED, statesman; born in Alexandria, Va., Dec. 14, 1805; graduated at Princeton in 1822; admitted to the bar in 1824; elected to the Maryland legislature in 1831; elected member of Congress in 1835; elected United States Senator in 1843. President Fillmore nominated Senator Pearce as Secretary of the Interior. The nomination was confirmed but declined. He died in Chestertown, Md., Dec. 20, 1862.

Pea Ridge, BATTLE AT. When the Confederates under General Price fled into Arkansas in February, 1861, General Curtis and a strong force of Nationals pursued him. Curtis crossed the Arkansas line on Feb. 18 and drove Price and his followers over the Boston Mountains. He then fell back and took a position near Pea Ridge, a spur of the Ozark Mountains. Meanwhile Price had been joined by Gen. Earl Van Dorn, a dashing young officer who was his senior in rank, and now took chief command of the Confederates. Forty heavy guns thundered a welcome to the young general. "Soldiers!" cried the general, "behold your leader! He comes to show you the way to glory and immortal

PEA RIDGE, BATTLE AT

renown. He comes to hurl back the minions of the despots at Washington, whose ignorance, licentiousness, and brutality are equalled only by their craven natures. They come to free your slaves, were in battle order. His 1st and 2d divisions, on the left, were commanded respectively by Generals Asboth and Sigel; the 3d was under Gen. J. C. Davis, and composed the centre, and the 4th, on the



BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE.

lay waste your plantations, burn your villages, and abuse your loving wives and beautiful daughters." Van Dorn came from western Arkansas with Generals McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike. The latter was a New England man and a poet, and came at the head of a band of Indians whom he had lured into the service. The whole Confederate force then numbered 25,000 men; the National troops, led by Curtis, did not exceed 11,000 men, with 50 pieces of artillery.

On March 5 Curtis was informed by his scouts of the swift approach of an overwhelming force of Confederates; he concentrated his army in the Sugar Creek Valley. He was compelled to fight or make a disastrous retreat. Choosing the former, he prepared for the struggle. Meanwhile Van Dorn, by a quick movement, had flanked Curtis and gained his rear, and on the morning of the 7th he moved to attack the Nationals, not doubting his ability to crush him and capture his train of 200 wagons. Curtis's troops right, was commanded by Colonel Carr. His line of battle extended about 4 miles, and there was only a broad ravine between his troops and the heavy Confederate force. Towards noon the battle was opened by a simultaneous attack of Nationals and Confederates. A very severe conflict ensued, and continued a greater part of the day, with varying fortunes to each party, the lines of strife swaying like a pendulum. At 11 A.M. the pickets on Curtis's extreme right under Major Weston were violently assailed, and Colonel Osterhaus, with a detachment of Iowa cavalry and Davidson's Peoria Battery, supported by Missouri cavalry and Indiana infantry, attacked a portion of Van Dorn's troops before he was fairly ready for battle. Colonel Carr went to the assistance of Weston, and a severe engagement ensued. Thus the battle near Pea Ridge was opened. Osterhaus met with a warm reception, for the woods were swarming with Confederates. His cavalry were driven back,

PEA RIDGE—PEARSON

when General Davis came to his rescue with General Sigel, who attacked the Confederate flank. Soon afterwards Davis fought severely with McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike. Then the battle raged most fiercely. The issue of the strife seemed doubtful, when the 18th Indiana attacked the Confederate flank and rear so vigorously with ball and bayonet that they were driven from that part of the field, when it was strewn with the dead bodies of Texans and Indians. The Confederates now became fugitives, and in their flight they left their dead and wounded on the field. Among the latter were Generals McCulloch and McIntosh, mortally hurt. Osterhaus, and Sigel with his heavy guns,

(March 8), when the Nationals hurled such a destructive tempest of shot and shell upon the Confederates that the latter soon broke and fled in every direction in the wildest confusion. Van Dorn, who had been a greater part of the day with the troops that fought Carr, concentrated his whole available force on Curtis's right. The latter had been vigilant, and at 2 A.M. he had been joined by Sigel and his command. The whole four divisions of the army were in position to fight Van Dorn at daylight. With batteries advantageously planted, and infantry lying down in front of them, Curtis opened a terrible cannonade. Battery after battery of the Confederates was silenced in the course of

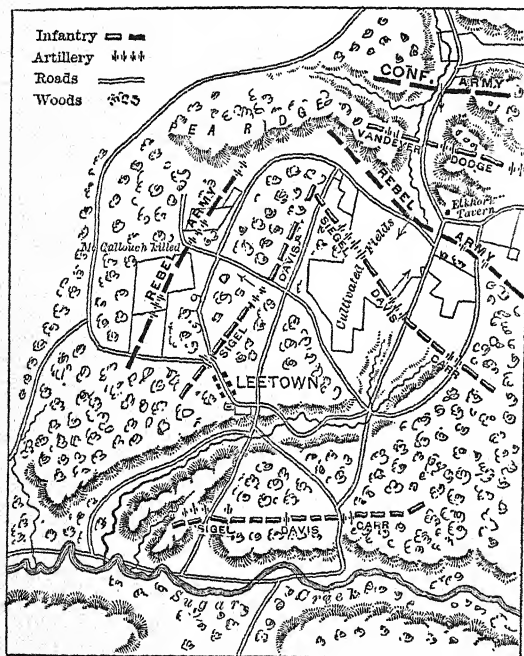
two hours, and so horrible was the tempest of iron that Van Dorn and his followers were compelled to fly to the shelter of the ravines of Cross Timber Hollow. At the same time, Sigel's infantry, with the troops of the centre and right, engaged in the battle. Van Dorn fled suddenly, and General Price, who had been posted some distance off, was forced to participate in the flight. The Confederate army, made so strong and hopeful by Van Dorn's speech twenty-four hours before, was now broken into fragments. This conflict, called the battle of Elkhorn by the Confederates, was a sanguinary one. The Nationals lost 1,351 killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the Confederates was never reported.

Pearl. See SCHOONER PEARL.

Pearson, ALFRED L., military officer; born in Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 28, 1838; entered the United States army as captain in 1862; retired as major-general in 1865; re-

ceived the congressional medal of honor; commander of the National Union Veteran Legion in 1888. He died in Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 6, 1903.

Pearson, GEORGE FREDERICK, naval officer; born in Exeter, N. H., Feb. 6, 1796; entered the navy as midshipman, March 11, 1815. and rose to captain in 1855.



MAP OF BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE.

now went to the assistance of Colonel Carr on the right. But Carr had held his ground. There were no indications that the Confederates wished to renew the fight, for it was now sunset. The Nationals bivouacked on the battle-field that night among the dead and dying.

The contest was renewed at dawn

PEARSON—PEFFER

While he was at Constantinople, in 1837, the Sultan offered to give him command of the Turkish navy, with the rank of admiral, and the salary of \$10,000 a year. It was declined. He effectually cleared the Gulf of Mexico of pirates. In 1865-66 he was in command of the Pacific squadron. Retired in 1861; promoted commodore in 1862, and rear-admiral in 1866 on the retired list. He died in Portsmouth, N. H., June 30, 1867.

Pearson, JONATHAN, educator; born in Chichester, N. H., Feb. 23, 1813; graduated at Union College in 1835; was instructor there in 1835-39; assistant professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in 1839-49; professor of natural history in 1849-73; and was then given the chair of agriculture and botany.

Peary, ROBERT EDWIN, explorer; born in Cresson, Pa., May 6, 1856; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1877; appointed civil engineer United States navy in 1881; assistant engineer Nicaragua ship-canal in 1884. He, Peary, made voyages to the Polar regions in 1886, 1891, 1893-95, 1896, 1897, and 1898-1902, and in 1904 was preparing for another voyage in the summer of 1905. He was president of the American Geographical Society in 1903-05. He is the author of *Over the Great Ice*; *A Complete Narrative of Arctic Work*.

Peck, GEORGE, clergyman; born in Middlefield, N. Y., Aug. 8, 1797; was ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816; was editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review* in 1840-48, and of the *Christian Advocate* in 1848-52. His publications include *Reply to Dr. Bascom on Slavery*; *History of Wyoming*; *Our Country, Its Trials and its Triumphs*; etc. He died in Scranton, Pa., July 29, 1876.

Peck, JOHN JAMES, military officer; born in Manlius, N. Y., Jan. 4, 1821; graduated at West Point in 1843, entering the 2d Artillery. He served in the war against Mexico, and resigned in 1853, settling in Syracuse as a banker. In August, 1861, he was made brigadier-general of volunteers, and, July 4, 1862, major-general. He performed excellent service during the whole Civil War, especially in defence of Suffolk. He was mustered out in August, 1865, after which

he was president of a life-insurance company in Syracuse, N. Y., where he died, April 21, 1878. See **SUFFOLK, SIEGE OF**.

Peck, JOHN MASON, clergyman; born in Litchfield, Conn., Oct. 31, 1789; was ordained in the Baptist Church in 1813; was an itinerant preacher in the West in 1817-26; settled in Rock Spring, Ill., in 1826. His publications include *A Guide for Emigrants*; *Gazetteer of Illinois*; *Father Clark, or the Pioneer Preacher*; and *Life of Daniel Boone*. He died in Rock Spring, Ill., March 15, 1858.

Peckham, RUFUS WILLIAM, jurist; born in Albany, Nov. 8, 1838; admitted to the bar in 1859; elected justice of the State Supreme Court, New York, in 1883; appointed associate justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1895.

Peculiar Institution. A phrase applied in the South to slavery.

Peet, HARVEY PRINDLE, educator; born in Bethlehem, Conn., Nov. 19, 1794; graduated at Yale College in 1822; became instructor in the deaf-and-dumb asylum in Hartford in the same year, and soon after was made superintendent of that institution. In 1831-68 he was principal of the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. His publications include *Course of Instruction for the Deaf and Dumb*; *Statistics of the Deaf and Dumb*; *Legal Rights, etc., of the Deaf and Dumb*; *History of the United States of America, etc.* He died in New York City, Jan. 1, 1873.

Peet, STEPHEN DENISON, clergyman; born in Euclid, O., Dec. 2, 1830; graduated at Beloit College in 1851 and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1854; was active in the ministry of the Congregational Church in 1855-66; later became known as an archaeologist. In 1878 he founded and became editor of *The American Antiquarian*, the first journal in the United States devoted entirely to archaeology. His publications include *History of Ashtabula County, Ohio*; *Ancient Architecture in America*; *History of Early Missions in Wisconsin*; *Primitive Symbolism*; *Mound Builders*; *Animal Effigies*; *Cliff Dwellers*; *The Effigy Mounds of Wisconsin, etc.*

Peffer, WILLIAM ALFRED, legislator; born in Cumberland county, Pa., Sept. 10, 1831; enlisted as a private in the 83d

PEGRAM—PEMAQUID

Illinois Infantry in 1862; mustered out in 1865 with the rank of lieutenant; then removed to Kansas and established the *Fredonia Journal*. He was elected to the State Senate in 1874; to the United States Senate in 1891; and was the unsuccessful candidate for governor of Kansas in 1898 on the Prohibition ticket. See IMPERIALISM; PEOPLE'S PARTY; SENATE.

Pegram, JOHN, military officer; born in Petersburg, Va., Jan. 24, 1832; graduated at West Point in 1856; left the army, and took command of a Confederate regiment, which he led when made a prisoner by General McClellan. In 1862 he was made a brigadier-general, was a noted leader in all the campaigns in Virginia, and was regarded as one of the ablest of the Confederate division commanders. Wounded in a battle at Hatcher's Run, he died there, Feb. 6, 1865.

Peirce, BENJAMIN, scientist; born in Salem, Mass., April 4, 1809; graduated at Harvard College in 1829; became tutor in mathematics there in 1831, and from 1842 to 1867 was Perkins Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics, and was also consulting astronomer to *The Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* from its establishment in 1849. Dr. Peirce was a pupil of Dr. Bowditch's, and read the proof-sheets of his translation of the *Mécanique Céleste*. In September, 1867, he was appointed superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, which post he held until his death in Cambridge, Mass., Oct. 6, 1880. He was a member of leading scientific societies at home and abroad; an associate of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, 1842; member of the Royal Society of London, 1852; president

of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1853; and one of the scientific council that established the Dudley Observatory at Albany, N. Y., in 1855. Dr. Peirce published many scientific essays; and in 1851 discovered and announced the fluidity of Saturn's rings.

Pelagic Seal Killing. See BERING SEA ARBITRATION.

Pemaquid. On Feb. 29, 1631, the President and Council for New England granted to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge 100 acres of land for every person whom they should transport to the province of Maine within seven years, who should continue there three years, and an absolute grant of 12,000 acres of land as "their proper inheritance forever," to be laid out near the Pemaquid River. In 1677 Governor Andros sent a sloop, with some forces, to take possession of the territory in Maine called Cornwall, which had been granted to the Duke of York. He caused Fort Frederick to be built at Pemaquid Point, a headland of the southwest entrance to Bristol Bay. The Eastern Indians, who, ever since King Philip's War, had been hostile, then appeared friendly, and a treaty was made with them at Casco, April 12, 1678, by the commissioners, which put an end to a distressing war. In 1692 Sir William Phipps, with 450 men, built a large stone fort there, which was superior to any structure of the kind that had been built by the English in America. It was called Fort William Henry, and was garrisoned by sixty men. There, in 1693, a treaty was made with the Indians, by which they acknowledged subjection to the crown



PEMAQUID.
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PEMBERTON—PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

of England, and delivered hostages as a pledge of their fidelity; but, instigated by the French, they violated the treaty the next year.

The French, regarding the fort at Pemaquid as "controlling all Acadia," determined to expel the English from it. An expedition against it was committed to Iberville and Bonaventure, who anchored at Pentagoet, Aug. 7, 1696, where they were joined by the Baron de Castine, with 200 Indians. These auxiliaries went forward in canoes, the French in their vessels, and invested the fort on the 14th. Major Chubb was in command. To a summons from Iberville to surrender, the major replied, "If the sea were covered with French vessels and the land with Indians, yet I would not give up the fort." Some skirmishing occurred that day, and, having completed a battery, the next day Iberville threw some bombs into the fort, which greatly terrified the garrison. Castine sent a letter, assuring the garrison that, if the place should be taken by assault, they would be left to the Indians, who would give no quarter; he had seen the King's letter to that effect. The garrison, compelling Chubb to surrender, were sent to Boston, to be exchanged for French and Indian prisoners, and the costly fort was demolished.

Pemberton, JOHN CLIFFORD, military officer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 10, 1814; graduated at West Point in 1837; served in the Seminole War, and was aide-de-camp to General Worth in the war against Mexico. He entered the Confederate service in April, 1861, as colonel of cavalry and assistant adjutant-general to Gen. J. E. Johnston. He rose to lieutenant-general, and was the opponent of Grant in northern Mississippi in 1863, to whom he surrendered, with his army, at VICKSBURG (*q. v.*). He died in Penlynn, Pa., July 13, 1881.

Pendergrast, GARRETT JESSE, naval officer; born in Kentucky, Dec. 5, 1802; entered the United States navy in 1812. He commanded the *Cumberland* in 1861, which he saved by threatening to fire on Norfolk unless the harbor obstructions were removed. He died in Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1862.

Pendleton, EDMUND, statesman; born in Caroline county, Va., Sept. 9, 1721;

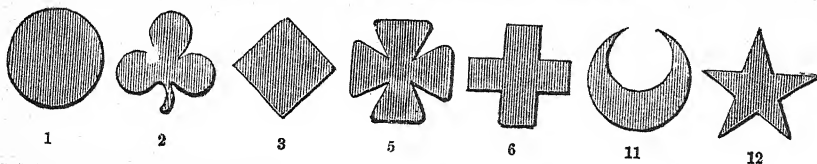
was a leading member of the Virginia House of Burgesses when the Revolutionary War broke out, and, as a conservative patriot, was opposed to radical Patrick Henry. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774-75, and president of the Virginia conventions of December, 1775, and May, 1776, the latter instructing their representatives in Congress to vote for independence. Mr. Pendleton was a member of the committee of correspondence and of the committee of safety, which controlled the military affairs of Virginia. On the organization of the State he was appointed speaker of the Assembly, and, with Wythe and Jefferson, revised the colonial laws. He was president of both the court of chancery and court of appeals, and in 1788 he presided over the convention that ratified the national Constitution. He died in Richmond, Va., Oct. 23, 1803.

Pendleton, GEORGE HUNT, statesman; born in Cincinnati, O., July 25, 1825; member of Congress from Ohio, 1857-65; United States Senator, 1879-85. He was the author of the civil-service-reform measure known as the Pendleton act. During President Cleveland's first administration, 1885-89, Senator Pendleton represented the United States at Berlin. He died in Brussels, Belgium, Nov. 24, 1889.

Penick, CHARLES CLIFTON, clergyman; born in Charlotte county, Va., Dec. 9, 1843; graduated at Alexandria Seminary in 1869. During the Civil War he served the Confederacy in the 38th Virginia Regiment; was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1870, and was consecrated bishop of Cape Palmas, West Africa, in 1877. His publications include *Hopes, Perils, and Struggles of the Negroes in America*; *What Can the Church Do for the Negro in the United States*, etc.

Peninsular Campaign, the name of the campaign conducted by General McClellan in 1862 on the Virginia peninsula, between the York River and its tributaries and the James River, which rivers empty into Chesapeake Bay or its adjacent waters. On the extremity of the point of land between them stands Fort Monroe. The campaign continued from the landing of General Heintzelman's corps of the

PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN—PENN



BADGES OF DESIGNATION OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC (The numbers designate the different army corps).

Army of the Potomac at Fort Monroe, March 22, 1862, until the departure of the army from Harrison's Landing, in August of the same year, including the famous seven days' battle before Richmond.

Heintzelman's corps embarks for Fortress Monroe.....March 17, 1862
Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac transferred to vicinity of Fortress Monroe.....April 1, 1862
McDowell's corps detached from the army.....April 4, 1862

Yorktown and its line of defence, about 13 miles in length, occupied by 11,000 Confederates under Magruder, is attacked by the Nationals; repulsed... April 4, 1862

Siege, so-called, of Yorktown..... April 4-May 5, 1862
Confederates evacuate Yorktown.....May 5, 1862
BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG (q. v.)..... May 5, 1862

[General Hooker attacked the Confederates with his division alone until reinforced by Kearny's division about 4 P.M. The Confederates retired towards Richmond during the night. The National loss in killed, wounded, and missing, 2,228.]

General Franklin's division lands at West Point.....May 6, 1862
Norfolk evacuated by the Confederates..... May 10, 1862

Iron-clad *Merrimac* blown up by the Confederates.....May 11, 1862

Com. John Rodgers, moving up the James to within 8 miles of Richmond with his fleet, retires after an unequal contest with batteries on Drury's Bluff or Fort Darling.....May 15, 1862

McClellan's headquarters established at the "White House" (belonging to Mrs. Robt. E. Lee) on the Pamunkey..... May 16, 1862

McDowell, with a corps of 40,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery, instructed to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac advancing on Richmond.... May 17, 1862

To frustrate this union "Stonewall" Jackson assumes the offensive by threatening Washington. The National forces in northern Virginia at this time were: Banks, 20,000, Milroy and Schenck, 6,000, Fremont, 10,000, and McDowell's corps at Fredericksburg, 40,000. Jackson suc-

ceeds, and McDowell is retained to defend Washington by an order issued May 14, 1862

[This order saved the Confederate capital.] Jackson drives Banks out of Winchester (see CROSS KEYS, ACTION AT).....May 25, 1862
Hanover Court-house.....May 27, 1862

[Fitz-John Porter, with a corps of 12,000 men, is ordered by McClellan to destroy the bridges over the South Anna, as instructed to do from Washington; opposed by the Confederates under Branch at Hanover Court-house, he defeats them.]

Porter returns to his former position at Gaines's Mills.....May 29, 1862
BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS (q. v.) OR SEVEN PINES.....May 31-June 1, 1862
Robt. E. Lee assumes command of the Confederates.....June 3, 1862
Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with a small cavalry division, passes around the Army of the Potomac....June 12-13, 1862
BATTLE OF MECHANICSVILLE (q. v.).... June 26, 1862

BATTLE OF GAINES'S MILLS (q. v.).... June 27, 1862
First siege of Richmond abandoned; Keyes's corps ordered to the James on the evening of.....June 27, 1862

[Lee, failing to comprehend McClellan's plans, loses the whole of June 28 in false movements.]

Battle of Savage's Station; Sumner repulses Magruder.....June 29, 1862
Entire Army of the Potomac safely across "White Oak Swamp" on the morning of.....June 30, 1862
BATTLE OF GLENDALE (q. v.)...June 30, 1862
Army of the Potomac, with its immense trains, concentrated on and around Malvern Hill on the morning of.... July 1, 1862

BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL (q. v.).... July 1, 1862

President visits McClellan at Harrison's Landing.....July 7, 1862
Hooker reoccupies Malvern Hill..... Aug. 4, 1862

McClellan ordered to withdraw to Aquia Creek.....Aug. 4, 1862
Harrison's Landing entirely vacated.... Aug. 16, 1862

McClellan reaches Aquia Creek..... Aug. 24, 1862
Reports at Alexandria.....Aug. 26, 1862

Penn, JOHN, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Caroline

PENN

county, Va., May 17, 1741; studied law with Edmund Pendleton; was an eloquent and effective speaker: and possessed a high order of talent. In 1774 he settled in Greenville county, N. C., and was a delegate in the Continental Congress from there in 1775-76 and 1778-80. Mr. Penn was placed in charge of public affairs in North Carolina when Cornwallis invaded the State in 1781. He died in North Carolina in September, 1788.

Penn, JOHN, the "American Penn," born in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 29, 1700; son of William Penn by his second wife; was the only male descendant of the founder who remained a Quaker. He died in England in October, 1746.

Penn, WILLIAM, founder of Pennsylvania; born in London, England, Oct. 14, 1644. His father was Admiral Sir William Penn, of the royal navy, and his mother was an excellent Dutchwoman of Rotterdam. He received very strong religious impressions while he was yet a child. At the age of fifteen years he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, where, through the preaching of Thomas Loe, he became a convert to the doctrine of the Quakers. He, with two or three others, refused to conform to the worship of the Established Church, or to wear the surplice, or gown, of the student. He and his companions even went so far as to strip some of the students of their robes, for which he was expelled from the college. For this offence his father beat him and turned him out of the house. The mother re-

conciled them, and the youth was sent to France, with the hope that gay society in Paris might redeem him from his almost morbid soberness. It failed to do so, and, on his return, in 1664, in compliance with the wishes of his father, he became a student of law. The great fire in London, in 1665, drove him from the city and deepened his serious convictions. Then he was sent to the management of his father's estates, near Cork, Ireland, where he again fell in with Thomas Loe, and became a Quaker in all but garb.

On returning to England, his father tried to persuade him to conform to the customs of polite society, but he steadily refused. He soon became a Quaker preacher and a powerful controversial writer, producing several notable pam-



WILLIAM PENN.

phlets. He attacked the generally received doctrines of the Trinity, but afterwards partially retracted, when it had produced

great excitement in the religious society of England. He was confined in the Tower nine months, during which he wrote his principal work, entitled *No Cross, no* conformity. He travelled in Holland and Germany to propagate the doctrines of Friends, and there interceded in behalf of his persecuted brethren. In 1672 Penn



DEPARTURE OF THE WELCOOME.

married a daughter of Sir William Springett, and, the next few years, devoted his time to preaching and writing.

In 1674 he became umpire in a dispute between Fenwick and Byllinge, both Quakers, concerning their property rights in New Jersey. Penn decided in favor of Byllinge, and afterwards bought the domain from him. Penn at once became zealously engaged in the work of colonization, and, desiring to have a safe asylum from persecution for his brethren, he obtained a grant of a large domain in America from Charles II., in 1681, in payment of a debt of about \$80,000 due to his father from

Crown. The Duke of York, under whom the crown. The charter vested the perpetual proprietorship of the vast region (with Delaware, which was then annexed to it), containing 45,000 square miles, in him and his heirs, in the fealty of an annual payment of two beaver-skins. Penn wished to call the domain New Wales, and afterwards, on account of extensive forests, he suggested *Sylvania*. The King ordered it to be called *Pennsylvania*, because he had great admiration for Penn's father. Penn tried to get the sec-

PENN, WILLIAM

retary to change the name, but could not, and it was called Pennsylvania in the charter.

When he had secured his charter Penn issued an advertisement which contained inducements for persons to emigrate to the new province, and a scheme of administration of justice suited to the disposition of the Quakers. He declared that his object was to establish a just and righteous government in the province, that would be an example for others. He assumed that government is a part of religion itself, as sacred in its institution and end; that any government is free to the people under it, whatever be its frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to the laws. He declared that governments depend upon men, not men upon governments; and he guaranteed liberty of conscience. He declared that none should be molested or prejudiced in matters of faith and worship, and that nobody should be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious place of worship or ministry whatever. He said that prisons must be converted into schools of reformation and education; that litigation ought to give way to arbitration; that an oath was a superfluity, and made

Indians, and that the person of an Indian should be held as sacred as that of a white man. Penn advertised his land at 40s. an acre, and servants could hold 50 acres in fee-simple. Penn was so well known in his own country and on the Continent that perfect confidence was placed in his declarations. English Friends, in large numbers, proposed to come over, and a German company, led by PASTORIUS (*q. v.*), bought 15,000 acres. This was the commencement of German emigration to Pennsylvania. The colony flourished. The motto on Penn's seal—"Mercy and Jus-

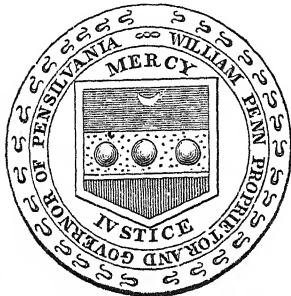


LANDING OF PENN AT PHILADELPHIA.

lying punishable as a crime. Trial by tice"—expressed prominent traits of his jury was established, and, in all cases character. Penn, with others, purchased east Jersey, which was already a flourishing

PENN, WILLIAM

colony. In September, 1682, he embarked for America on the ship *Welcome*, and, at the end of six weeks, landed (Oct. 28, O.



PENN'S SEAL.

S.) near the site of New Castle, Del., where he was joyfully received by the settlers. After conferring with Indian chiefs and making some unimportant treaties, he went up the Delaware to the site of a portion of Philadelphia, and there made a famous treaty. It was to be an everlasting covenant of peace and friendship between the two races. "We meet," said Penn, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or a falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood." Then Penn gave the chiefs presents, and they, in turn, handed him a belt of wampum, a pledge of their fidelity. Delighted with his words, and with implicit faith in his promises, they said: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure."

This promise was kept; not a drop of the blood of a Quaker was ever shed by an Indian. Penn had achieved a mighty victory by the power of justice and love. There is no written record of that treaty extant; it seemed an ineradicable tradition among both races. Of the personal character of the European actors in it

we have more information. Penn was then thirty-eight years of age. Most of his companions—the deputy-governor and a few others—were younger than he, and were dressed in the garb of Friends—the fashion of the more simple Puritans during the protectorate of Cromwell. The Indians were partly clad in the skins of beasts, for it was on the verge of winter (Nov. 4, 1682), and they had brought their wives and children to the council, as was their habit. The scene must have been a most interesting one—Europeans and Indians mingling around a great fire, kindled under the high branches of the elm, and the contracting parties smoking the calumet. That tree was blown down in 1810; it was estimated to be 233 years old. Upon its site the Penn Society, of Philadelphia, erected a commemorative monument. It stands near the intersection of Beach and Hanover streets.

After visiting New York and New Jersey, and meeting a general assembly,



TREATY MONUMENT.

Penn sailed for England in August, 1684. The King died a few months after Penn's arrival. He was succeeded by James, Duke of York, who was a warm friend of Penn's. The latter took lodgings near the court, where he constantly used his influence in obtaining relief for his suffering brethren, who thronged his house by hundreds, seeking his aid. He finally obtained a royal decree, by which more than 1,200 Quakers were released from prison.

PENN, WILLIAM

This was followed by a proclamation of the King (April, 1687), declaring liberty of conscience to all, and removing tests and penalties. Meanwhile Penn had made a tour on the Continent, and, by order of James, had a conference with the monarch's son-in-law, William of Orange, and tried to persuade him to adopt the principles of universal toleration. Because Penn had been personally intimate with James, soon after the Revolution (1688) he was summoned before the

of the King's Bench, and acquitted. The charge was renewed, in 1691, by a man who was afterwards branded by the House of Commons as a cheat, a rogue, and a false accuser.

In the mean time Pennsylvania had been much disturbed by civil and religious quarrels, and, in 1692, the monarchs deprived Penn of his authority as governor of the province, and directed Governor Fletcher, of New York, to assume the administration. Powerful friends interceded in



TREE UNDER WHICH THE TREATY WAS MADE.

privy council to answer a charge of treason. No evidence appearing against him, he was discharged. Not long afterwards, a letter from the exiled monarch to Penn, asking him to come to France, having been intercepted, he was again brought before the council, in presence of King William. Penn declared his friendship for James, but did not approve his policy, and he was again discharged. In 1690 he was a third time accused, and was arrested on a charge of conspiracy, tried by the court

Penn's behalf, and he was honorably acquitted (November, 1693) by the King and council. Three months later his wife, Gulielma Maria, died, and, within two years, he married Hannah Callowhill, a Quaker lady of great excellence. His proprietary rights having been fully restored to him (August, 1694), he sailed for Pennsylvania with his wife and daughter in September, 1699. He was soon recalled by tidings that the House of Lords was considering a measure for

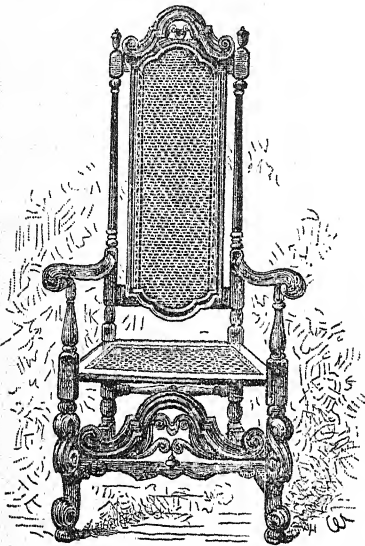
bringing all the proprietary governments in America under the crown. Penn hastened to England, giving to Philadelphia

and Lord Macaulay was equally unsuccessful in his assaults upon the honor, honesty, purity, and integrity of the founder of Pennsylvania, for official records have proved the falsity of the allegations made by contemporaries and the eminent historian. Penn had a fine country residence, sometimes called "The Palace," on the bank of the Delaware River, nearly opposite Bordentown. It was constructed in 1683, at an expense of about \$35,000. In 1700 his city residence in Philadelphia was the "Slate-roof House," on the northeast corner of Second Street and Norris's Alley. It was a spacious building for the time, constructed of brick and covered with slate. It was built for another in 1690. Penn occupied it while he remained in America, and there his son, John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania when the Revolution broke out, was born. In that house the agent of Penn (James Logan) entertained Lord Cornbury, of New York, and his suite of fifty persons. The house was purchased by William Trent, the founder of Trenton. Arnold occupied it as his headquarters in 1778, and lived there in extravagant style.

Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe. This was published by Penn in the latter part of the year 1693-94, while war was raging on the Continent. Penn sought to show "the desirableness of peace and the truest means of it" at that time and for the future. His essay consisted of a scheme for a general alliance or compact among the different states of Europe, whereby they should agree to constitute a "General Diet" or

a city charter, dated Oct. 25, 1701. It was one of his last official acts. The measure which hastened his departure from America was soon abandoned; but he was deeply moved with anxiety about his affairs in Pennsylvania, where his son, whom he had sent as his deputy, had been guilty of disgraceful conduct. At the same time his confidential agent in London, who was a Friend, had left to his executors false charges against Penn to a very large amount. To avoid extortion, Penn suffered himself to be confined in Fleet Prison for a long time (1708), until his friends compromised with his creditors. In 1712 Penn made arrangements for the transfer of his proprietary rights to the crown for \$60,000, when he was prostrated by paralysis. He lived till July 30, 1718, much of the time unable to move, and never regained his mental vigor. Penn's remains were buried in Jordan's Cemetery, near the village of Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire.

William Penn's character was frequently assailed by the wicked and envious during his life, but always without success,



PENN'S CHAIR.



SLATE-ROOF (PENN'S) HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA.

PENNINGTON—PENNSYLVANIA

congress of nations, wherein each should be represented by deputies, and all differences should be settled on equitable terms and without recourse to arms. The tract was printed twice in 1693. It is not included in the original folio edition of Penn's works, but finds place in one of the later editions. It is reprinted in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi.

Penn's plan for the federation and peace of Europe, doubly interesting to us as the work of one whose relation to American history was so conspicuous, is noteworthy as the first essay of such an international character known to us which is free from every suspicion of ulterior motive and inspired purely by the love of humanity. The one great plan of earlier date is the "Great Design" of Henry IV. of France, to which Penn himself refers in his essay. The original account of this is in *Sully's Memoirs*. It is a matter of controversy how much this design was really Henry's; and those interested in the matter may

find a careful discussion of it in Kitchin's *History of France*, vol. ii., p. 472. A most interesting and stimulating article based upon the "Great Design" is Edward Everett Hale's *The United States of Europe*, first published in *Old and New*, 1871, and republished in *Lend a Hand*, July, 1896. The most famous and important modern essay on international arbitration and the federation of the world is Kant's *Eternal Peace*, of which there are two good English translations, one by Morell, the other by Hastie, included in a little volume of translations of Kant's political essays, entitled *Kant's Principles of Politics*.

Pennington, WILLIAM, statesman; born in Newark, N. J., May 4, 1796; graduated at Princeton in 1813; admitted to the bar of New Jersey in 1815; elected governor of New Jersey in 1837; elected member of Congress in 1859, and was chosen speaker of the House, February, 1860. He died in Newark, N. J., Feb. 16, 1862.

PENNSYLVANIA, STATE OF

Pennsylvania, STATE OF, one of the original thirteen States of the American Union, and a former colony; named in honor of William Penn, in the sketch of whose life much of its early history has been given.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century a Church of England party had grown up in Pennsylvania, towards which the Christian Quakers gravitated. These Episcopalians jealously watched the proceedings of the Quaker magistrates of the province, and represented them as unfit to rule, especially in time of war. Penn's governor (Evans) having thrown out a hint that the proprietor "might throw off a load he had found too heavy"—the political interference of the Assembly—that body became very angry, and, headed by David Lloyd, a lawyer, and their speaker (who had been at one time Penn's attorney-general), they agreed to nine resolutions, which Lloyd embodied in a memorial addressed to the proprietary. In it Penn was charged with an evasion of the fulfilment of his original promises to the colonists, by artfully securing that

negative on the Assembly which he had once yielded; with playing the part of a hard and exacting landlord; with keeping the constitution of the courts and the administration of justice in his own



STATE SEAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

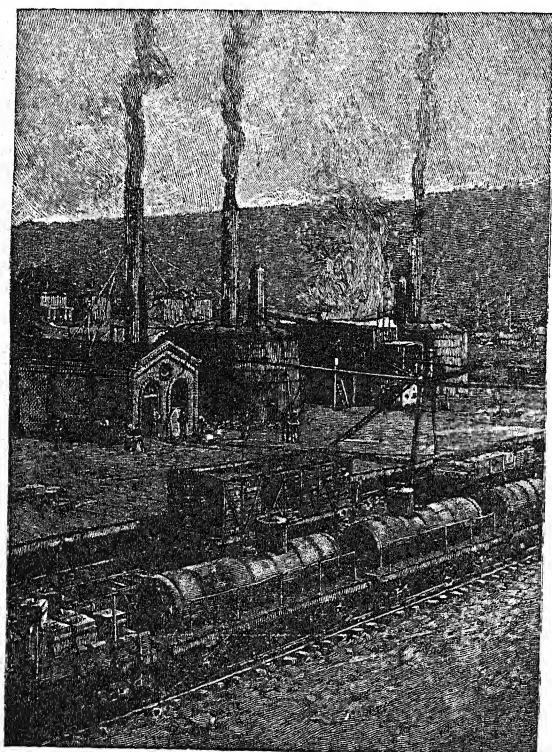
hands; with appointing oppressive officers; and, finally, with a downright betrayal of the colonists in his present negotiation for parting with the government—a matter in which he was charged

to proceed no further, lest it should look like a "first fleecing and then selling."

Penn demanded the punishment of Lloyd. The new Assembly shifted the responsibility

England, and, returning, brought a letter from Penn to the Assembly, giving an outline history of his efforts in settling his province, and intimating that, unless a change should take place, and quiet be restored, he might find it necessary to dispose of so troublesome a sovereignty. An entirely new Assembly was chosen at the next election, and nearly all the points in dispute were arranged. But Penn, wearied with contentions, made an arrangement to cede the sovereignty of his province to the Queen for the consideration of about \$60,000, reserving to himself the quit-rents and property in the soil. The consummation of this bargain was prevented by Penn being prostrated by paralysis (1712).

In 1733 the proprietary of Maryland agreed with the heirs of Penn that the boundary-line between their respective provinces and Delaware should be as follows: For the southern boundary of Delaware, a line commencing at Cape Henlopen, to be drawn due west from Delaware Bay to the Chesapeake. The west boundary of Delaware was to be a tangent drawn from the middle point of this line to a circle of 12 miles radius around New Castle. A due



A PENNSYLVANIA OIL REFINERY.

of Lloyd's memorial upon their predecessors. The friends of Penn, headed by Logan, secured a majority the next year, which voted an affectionate address to the proprietary. But vexatious troubles soon broke out again. Complaints were sent to Penn against Evans and Logan. The former was dissipated, and had corrupted William, the eldest son of Penn, who became a companion of his revels. That son publicly renounced Quakerism. Evans was superseded by Charles Gookin. He found the Assembly in a bad humor, because Penn sustained Logan, whom they denounced as "an enemy to the welfare of the province, and abusive of the representatives of the people." Logan went to

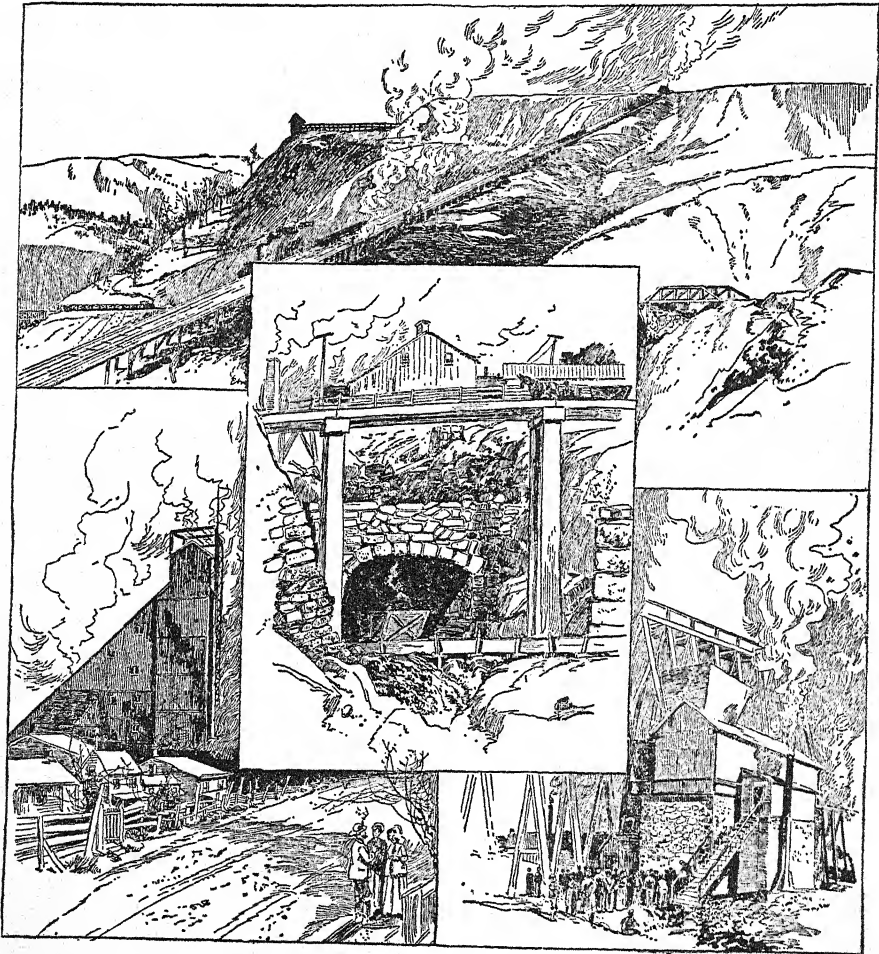
west line, continued northward to a parallel of latitude 15 miles south of Philadelphia, was to be the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. On his arrival in Maryland, the proprietary, on the plea of misrepresentation, refused to be bound by this agreement. He petitioned the King to be confirmed in possession of the whole peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. The boundary was finally determined (see MASON AND DIXON'S LINE) substantially in accordance with the original agreement.

In January, 1757, the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a bill granting for his Majesty's service £100,000, by a tax on all the estates, real and personal, "taxable,"

PENNSYLVANIA, STATE OF

within the province. The governor (Denny) refused to sanction it, because it would heavily tax the proprietaries of the province. He asked them to frame a bill providing supplies for the public service, such as he could, "consistent with his honor and his engagements to the proprietaries," subscribe. The Assembly remonstrated, saying they had framed the bill consistent with their rights as an "English representative body," and, in the name of their sovereign, "and in behalf of the distressed people whom they represented" unanimously demanded of the

governor that he would give his assent to the bill they had passed. As it was a money bill, they demanded that it should not be altered or amended, "any instructions whatsoever from the proprietaries notwithstanding," as he would "answer to the crown for all the consequences of his refusal at his peril." The governor persisted in his refusal, grounded upon parliamentary usage in England, and the supposed hardship of taxing the unimproved land of the proprietaries. As the governor would not sign a bill that did not exempt the estates of the proprietaries



SCENES IN THE COAL-MINING REGION, PENNSYLVANIA.

from taxation, the Assembly sent Benjamin Franklin, as agent of the province, to petition the King for redress. This was the beginning of protracted disputes between the representatives of the people of Pennsylvania and the agents of the proprietaries.

An attempt of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1764, to enact a new militia law brought on another quarrel between the proprietaries and the representatives of the people. One of the former, John Penn, was now governor. He claimed the right to appoint the officers of the militia, and insisted upon several other provisions, to which the Assembly would not give its assent. At the same time a controversy arose concerning the interpretation of the decision of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, authorizing the taxation of the proprietary estates. At the annual election (May, 1764) the proprietary party in Philadelphia, by great exertions, defeated Franklin in that city. Yet the anti-proprietary party had a large majority in the Assembly. The new Assembly sent Franklin to England again as their agent, authorized to ask for the abrogation of the proprietary authority and the establishment of a royal government. The mutterings of the gathering tempest of revolution which finally gave independence to the Americans were then growing louder and louder, and nothing more was done in the matter. The opponents of the proprietaries in Pennsylvania were by no means united on this point. The Episcopalians and Quakers were favorable to a change, while the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were opposed to it, because they feared the ascendancy of the Church of England. The patronage of the proprietaries attached many to their interests, and the pleasant memories of William Penn inclined many to favor them. On June 18, 1774, there was a general conference of the committees of the several counties in the State. They assembled at Carpenters' Hall, in Philadelphia. In this conference few, if any, of the old Assembly appeared. Thomas McKean was chosen president, and on the 19th the 104 members present unanimously approved the action of Congress respecting the formation of States. They condemned the present government of the colony as incompetent, and a new one was ordered to be

formed on the authority of the people. On the afternoon of the 24th, with equal unanimity, the delegates declared, for themselves and their constituents, their willingness to concur in a vote of Congress for independence.

After the stirring events at Lexington and Concord, a large public meeting was held at Philadelphia (April 24, 1775), at which measures were taken for entering into a volunteer military association, the spirit of which pervaded the whole province. Many of the young Quakers took part in the organization, in spite of the remonstrance of their elders, and were disowned. They afterwards formed a society called "Free Quakers." Thomas Mifflin (afterwards a major-general) was a leading spirit among these. JOHN DICKINSON (*q. v.*) accepted the command of a regiment; so, also, did Thomas McKean and James Wilson, both afterwards signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Assembly, which met soon afterwards, voted £1,800 towards the expenses of these volunteers. They also appointed a committee of safety, with Dr. Franklin as chairman, which not only took measures for the defence of Philadelphia, but soon afterwards assumed the whole executive authority of the province. Timidity marked the course of the legislature of Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1775, while the people at large, especially in Philadelphia, were zealously in favor of the martial proceedings of Congress. The Assembly was under the influence of John Dickinson, who opposed independence to the last. When the Assembly met (Oct. 16, 1775), all of the members present subscribed to the usual engagement of allegiance to the King. In a few days the Quakers presented an address in favor of conciliatory measures, and deprecating everything "likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with the parent state." The committee of sixty for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, headed by George Clymer and Thomas McKean, went in procession, two by two, to the State-house, and delivered a remonstrance, calculated to counteract the influence of Dickinson and the Quakers. This halting spirit in the Assembly appeared several months longer, and on the vote for independence (July 2, 1776) the Pennsylvania delegates were divided.



STEEL-WORKS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Assembly, influenced by the proprietary government and office-holders in its own body, as well as by timid patriots, hoping, like John Dickinson, for peace and reconciliation, steadily opposed the idea of independence. Finally, a town-meeting of 4,000 people, held in State-house Yard, in Philadelphia (May 24, 1776), selected for its president Daniel Roberdeau. The meeting voted that the instruction of the Assembly for forming a new government (in accordance with John Adams's proposition) was illegal and an attempt at usurpation; and the committee of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia were directed to summon a conference of the committees of every county in the province to make arrangements for a constituent convention to be chosen by the people. Then was preparation made for the fall of the proprietary charter of Pennsylvania. Dickinson and his friends persisted in opposition to independence. Concessions were made to the Continental Congress by the Assembly

in not requiring newly elected members to swear allegiance to the King. Finally, on May 24, the committee of inspection of the city of Philadelphia addressed a memorial to the Congress, setting forth that the Assembly did not possess the confidence of the people, nor truly represent the sentiments of the province; and that measures had been taken for assembling a popular convention. The Assembly became nervous. It felt that its dissolution was nigh. In the first days of June no governor appeared. The members showed signs of yielding to the popular pressure; but on the 7th, the very day when Richard Henry Lee offered his famous resolution for independence in Congress, John Dickinson, in a speech in the Assembly, pledged his word to the proprietary chief-justice (Allen), and to the whole House, that he and a majority of the Pennsylvania delegates in the Congress would continue to vote against independence. Only once again (after June 9, 1776) did a quorum of members of the Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA, STATE OF

Assembly appear. The proprietary government had expired.

The gloomy outlook after the fall of Fort Washington and the flight of Washington and his melting army across New Jersey in 1776 caused many persons of influence in Pennsylvania, as well as in New Jersey, to waver and fall away from the patriot cause. The most conspicuous of these in Pennsylvania were Joseph Galloway, who had been a member of the first Continental Congress, and Andrew Allen, also a member of that Congress, and two of his brothers. The brothers Howe having issued a new proclamation of pardon and amnesty to all who should within sixty days promise not to take up arms against the King, these men availed themselves of it, not doubting their speedy restoration to their former fortunes and political importance. They went over to Howe; so did Samuel Tucker, a leader in the movements against British oppression in New Jersey, and a host of Jerseymen, who signed a pledge of fidelity to the British crown. Even John Dickinson, whose fidelity as a patriot may not be questioned, was so thoroughly convinced of the folly of the Declaration of Independence and the probability of a return to the British fold that he discredited the Continental bills of credit, and refused to accept an appointment from Delaware as a delegate in Congress. The State of Maryland also showed a willingness at this juncture to renounce the Declaration of Independence for the sake of peace. Amid this falling away of civilians and the rapid melting of his army, Washington's faith and courage never faltered. From Newark, when he was flying with his shattered and rapidly diminishing forces towards the Delaware River before pursuing Cornwallis, he applied to the patriotic and energetic William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, for aid. To expressions of sympathy from the governor he replied (Nov. 30, 1776), "I will not despair."

Early in 1799 an insurrection broke out due to a singular cause. A direct tax had been levied, among other things, on houses, arranged in classes. A means for making that classification was by measuring windows. The German inhabitants of Northampton, Bucks, and Montgomery counties

made such violent opposition to this measurement that those engaged in it were compelled to desist. Warrants were issued for the arrest of opposers of the law; and in the village of Bethlehem the marshal, having about thirty prisoners, was set upon by a party of fifty horsemen, headed by a man named Fries. The President sent troops to maintain the law. No opposition was made to them, and Fries and about thirty others were arrested and taken to Philadelphia, where their leader was indicted for treason, tried twice, each time found guilty, but finally pardoned. Several others were tried for the same offence. While these trials were going on, Duane, editor of the *Aurora* (Bache had died of yellow fever), abused the officers and troops, who, finding no law to touch him, sent a deputation of their own number to chastise him, which they did on his own premises.

Pennsylvania was governed by a code framed by William Penn, and several times amended, until Sept. 28, 1776, when a State constitution was adopted, and Pennsylvania took her place in the Union. In 1790 a new constitution was adopted, which has since been several times amended. In 1838 provision was made for electing, instead of appointing, county officers; the right of voting was limited to white persons, and the term of judicial offices was reduced from life to ten and fifteen years. In 1850 the judiciary was made elective by the people; subscriptions to internal improvements by municipal authorities was prohibited, and in 1864 the right of suffrage was guaranteed to soldiers in the field. An amended constitution went into force on Jan. 1, 1874. Lancaster was the seat of the State government from 1799 till 1812, when Harrisburg became the State capital. In 1808 a case which had been in existence since the Revolution brought the State of Pennsylvania into collision with the Supreme Court of the United States. During the disputes in the case alluded to—about prize-money—David Rittenhouse, as State treasurer of Pennsylvania, had received certain certificates of national debt. Rittenhouse settled his accounts as treasurer in 1788 and resigned his office, but still retained these certificates, having given his bond to the judge of the State court to hold him

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harmless as to other claimants. The certificates were held by Rittenhouse to indemnify him against the bond he had given. When the public debt was funded he caused these certificates to be funded in his own name, but for the benefit of whom it might concern. Rittenhouse died in 1801, leaving his three daughters executors of his estate. They were called upon by the State treasurer to deliver the certificates to him and pay over the accrued interest. They refused to do so, on account of a pending suit in the State court by a claimant for the amount. The State court finally declined to interfere, on the technical ground that it was an admiralty matter and was not cognizable in a court of common law. The claimant then applied to the United States district court for an order to compel the executors of Rittenhouse to pay over to him the certificates and accumulated interest, then amounting to about \$15,000. Such a decree was made in 1803, when the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law to compel the executors to pay the funds into the State treasury, pledging the faith of the State to hold them harmless. Finally the Supreme Court of the United States issued a mandamus for the judge of the district court to carry the decree into execution, despite the State law. It was done (March 12, 1809); but the marshal, when he went to serve the process of attachment, found the houses of the respondents protected by an armed guard, who resisted his entrance by bayonets. These guards were State militia, under General Bright, with the sanction of the governor. The legislature and the governor now receded somewhat. The former made an appropriation of \$18,000 to meet any contingency; and finally, after a show of resistance, which, to some, threatened a sort of civil war in the streets of Philadelphia, the governor paid over the sum to the marshal out of the appropriation. This was a blow to the doctrine of State supremacy, which still held a large place in the political creed of the people of all the States. The supremacy of the national judiciary was fully vindicated.

In the Civil War Pennsylvania was invaded by the Confederates, and on its soil the decisive battle of the war occurred, at Gettysburg. The next year

(1864) the Confederates penetrated to Chambersburg, and nearly destroyed the town by fire. At the beginning of the Civil War Pennsylvania raised a large body of reserve troops, and during the war furnished to the National army 387,284 troops.

This State has the honor of having sent the first troops to the national capital for its defence, in April, 1861. The troops comprised five companies from the interior of the state—namely, Washington Artillery and National Light Infantry, of Pottsville; the Ringgold Light Artillery, of Reading; the Logan Guards, of Lewistown; and the Allen Infantry, of Allentown. On the call of the President, the commanders of these companies telegraphed to Governor Curtin that their ranks were full and ready for service. They were assembled at Harrisburg on the evening of April 17. Accompanied by forty regular soldiers destined for Fort McHenry, they went by rail to Baltimore the next morning, and while passing from one railway station to another were subjected to gross insults and attacked with missiles by a mob. They were without arms, for their expected new muskets were not ready when they got to Harrisburg. They found Maryland a hostile territory to pass through, but they reached the capital in safety early in the evening of April 18. They were received by the government and loyal people there with heartfelt joy, for rumors that the minute-men of Maryland and Virginia were about to seize Washington, D. C., had been prevalent all day. The Pennsylvanians were hailed as deliverers. They were marched to the Capitol grounds, greeted by cheer after cheer, and assigned to quarters in the hall of the House of Representatives. The startling rumor soon spread over the city that 2,000 National troops had arrived, well armed with Minié rifles. The real number was 530. The disunionists and their sympathizers were overawed just in time to save the capital from seizure.

GEN. ROBERT PATTERSON (*q. v.*), then commander of the Department of Pennsylvania, comprehended the wants of government, and, while the capital was cut off from communication with the loyal people of the State, he took the responsibility

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ity of officially requesting (April 25, 1861) the governor of Pennsylvania to direct the organization of twenty-five regiments of volunteers. It was done. These were in addition to the sixteen regiments called for by the Secretary of War. The legislature took the twenty-five regiments into the service of the State, the Secretary of War first declining to receive them. This was the origin of the fine body of soldiers known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, who were gladly accepted by the Secretary after the battle of Bull Run. See UNITED STATES, PENNSYLVANIA, in vol. ix.

COLONIAL GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[Under the proprietary government, when there was no deputy governor the president of the council acted as such.]

William Penn.....	Proprietor and Governor....	1682
Thomas Lloyd.....	President.....	1684
John Blackwell.....	Deputy Governor.....	1688
Benjamin Fletcher.....	Governor.....	1693
William Markham.....	".....	"
William Penn.....	".....	"
Andrew Hamilton.....	Deputy Governor.....	1701
Edward Shippen.....	President.....	1703
John Evans.....	Deputy Governor.....	1704
Charles Gookin.....	".....	1709
Sir William Keith.....	".....	1717
Patrick Gordon.....	".....	1726
James Logan.....	President.....	1736
George Thomas.....	Deputy Governor.....	1738
Anthony Palmer.....	President.....	1747
James Hamilton.....	Deputy Governor.....	1748
Robert H. Morris.....	".....	1754
William Denny.....	".....	1756
James Hamilton.....	".....	1759
John Penn.....	Governor.....	1763
James Hamilton.....	President.....	1771
Richard Penn.....	Governor.....	"
John Penn.....	".....	1773

[Proprietary government ended by the Constitution of 1776. The representatives of the Penn family were paid for the surrender of their rights, and a government by the people established.]

STATE GOVERNORS.

Thomas Wharton.....	President (died in office 1778)	1777
George Bryan.....	Acting.....	
Joseph Reed.....	President.....	1778
William Moore.....	".....	1781
John Dickinson.....	".....	1782
Benjamin Franklin.....	".....	1785
Thomas Mifflin.....	Governor*	1788
Thomas McKean.....	".....	1799
Simon Snyder.....	".....	1808
William Findley.....	President.....	1817
Joseph Hiester.....	Governor.....	1820
J. Andrew Shulze.....	".....	1823
George Wolf.....	".....	1829
Joseph Ritner.....	".....	1837
David R. Porter.....	".....	1839
Francis R. Shunk.....	Resigned, 1848.....	1845
William F. Johnson.....	Acting.....	1849
William Bigler.....	".....	1852
James Pollock.....	".....	1855
William F. Packard.....	".....	1858
Andrew G. Curtin.....	".....	1861
John W. Geary.....	President.....	1867
John F. Hartranft.....	".....	1873

* From 1790, under the new State constitution, the executive has been termed governor instead of president.

Henry M. Hoyt.....	1879
Robert E. Pattison.....	1883
James A. Beaver.....	1887
Robert E. Pattison.....	1891-1895
Daniel H. Hastings.....	1895-1899
William A. Stone.....	1899-1903
Samuel W. Pennypacker.....	1903-1907
E. S. Stuart.....	1907-1911

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
William Maclay.....	1st to 2d	1789 to 1791
Robert Morris.....	1st " 4th	1789 " 1795
Albert Gallatin.....	" 3d	1793 " "
James Ross.....	3d to 8th	1794 " 1803
William Bingham.....	4th " 7th	1795 " 1799
John Peter G. Muhlenberg.....	7th	1801 " 1802
George Logan.....	7th to 9th	1801 " 1805
Samuel Maclay.....	8th " 10th	1803 " 1808
Andrew Gregg.....	10th " 13th	1807 " 1813
Michael Leib.....	10th " 13th	1809 " 1814
Abner Lacock.....	13th " 16th	1813 " 1819
Jonathan Roberts.....	13th " 17th	1814 " 1821
Walter Lowrie.....	16th " 19th	1819 " 1825
William Findley.....	17th " 20th	1821 " 1827
William Marks.....	19th " 22d	1825 " 1831
Isaac D. Barnard.....	20th " 22d	1827 " 1831
George M. Dallas.....	22d " 23d	1831 " 1833
William Wilkins.....	22d " 23d	1831 " 1834
Samuel McKean.....	23d " 26th	1833 " 1839
James Buchanan.....	23d " 29th	1834 " 1845
Daniel Sturgeon.....	26th " 32d	1839 " 1851
Simon Cameron.....	29th " 31st	1845 " 1849
James Cooper.....	31st " 34th	1849 " 1855
Richard Brodhead.....	32d " 35th	1851 " 1857
William Bigler.....	34th " 37th	1855 " 1861
Simon Cameron.....	35th " 37th	1857 " 1861
David Wilmot.....	37th " 38th	1861 " 1863
Edgar Cowan.....	37th " 40th	1861 " 1867
Charles M. Buckalew.....	38th " 41st	1863 " 1869
Simon Cameron.....	40th " 45th	1867 " 1877
John Scott.....	41st " 44th	1869 " 1875
William A. Wallace.....	44th " 47th	1875 " 1881
James Donald Cameron.....	45th " 50th	1877 " 1897
John I. Mitchell.....	47th " 50th	1881 " 1887
Matthew S. Quay.....	50th " 56th	1887 " 1899
Boies Penrose.....	55th " "	1897 " "
Matthew S. Quay.....	57th " 58th	1901 " 1904
Philander C. Knox.....	58th " "	1904 " "

Pennymite and Yankee War. Trouble began in Wyoming Valley between Connecticut settlers under the auspices of the Susquehanna Company and the Pennsylvanians in 1769, when the former made a second attempt to clear the way for planting a colony in that region. In 1768 the proprietary of Pennsylvania purchased of the Six Nations the whole Wyoming Valley, and leased it for seven years to three Pennsylvanians, who built a fortified trading-house there. In February, 1769, forty pioneers of the Susquehanna Company entered the Wyoming Valley and invested the block-house, garrisoned by ten men, who gave Governor Penn notice of the situation. Three of the Connecticut men were lured into the block-house under pretence of making an adjustment of difficulties, and were seized by the sheriff and taken to jail at Easton. Other immigrants flocked in from Con-

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necticut, and the sheriff called upon the posse of the county to assist in their arrest. The Connecticut people also had built a block-house, which they named Forty Fort. The sheriff broke down its doors, arrested thirty of the inmates, and sent them to Easton jail. When admitted to bail, they returned with about 200 men from Connecticut, who built Fort Durkee, just below Wilkesbarre, so named in honor of their commander, John Durkee. Then the sheriff reported to the governor that the whole power of the county was insufficient to oppose the "Yankees."

Meanwhile the company had sent commissioners to Philadelphia to confer upon a compromise. The governor (Penn) refused to receive them, and sent an armed force, under Colonel Francis, into the valley. The sheriff joined Francis with a strong armed party, with a 6-pounder cannon. Colonel Durkee and several of the inhabitants were captured, and the fort was surrendered upon conditions which were immediately violated. The next year Colonel Durkee, released, took command of the Connecticut people, and captured the sheriff's cannon; also one of the leading Pennsylvanians (Amos Ogden), who had fortified his house. Imitating the bad faith of their opponents, the Yankees seized his property and burned his house. Governor Penn now (1770) called upon General Gage, in command of the British troops at New York, for a detachment "to restore order in Wyoming." He refused. In the autumn Ogden marched by the Lehigh route, with 140 men, to surprise the settlers in Wyoming. From the mountain-tops he saw the farmers in the valley pursuing their avocations without suspicion of danger. He swooped down upon the settlement in the night, and assailed Fort Durkee, then filled with women and children. The fort and the houses of the settlement were plundered, and many of the chief inhabitants were sent to Easton jail. The Yankees left the valley, and the "Pennymites," as the Pennsylvanians were called, took possession again.

On the night of Dec. 18 the Connecticut people, led by Lazarus Stewart, returned, and, attacking Fort Durkee, captured it and drove the Pennymites out of the valley. In January following they returned

in force, when Stewart fled from the valley, leaving a garrison of twelve men, who were made prisoners. Peace reigned there until near midsummer, when Capt. Zebulon Butler, with seventy armed men from Connecticut, suddenly descended from the mountains and menaced a new fort which Ogden had built. Ogden managed to escape, went to Philadelphia, and induced the governor (Hamilton) to send a detachment of 100 men to Wyoming. The besiegers kept them at bay, and the siege, during which several persons were killed, was ended Aug. 11. By the terms of capitulation, the Pennsylvanians were to leave the valley. So ended the contest for 1771.

The Yankees, under the advice of the Connecticut Assembly, organized civil government there upon a democratic system. The settlement was incorporated with the colony of Connecticut, and its representatives were admitted into the General Assembly. Wilkesbarre was laid out, and for four years peace smiled upon the beautiful valley. Suddenly, in the autumn of 1775, the Pennsylvanians, encouraged by Governor Penn, renewed the civil war. The Continental Congress interfered in vain; but when the proprietary government was abolished this Pennymite and Yankee War was suddenly ended. See *SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY*.

Pennypacker, SAMUEL WHITAKER, jurist; born in Phoenixville, Pa., April 9, 1843; served in the Civil War; was graduated at the law department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1866; president of the Law Academy of Philadelphia in 1866; and president judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania till 1902, when he was elected governor of Pennsylvania. He compiled four volumes of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court Reports; and is the author of *General Weedon's Orderly Book at Valley Forge; Capture of Stony Point; The Settlement of Germantown; Congress Hall; Historical and Biographical Sketches*; etc.

Penobscot. The "Company of New France," which had purchased Sir W. Alexander's rights to territory in Nova Scotia through Stephen, Lord of La Tour, in 1630, conveyed the territory on the banks of the river St. John to this nobleman in 1635. Rossellon, commander of a

French fort in Acadia, sent a French man-of-war to Penobscot and took possession of the Plymouth trading-house there, with all its goods. A vessel was sent from Plymouth to recover the property. The French fortified the place, and were so strongly intrenched that the expedition was abandoned. The Plymouth people never afterwards recovered their interest at Penobscot.

The first permanent English occupation of the region of the Penobscot—to which the French laid claim—was acquired in 1759, when Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, with the consent of the legislature, caused a fort to be built on the western bank of the Penobscot (afterwards Fort Knox), near the village of Prospect, which was named Fort Pownall. An armed force from Massachusetts took possession of the region, built the fort, cut off the communications of the Eastern Indians (the only ones then hostile to the English), and so ended the contest for the Penobscot region by arms.

In 1779 a British force of several hundred men from Nova Scotia entered eastern Maine and established themselves in a fortified place on the Penobscot River. Massachusetts sent a force to dislodge the intruders. The expedition consisted of nineteen armed vessels (three of them Continental), under Captain Saltonstall, of Connecticut, and 1,500 militia, commanded by General Lovell. These were borne on the fleet of Saltonstall, and landed (July 26) near the obnoxious post, with a loss of 100 men. Finding the works too strong for his troops, Lovell sent to General Gates, at Boston, to forward a detachment of Continentals. Hearing of this expedition, Sir George Collins, who had been made chief naval commander on the American station, sailed for the Penobscot with five heavy war-ships. The Massachusetts troops re-embarked, Aug. 13, when Sir George approached, and, in the smaller vessels, fled up the river. When they found they could not escape, they ran five frigates and ten smaller vessels ashore and blew them up. The others were captured by the British. The soldiers and seamen escaped to the shore, and suffered much for want of provisions while traversing an uninhabited country for 100 miles.

Penology. See LIVINGSTON, EDWARD.

Pensacola. When Iberville was on his way to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River, he attempted to enter Pensacola Bay, but found himself confronted by Spaniards in arms, who had come from Vera Cruz and built a fort there, under the guns of which lay two Spanish ships. The Spaniards still claimed the whole circuit of the Gulf of Mexico, and, jealous of the designs of the French, had hastened to occupy Pensacola Harbor, the best on the Gulf. The barrier there constructed ultimately established the dividing-line between Florida and Louisiana. In 1696 Don Andre d'Arriola was appointed the first governor of Pensacola, and took possession of the province. He built a fort with four bastions, which he called Fort Charles; also a church and some houses.

On Feb. 28, 1781, Galvez the Spanish governor of Louisiana, sailed from New Orleans with 1,400 men to seize Pensacola. He could effect but little alone; but finally he was joined (May 9) by an armed squadron from Havana, and by a reinforcement from Mobile. Galvez now gained possession of the harbor of Pensacola, and soon afterwards Colonel Campbell, who commanded the British garrison there, surrendered. Pensacola and the rest of Florida had passed into the possession of the British by the treaty of 1763. Two years after Galvez captured the place (1783) the whole province was retroceded to Spain.

In April, 1814, Andrew Jackson was commissioned a major-general in the army of the United States and appointed to the command of the 7th Military District. While he was yet arranging the treaty with the conquered Creeks, he had been alarmed by reports of succor and refuge given to some of them by the Spanish authorities at Pensacola, and of a communication opened with them by a British vessel which had landed arms and agents at Apalachicola. In consequence of his report of these doings, he received orders to take possession of Pensacola. But these orders were six months on the way. Meanwhile two British sloops-of-war, with two or three smaller vessels, had arrived at Pensacola, and were proclaimed (Aug. 4) as the van of a much larger naval

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force. Col. Edward Nichols had been permitted to land a small body of troops at Pensacola, and to draw around him, arm, and train hostile refugee Creeks. Jackson's headquarters were at Mobile. Late in August the mask of Spanish neutrality was removed, when nine British vessels of war lay at anchor in the harbor of Pensacola, and Colonel Nichols was made a welcome guest of the Spanish governor. A British flag, raised over one of the Spanish forts there, proclaimed the alliance; and it was found that Indian runners had been sent out from Pensacola among the neighboring Seminoles and Creeks, inviting them to Pensacola, there to be enrolled in the service of the British. Almost 1,000 of them were gathered there, where they received arms and ammunition in abundance from the British officers. Nichols also sent out proclamations to the inhabitants of the Gulf region containing inflammatory appeals to the prejudices of the French and the discontent of others; and he told his troops that they were called upon to make long and tedious marches in the wilderness and to conciliate the Indians.

At this juncture Jackson acted promptly and effectively, without the advice of his tardy government. He caused a beat-up for volunteers, and very soon 2,000 sturdy young men were ready for the field. After they arrived Jackson took some time to get his forces well in hand; and early in November he marched from Fort Montgomery, which was due north from Pensacola, with 4,000 troops—some Mississippi dragoons in the advance—and encamped within two miles of Pensacola on the evening of Nov. 6. He sent word to the Spanish governor that he had come, not to make war on a neutral power, nor to injure the town, but to deprive the enemies of the United States of a place of refuge. His messenger (Major Pierre) was instructed to demand the surrender of the forts. When Pierre approached, under a flag of truce, he was fired upon by a 12-pounder at Fort St. Michael, which was garrisoned by British troops. Jackson sent Pierre again at midnight with a proposition to the governor to allow Americans to occupy the forts at Pensacola until the Spanish government could send a sufficient force to maintain neutrality.

This proposition was rejected; and Jackson, satisfied that the governor's protestations of inability to resist the British invasion were only pretexts, marched upon Pensacola before the dawn with 3,000 men. They avoided the fire of the forts and the shipping in the harbor, and the centre of the column made a gallant charge into the town. They were met by a two-gun battery in the principal street, and showers of bullets from the houses and gardens. The Americans, led by Captain Laval, captured the battery, when the frightened governor appeared with a white flag and promised to comply with any terms if Jackson would spare the town. An instant surrender of all the forts was demanded and promised, and, after some delay, it was done. The British, also alarmed by this sudden attack, blew up Fort Barancas, 6 miles from Pensacola, which they occupied; and early in the morning, Nov. 7, 1814, their ships left the harbor, bearing away, besides the British, the Spanish commandant of the forts, with 400 men and a considerable number of Indians. The Spanish governor (Manriquez) was indignant because of the flight of his British friends, and the Creeks were deeply impressed with a feeling that it would be imprudent to again defy the wrath of General Jackson. He had, by this expedition, accomplished three important results—namely, the expulsion of the British from Pensacola, the scattering of the gathering Indians in great alarm, and the punishing of the Spaniards for such perfidy.

At the beginning of the Civil War the United States had a navy-yard at the little village of Warrington, 5 miles from the entrance to Pensacola Bay. It was under the charge of Commodore Armstrong, of the navy. He was surrounded by disloyal men, and when, on the morning of Jan. 10, 1861 (when Fort Pickens was threatened), about 500 Florida and Alabama troops, and a few from Mississippi, commanded by Colonel Lomax, appeared at the navy-yard and demanded its surrender, Armstrong found himself powerless. Of the sixty officers and men under his command, he afterwards said more than three-fourths were disloyal, and some were actively so. Commander Far- rand was actually among the insurgents,

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who demanded the surrender to the governor of Florida. The disloyal men would have revolted if the commodore had made resistance. Lieutenant Renshaw, the flag-officer, one of the leaders among the disloyal men, immediately ordered the National standard to be lowered. It fell to the ground, and was greeted with derisive laughter. The command of the navy-yard was then given to Capt. V. N. Randolph, who had deserted his flag; and the post, with ordnance and stores valued at \$156,000, passed into the hands of the authorities of Florida. See PICKENS, FORT.

Pensions. According to an official statement by United States Pension Commissioner Ware on Aug. 25, 1904, high-water mark in the history of the Pension Bureau was reached on July 31, 1902, when the number of pensioners on the roll was 1,001,494. On June 30, 1903, there were 996,545 pensioners on the rolls, who were classified as follows: Survivors, 7,530; invalids, 721,202; widows, 267,189. These comprised 12,199 widows and the 7,530 survivors on account of wars prior to 1861; 268,282 invalids and 89,087 widows on account of general laws, disability in service, origin, mostly Civil War; 443,720 invalids and 162,241 widows on account of the June, 1890, act, Civil War disability not due to service; 624 army nurses, and 9,200 invalids and 3,662 widows on account of the war with Spain.

The total amount paid to pensioners as first payments on the allowance of their claims in 1903 was \$9,359,905.

The disbursements for pensions by the United States from July 1, 1790, to June 30, 1865, were \$96,445,444.23. Since 1865

the disbursements for pensions were \$2,942,178,145.93, and for cost of maintenance and expenses \$95,647,934.71, or a total of \$3,037,826,080.64, making the entire cost of the maintenance of the pension system since the foundation of the Government \$3,134,271,524.87.

Of the amount that has been expended for pensions since the foundation of the Government, \$70,000,000 was on account of the War of the Revolution; \$45,186,197.22 on account of service in the War of 1812; \$6,234,414.55 on account of service in the Indian wars; \$33,483,309.91 on account of service in the Mexican War; \$5,479,268.31 on account of the war with Spain; and \$2,878,240,400.17 on account of the Civil War. On March 16, 1904, an order was issued, to take effect April 13, making old age (beginning with 62 years) a pensionable disability.

The following shows the payments under recent administrations:

President Grant's first term...	\$116,136,275
Average per year.....	29,034,064
President Grant's second term..	114,395,357
Average per year.....	28,598,839
President Hayes's administration	145,322,489
Average per year.....	38,330,622
President Garfield's administration	237,825,070
Average per year.....	59,456,263
President Cleveland's first term.	305,638,662
Average per year.....	76,409,165
President Harrison's administration	519,707,726
Average per year.....	129,926,931
President Cleveland's second term	557,950,407
Average per year.....	139,487,602
President McKinley's first term.	560,000,547
Average per year.....	140,000,137
McKinley-Roosevelt term.....	561,180,765
Average per year.....	140,295,191

People, AGREEMENT OF THE. See AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

PEOPLE'S PARTY

People's Party. The Farmer's Alliance may be considered its nucleus. It was organized at Cincinnati in May, 1891. In 1892 it nominated for President Gen. James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President; in 1896 it combined with the Democratic party in nominating William J. Bryan for President, but nominated Thomas E. Watson for Vice-President; in 1900 it again combined with the Democratic party in nominating William J. Bryan for

President and Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President; and in 1904 nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for President, and Thomas H. Tibbles, of Nebraska, for Vice-President. See POLITICAL PARTIES; PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

The Hon. W. A. Peffer, one of the leaders of the People's party, wrote as follows during the campaign of 1900:

That the People's party is passing must be evident to all observers. Why it is go-

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ing, and *where*, are obviously questions of present public concern.

The party has a good and sufficient excuse for its existence. With our great war old issues were overshadowed and new forces came into play. The suspension of specie payments forced the government to adopt a new monetary policy, and the ignorance and prejudices of law-makers afforded bankers a tempting opportunity, of which they promptly availed themselves, to use the public credit for purposes of speculation. Our currency was converted into coin interest-paying bonds, the word "coin" was construed to mean *gold*, and the minting of silver dollars was discontinued. The general level of prices fell to the cost line or below it, and the people were paying 7 to 10 per cent. annual interest on an enormous private debt. Personal property in towns and cities was rapidly passing beyond the view of the tax-gatherer. Agriculture was prostrate. Farmers were at the mercy of speculators; the earth had come under the dominion of landlords; forests and mines were owned by syndicates; railway companies were in combination; wealth and social influence had usurped power, and the seat of government was transferred to Wall Street.

These abuses were fruits of our legislation. Congress had forgotten the people and turned their business over to the money-changers. Both of the great political parties then active were wedded to these vicious policies which were despoiling the farmers and impoverishing the working-classes generally. Gold was king and a new party was needed to shorten its reign.

And hence it was that the People's party was born. It came into being that government by the people might not perish from the earth. It planted itself on the broad ground of equality of human rights. It believed the earth is the people's heritage and that wealth belongs to him who creates it; that the work of distributing the products and profits of labor ought to be performed by public agencies; that money should be provided by the government and distributed through government instrumentalities so that borrowers might secure its use at an annual charge not exceeding 2 per cent., which is equal to

two-thirds of the net average savings of the whole people.

Charges for services rendered by private persons or corporations intrusted with public functions—such as railroading and banking—had never before attracted much attention among the common people; and as to interest for the use of money and rent for the use of land, they had been looked upon as things in the natural order, and therefore, being unavoidable, had to be endured. But the gold standard régime had driven the people to thinking. They saw that while they were paying from 10 to 100 per cent., according to the pressure of their necessities, for the use of money, the annual increase of the country's taxable wealth had but little exceeded 3 per cent., including the advance of values by reason of settlement and labor. And rent, they saw, was the same thing as interest on the estimated value of the property. If all the people working together as one cannot save more than 3 per cent. a year, when in possession of a vast area that did not cost them more than two cents an acre, is it cause for wonder that they did not thrive when paying three or four times that rate for the use of money? And was there not something radically wrong in conditions when, in a country so great in extent as this, so rich and varied in resources and populated by freemen under a government of their own choosing, more than half the people were compelled to pay money or other property for the use of land to live on? Why should any man or woman be required to hire space to live in?

Forests are diminished and coal is used for fuel. But the coal is found in great beds under the earth's surface, and these sources of fuel are monopolized by a few men, and the rest of us are forced to pay them not only a price for the coal, but for rent of the land and interest on a fictitious capitalization of corporate franchises. By what authority is one man allowed to take and possess more of the resources of nature than are sufficient for his own use and then demand tribute from others who are equally with him entitled to share them? And why shall one man or company of men be permitted to dictate to other men what wages they shall receive for the labor they perform?

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And why should an employer be favored by the law rather than the person whom he employs? And by what rule of law or justice are the working masses required to use non-legal tender money in their daily business affairs, while the "primary" money is kept in reserve for the special use of the speculating classes? Why have one kind of money for the rich and another kind for the poor? Why should a stringency in New York City be treated more tenderly than a stringency in any other part of the country? Why pay a premium of 25 per cent. in gold on bonds that have many years yet to run? And why pay interest nine to twelve months before it is due? Why leave \$18,000,000 or more without interest for years and years in national banks to be lent by them to their customers at 6 per cent. and upwards?

Questions like these were suggested by conditions present when the People's party was formed. It was the first great body of men, organized for political purposes, that took up these matters and put them in issue before the country with a view of ultimately securing relief through legislation. Its principles were essentially different from those of the other great parties on every fundamental proposition. Republicans and Democrats were given to old ideas in politics and law. Formed for altogether different purposes, they did not take kindly to any of the proposed reforms that would change established politics. Hence they were attached to the national banking system; they believed that the precious metals only are fit for use as money, and that all other forms of currency and all debts and pecuniary liabilities must be ultimately paid in coin. They believed that only private corporations should be intrusted with the function of issuing paper to be used as currency, and that the people's fiscal affairs ought to be conducted through the agency of private banks. They believed in private ownership of everything not absolutely necessary for the government's use in conducting its operations. They believed the coal-mines might properly be owned and operated by corporations with the accompanying privilege of charging what they please for the output. They believed in unlimited private ownership of land and

in private means of transportation on public highways. They believed that railway and express companies might rightfully tax their patrons enough to pay dividends on a capitalization equal to two or three times the actual value of the property used. They believed that employers might justly dictate the rate of wages to be paid, and that, in case of resistance on the part of the employees, this right may be enforced by the use of military power, if need be.

On the other hand, Populists do not believe these things. They believe that every child has exactly equal rights with those persons who were here when he came; that he is entitled to a place to live, and that, equally with his fellow-men, he is entitled to the use of natural resources of subsistence, including a parcel of vacant land where he may earn a livelihood. Populists believe that the interests of all the people are superior to the interests of a few of them or of one, and that no man or company of men should ever be permitted to monopolize land or franchises to the exclusion of the common rights of all the people or to the detriment of society. They believe that what a man honestly earns is his, and that the workman and his employer ought to have fair play and an equal showing in all disputes about wages. They believe that railways and canals, like the lakes and navigable rivers, ought to belong to the people. They believe that money, like the highway, is made to serve a public use; that dollars, like ships, are instruments of commerce, and that citizens ought not to be subjected to inconvenience or loss from a scarcity of money any more than they should be hindered in their work or their business by reason of a shortage in the supply of wagons, cars, or boats. They believe that the people themselves, acting for themselves through their own agencies, should supply all the money required for the prompt and easy transaction of business; that in addition to silver and gold coin, government paper, and only that, ought to be issued and used, that it should be full legal tender, and that there should be no discrimination in favor of or against anything which is allowed to circulate as money.

It will be seen that every proposition

PEOPLE'S PARTY

in this code is intended to be in the interest of the great body of the people and in opposition to class distinctions. The monetary scheme proposed—gold, silver, and government paper—is not a new departure; but it provides for unlimited coinage of both metals and an immediate increase of paper money to a limit sufficient for the people's use in their daily business. It opposes land monopoly, which is giving us a class of landlords and pauperizing a million people that are dependent on those who work in coal-mines. This new party proposes to get the people in the saddle. Summarized, its party platform was this: Equal rights and opportunities to all: let the people rule. On that it went to the country and received more than a million votes.

A more earnest, enthusiastic, sincere, and disinterested campaign was never entered upon or waged than that of the Populists in 1892, and although the work was done under a continuing fire of ridicule on the part of Republicans and Democrats alike not before equalled in the history of American politics, the new party made a profound impression on the voters.

But early in 1896 it was agreed among the men in lead that an alliance should be formed with the Democrats for the campaign of that year, and now the People's party is afflicted with political anæmia. It took too much Democracy.

Shall the alliance of 1896 be continued? That is the question at issue. Fusionists answer yes, conditionally; Anti-fusionists answer no, unconditionally; and every day the question remains open these parties appear to get farther apart rather than closer together. Fusionists aver that they have not yet determined in favor of perpetual union with another party. That, they say, can be settled later—when they know what the other parties are going to do. Right there is the seat of trouble. If they would only declare against any and every form of alliance or fusion with any of the old parties, that declaration alone would settle the question and bring the party together again, while their failure to do so leaves the matter still in issue, and the breach widens. This claim of the Fusionists that they are simply waiting to see what course the other parties will take, that Populists may

avail themselves of whatever strategy there is then in the situation, cannot, in the opinion of the Anti-fusionists, be safely accepted or allowed. It lacks evidence of party loyalty in the first place, they say; it lacks good faith in the second place; and in the third place it is wanting in truth. They are not waiting. On the contrary, they are actively at work forming local alliances preparatory to the Congressional campaign in 1898 and the Presidential contest in 1900. In every part of the country where they are comparatively strong, as in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, they are in hearty accord with the fusion Democrats. In Iowa, at the late election, the regular State convention of the People's party refused to put out a ticket of its own, and personally the fusion members united in support of the Democratic nominees from governor down. In Nebraska, where the Populists are largely in majority over Democrats, they united in support of a ticket headed by a Democrat. In Kansas the patronage of the State administration (Populist) is divided among the parties to the triple alliance of 1896.

These things indicate the direction of political wind currents. They are signs full of meaning, and none but the blind can fail to comprehend their significance. Mr. Bryan, on his part, has already contributed \$1,500 to the People's party campaign fund, and Senator Allen has invested the money in interest-bearing securities that it may increase unto the day of its use in "promoting the cause of bimetallism."

On the other hand, the Anti-fusionists wish to maintain their party relations, and they do not see how they can do that by supporting some other party, more especially one whose principles do not accord with their own; and the division growing out of this difference is fatal. It is drawn on the dead-line. These Anti-fusionists are like Cubans in this respect: they demand the independence of their party; they do not desire to be merely an attachment to another body, and particularly one from which they have once separated on account of unsatisfactory relations. They are affirmatively against fusion or alliance or federation of any sort with either the Republican or the

Democratic party in any national election. They are Populists because they believe in the principles of the People's party, and they intend and expect to remain such, at any rate until a greater and better party is formed out of other existing political bodies that are aiming at higher ideals in government.

Nor can it be said that the Anti-fusionists have been wanting in attentions to their fusion brethren, for they have warned them from time to time of attempts of their national committee to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over them. They have repeatedly asked for a conference of the disagreeing factions, with the view of a friendly adjustment of their differences, but no attention is paid to these requests. And that their number and temper might not be underestimated or their motives and wishes misunderstood, they called a conference themselves, held at Nashville, Tenn., July 4, 1897, and on that occasion it was unanimously resolved by them to have no further union or alliance with other parties, and a committee was appointed to reorganize the Anti-fusion Populists of the country.

Several independent suggestions have been submitted by individual Anti-fusionists on their own responsibility, proposing plans to bring the members of the party together on new lines. One of these is to call a conference of delegates representing all political bodies that are opposed to the present gold-standard régime, to consider whether it be not practicable, out of many, to form one great party with a single creed embodying everything regarded as essential by each of the parties represented. Such a conference, it is urged, would bring together the strongest and best men among the members of all parties. If, upon full and free conference, such a body should agree upon a common declaration of principles and a new name for the new body, the trouble which is now so threatening among Populists would be disposed of. Such a movement, if successful, would bring into being the most splendid body of men ever organized for any purpose, and they could gain possession of the government by the use of a freeman's safeguard—the ballot. This proposition, however, wise and pa-

triotic as it is, brings no response from the other side.

Two things may be taken as facts: First, that as long as Mr. Bryan is in the field as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, Fusion Populists will co-operate with the Democracy. Second, that the Anti-fusion, or Middle-of-the-road, Populists will not again ally themselves either individually or as a body with the Democratic party, no matter who is its candidate.

These facts show *why* the People's party is passing. It now remains to consider *where* it is going.

It will not go to the Republicans, because its leading doctrines are diametrically opposed to the principles and policies of the present Republican party. Everything of importance favored by Populists is opposed by Republicans, and everything cardinal in the Republican creed is opposed by Populists; hence the latter are not headed for the Republican camp. This is enough on that part of the subject.

If the People's party be merged, it will be in a new body that shall include advanced Democrats, like Altgeld and Bryan, Silver Republicans, and men of reform views in every other body that has been organized to promote political reforms. And that would be a wise and practicable ending of these disastrous party antagonisms. But old party names would have to be dropped and a new name and creed adopted for the new party. If they could agree on doctrines, surely they would not fail to agree on a name by which they should wish to be known. This course would bring into one army all the forces that are now marching in the same direction—voters who ought to be together and who must be together before final victory is achieved over class rule. United in one party under a new name, with one creed and one leader, every member would feel the warmth of new friendships and be encouraged by the stimulus of a large companionship; for, together they would be able soon to re-establish popular government in the United States, and the people would be in power again.

Such a party could be easily formed if Democrats were not opposed to it. And they would not be opposed if the Popu-

lists, united, should declare against fusion and merging and all sorts of co-operation, with any existing party. And that is just what they ought to do. Let Populists but rise to the level of the occasion, shake off the hypnotic stupor of Democracy and assert themselves as party men, announcing the end of all unions and alliances with other parties, except such as shall relate to the formation of one great new party made up of voters opposed to the present Republican régime, and Democratic leaders, seeing that alone they are lost, would take counsel of their fears and hasten to the newer and securer fold. It is the readiness of Fusion Populists to train with their Democratic brethren that encourages them and turns their heads upward. If Mr. Bryan could not win for his party when he had virtually the united Populist support, how can he succeed with half that vote? The candidate of the Democratic party in 1900 will not get the vote of the Anti-fusion Populists, and without this support the chances for that party's success will be greatly lessened. But a union of all reformers in one body would be invincible.

It is no answer to these suggestions to question the loyalty or patriotism of the Anti-fusionists, for they will retort by saying that if Democrats are in sympathy with Populism, their disinterestedness would be more apparent if they would come over and help the People's party, seeing that it had occupied and appropriated this reform ground long before it was discovered by the followers of Mr. Bryan.

Unless some new alignment of voters is effected soon, the People's party will permanently separate into two parts. One faction will go backward to the Democrats, and it will not have to go far, as the distance between the rear of the People's party and the vanguard of Democracy is so short that they readily mingle in the same camp and one counter-sign answers for both. The other faction will go forward to still higher ground. These men having nothing in common with Democracy except their views on the income tax and silver coinage, and these, even if they be taken as leading issues, are Populist doctrines, announced long before they appeared in the Chicago platform.

If it be inquired why they are opposed to Democracy, let the record answer. They believe the people of the United States constitute a nation; they believe the government is an agency created by the people for their use and benefit, and hence that all great national instrumentalities and franchises ought to be owned and operated by the government. This principle they hold to be vital. The Democratic party is always, and always has been, opposed to this theory. It has uniformly opposed internal improvement by the general government except for military or naval purposes. That party believes in metallic money as the only real money; it is a "hard money" party, and it favors State bank-notes for currency.

And while from the Populist doctrine on silver coinage, "sixteen to one" was made the Bryan battle-cry in 1896, there is no evidence that his party had then or has since changed front on the theory of Senate bill No. 2,642, introduced by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, on Jan. 23, 1895, of which the ninth section is as follows:

"From and after the passage of this act the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to receive at any United States mint, from any citizen of the United States, silver bullion of standard fineness, and coin the same into silver dollars of 412½ grains each. The seigniorage on the said bullion shall belong to the United States, and shall be the difference between the coinage value thereof and the price of the bullion in London on the day the deposit is made," etc.

The Democrats are now everywhere trying to get together on the silver question, and they can readily effect a union by agreeing to a law which shall have this section nine as one of its provisions. It is proverbially a party of compromise. A party with Bryan and Croker working harmoniously together in it need not struggle hard or long over so trifling a matter as the ratio between silver and gold. There is nothing in any of the public utterances of Mr. Bryan to indicate that, after securing the Populist vote, he would not consent to any ratio that would save to his party its conservative silver element.

Our coin debts were all contracted when the coin of the country consisted of silver and gold at the sixteen-to-one ratio, and

every United States bond now out expressly declares on its face that it is "redeemable, principal and interest, in coin of the standard value of July 14, 1870," and the ratio was sixteen to one at that time. Besides, the greenbacks and treasury notes are all redeemable in that kind of coin, and for these reasons Populists are not willing to change the ratio.

Nor can they agree with the Democrats on the subject of government paper money. The Chicago platform says:

"We demand that all paper which is made legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin."

That is to say, not that we demand or favor that kind of paper; but that, if any of it is issued, it "shall be redeemable in coin." The truth is, the Democratic party is now, as it has always been, opposed to government legal-tender paper money. Otherwise, it would not demand redemption in coin.

The Populist platform puts it this way: "We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts"—a demand quite different from that of the Democrats.

As a further matter of difference, attention is called to the fact that there is no evidence tending to show that the Democratic party has changed its position on the subject of retiring government paper money. Section 1 of Senator Jones's bill, above cited, provides as follows:

"That authority is hereby given to the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of the United States to the amount of \$500,000,000, coupon or registered, at the option of the buyer, payable, principal and interest, in coin of the present standard value, and bearing interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum, payable quarterly, and not to be sold at less than par, the bonds to mature thirty years from date, and be redeemable at the option of the government after twenty years; and that the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby authorized to use the proceeds of the sale of said bonds to defray current expenses of the government, and for the redemption of United States legal-tender notes and of treasury notes issued under the act of July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, as hereinafter provided."

Seven sections following this section provide details, including authority to national banks to enlarge their circulation to the full limit of their bonds deposited. No Populist could endorse a measure like that; yet when the bill was reported favorably to the Senate by Mr. Jones every Democrat in Congress at the time, with the possible exception of a few monometallists, stood ready to support it.

There are still other matters of difference. Populists regard the land question as of supreme importance. The people's homes are slipping away from them. We are fast becoming a nation of renters. We have a million or more unemployed men and women all the time, some of whom, at least, could earn a living on the public lands if they could only get to them with means to start. Populists think the national and State governments ought to take hold of the labor problem and get the people at work again. Strikes and lock-outs, and consequent disturbances in trade, can be prevented by keeping people employed at fair remuneration. There is nothing in the Democratic platform or in that party's history which is in any way responsive to these advances of Populism. So, too, Populists believe that the present capitalization of our great railway system is a standing menace to the commercial peace of the country, and that final government ownership and management is the only safe and certain cure for the accumulating embarrassments attending present methods of handling the business of these powerful corporations. Democracy is opposed to such a policy. And if there is anything on which the Populist heart is chiefly set, it is the right of the people to propose legislation and to pass on important measures before they take effect as laws. But this doctrine has not found favor in any body of orthodox Democrats.

Finally, as to all matters which Populists regard as fundamental and of surpassing importance, the two parties are not only not in accord, but are positively opposed to each other. The People's party was formed for present duties, while that of the Democracy came from divisions among the founders of the republic. The doctrines of this young party are, in brief, the equal rights of men; its creed

is the golden rule; its idea of law is justice, and its theory of government is the rule of the people.

If the scheme to organize a new body is left untried, or, if tried, it is found to be impracticable and the People's party is finally separated into two wings, the Fusionists will have no difficulty in finding a resting-place; but the work for which the party was born and which it bravely commenced will be left for their old associates and new co-workers who shall be found in other bodies—men and women who believe good government can be maintained only through social order and just laws, citizens who believe in doing good because they love their fellow-men, reformers whose faces have always been to the front, veterans who draw the enemy's fire and who fight better in the field than in the camp.

There will be plenty of work for them to do. Conditions will not improve under the present régime. Times will get no better. Stringency and panic will be here on time again and again as of old, for neither Republicans nor Democrats offer a preventive. They do not seem to know what ails the country and the world. High tariff is but heavy taxation, and free silver alone will not give work to the idle nor bread to the poor. The case needs heroic treatment—just such as the People's party proposed.

Yes, the work will be delayed, but it will be done. Justice will be re-established in the land and the people's rights will be restored to them. The law of progress will not be suspended any more than the law

of gravitation. While the factors are being arranged in equations of the next century, and during the siftings and winnowings of the time, these devoted Populists will gravitate to their proper places among the leaders of thought and action in the work of the trying days to come. To them, and to such as they, will be given truths of the future to reveal to others as they can bear them, and they shall have at least the reward of the faithful.

Pepperell, SIR WILLIAM, military officer; born in Kittery, Me., June 27, 1696. His father, a Welshman, came to New England as apprentice to a fisherman, where he married. The son became a merchant, amassed a large fortune, and became an influential man. Fitted by temperament for military life, he was frequently engaged against the Indians, and attained much distinction. About 1727 he was appointed one of his Majesty's council for the province of Massachusetts, and held the office, by re-election, thirty-two consecutive years. Appointed chief justice of common pleas in 1730, he be-



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL'S HOUSE AT KITTERY, ME.

came eminent as a jurist. In 1745 he commanded the successful expedition against Louisburg, and was knighted. On visiting England in 1749, he was commissioned colonel in the British army;



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL

became major-general in 1755; and lieutenant-general in 1759. From 1756 to 1758 Sir William was acting governor of Massachusetts before the arrival of Pownall. He died in Kittery, Me., July 6, 1759.

Pequod War, THE. The most powerful of the New England tribes were the Pequods, whose territory extended from Narraganset Bay to Hudson River, and over Long Island. Sassacus, their emperor, ruled over twenty-six native princes. He was bold, cruel, cool, calculating, treacherous, haughty, fierce, and malignant. Jealous of the friendship of the English for the Mohegans, and believing the garrison at the mouth of the Connecticut River would soon be strengthened and endanger his dominions, Sassacus determined in 1636 to exterminate the white people. He tried to induce the Narragansets and the Mohegans to join him. The united tribes might put 4,000 braves on the war-path at once, while there were not more than 250 Englishmen in the Connecticut Valley capable of bearing arms.

Sassacus undertook the task alone. First his people kidnapped children, murdered men alone in the forests or on the waters, and swept away fourteen families. A Massachusetts trading-vessel was seized by the Indians at Block Island, plundered, and its commander, John Oldham, murdered. They were allies of the Pequods, who protected them. The authorities at Boston sent Endicott and Captain Gardiner to chastise them. With a small military force in three vessels they entered Long Island Sound. They killed some Indians at Block Island, and left the domain a blackened desolation. Then they went over to the mainland, made some demands which they could not enforce; desolated fields, burned wigwams, killed a few people, and departed.

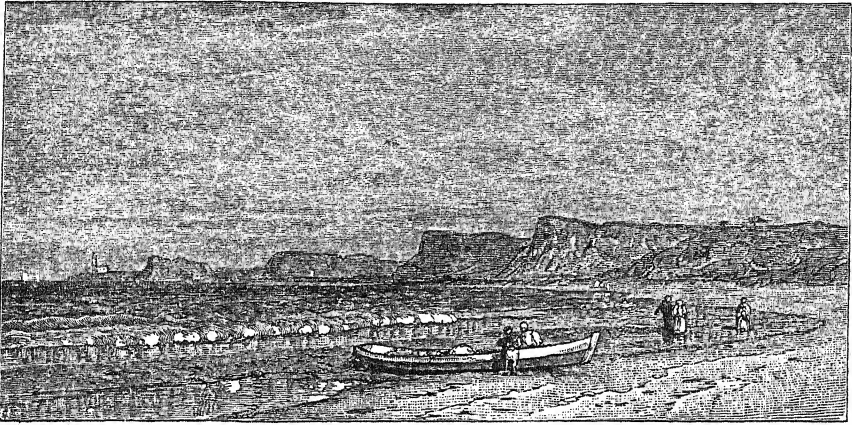
The exasperated Pequods sent ambassadors to the Narragansets urging them to join in a war of extermination. Through the influence of Roger Williams, who rendered good for evil, the Narragansets were not only kept from joining the Pequods, but became allies of the English in making war upon them. All through the next winter the Pequods harassed the settlements in the Connecticut Valley, and in the spring of 1637 the colonists determined to make war upon the aggressors. They had slain more than thirty Englishmen. Massachusetts sent troops to assist the Connecticut people. The English were joined by the Mohegans under Uncas, and the entire army was under the command of Capt. John Mason, who had been a soldier in the Netherlands. The little army proceeded by water to the Narraganset country, whence the Pequods would least expect attack, and marched upon their rear. The Indians, seeing them sail eastward, concluded the English had abandoned the expedition and the Connecticut Valley. It was a fatal mistake. The white people were joined by many Narragansets and Niantics, and while Sassacus was dreaming of the flight of the Europeans more than fifty warriors, pale and dusky, were marching swiftly to attack his stronghold near the waters of the Mystic River. Mason was accompanied by Captain Underhill, another brave soldier.

When the invaders reached the foot of the hill on which the fort of Sassacus

PEQUOD WAR—PERCY

stood—a circular structure strongly palisaded, embracing seventy wigwams covered with matting and thatch—they were yet undiscovered. The sentinels could hear the sounds of revelry among the savages within the fortress. At midnight all was still. Two hours before the dawn (May 26) the invaders marched upon the fort in two columns. The Indian allies grew fearful, for Sassacus was regarded as all but a god. Uncas was firm. The dusky warriors lingered behind, and formed a cordon in the woods around the fortress to kill any who might attempt to escape. The moon shone brightly. Stealthily the little army crept up the hill, when an aroused sentinel awakened the sleepers

and they threatened his life if he did not immediately lead them against the invaders. Just then the blast of a trumpet was heard. The white invaders were near, fully 200 strong. The Indians fled with their women and children across the Thames, through the forest and over green savannas westward, closely pursued. The fugitives took refuge in Sasco Swamp, near Fairfield, where they all surrendered to the English excepting Sassacus and a few followers, who escaped. A nation had perished in a day. That blow gave peace to New England for forty years. The last representative of the pure blood of the Pequods, probably, was Eunice Manwee, who died in Kent, Conn., about 1860, aged



WHERE MASON'S ARMY LANDED.

within the fort. Mason and Underhill, approaching from opposite directions, burst in the sally-ports. The terrified Indians rushed out, but were driven back by swords and musket-balls. Their thatched wigwams were fired, and within an hour about 600 men, women, and children were slain. The bloodthirsty and the innocent shared the same fate. Only seven of the Pequods escaped death, and Cotton Mather afterwards wrote: "It was supposed that no less than five or six hundred Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day." Sassacus was not there; he was at another fort near the Thames, opposite the site of New London. Sassacus sat stately and sullen when told of the massacre at the Mystic. His warriors were furious,

100 years. Sassacus took refuge with the Mohawks, who, at the request of the Narragansets, cut off his head. The Puritans, who believed themselves to be under the peculiar care of Divine Providence, and the Indians to be the children of the devil, exulted in this signal instance of the favor of Heaven. "The Lord was pleased," wrote Captain Mason, "to smite our enemies in the hinder parts and give us their land for an inheritance." See MASON, JOHN.

Percy, GEORGE, born in Syon House, England, Sept. 4, 1586; succeeded Capt. John Smith as governor of Virginia in 1610. He was the author of *A History of the Plantations of the Southern Colonie of Virginia*, which is a history of the voy-

age and all their explorations during the first year of the existence of the colony. He died in England in March, 1632.

Percy, HUGH, Duke of Northumberland; born in England, Aug. 25, 1742. Entering the army in his youth, he first saw service under Prince Ferdinand in Germany. He commanded as brigadier-general against



HUGH PERCY.

the Americans in 1775-76. To Lexington, on the morning of the affray there, he led a timely reinforcement, and in the fall of 1776 he assisted in the reduction of Fort Mifflin. The next month his mother died, when he succeeded to the baronetcy of Percy, and returned to England. He became Duke of Northumberland in June, 1786, and died July 10, 1817.

Perfectionists. See NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY.

Perkins, JACOB, inventor; born in Newburyport, Mass., July 9, 1766. As early as his fifteenth year he carried on the business of a goldsmith in Newburyport, and early invented a method for plating shoe-buckles. He made dies for coining money when the United States Mint was under consideration. He was then twenty-one, and when he was twenty-four he invented a machine for making nails at one operation, and steel plates for bank-notes, which, it was supposed, could not be counterfeited. After living in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, he went to England in the year 1815, where he

perfected steam-engines, and for many years carried on a large manufactory in London. He originated the process used by bank-note engravers for transferring an engraving from one steel plate to another, and perfected many other inventions, for which he received the gold medal of the Society of Arts in London. He died in London, England, July 30, 1849.

Perkins, JAMES HANDASYD, author; born in Boston, Mass., July 31, 1810; received an academic education; settled in Cincinnati, O., in 1832; later became a Unitarian minister; deeply interested himself in prison reform; and was first president of the Cincinnati Historical Society. His publications include *Digest of the Constitutional Opinions of Chief-Justice John Marshall*; *Christian Civilization*; and *Annals of the West*. He died in Cincinnati, O., Dec. 14, 1849.

Perkins, SAMUEL, author; born in Lisbon, Conn., in 1767; graduated at Yale College in 1785; studied theology, and for a time preached, but afterwards became a lawyer. His publications included *History of the Political and Military Events of the Late War between the United States and Great Britain*; *General Jackson's Conduct in the Seminole War*; and *Historical Sketches of the United States, 1815-30*. He died in Windham, Conn., in September, 1850.

Perrein, JEAN, naturalist; born near Mont de Marsan, France, in 1750; visited North America in 1794, and travelled in the Rocky Mountains, in all the New England States, and in Quebec, Ontario, and other parts of British America. He was the author of a valuable work entitled *Travel among the Indians of North America, with a Sketch of the Customs and Character of the People*. He died in New York in October, 1805.

Perrin Du Lac, FRANÇOIS MARIE, traveller; born in Chaux-de-Fonds, France, in 1766; came to the United States in 1791, and travelled through Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other sections; returned to France in 1803. He wrote *Journey in the Two Louisianas, and among the Savage Nations of Missouri, through the United States, Ohio, and the Border Provinces, in 1801, 1802, and 1803, with a Sketch*

of the Manners, Practices, Character, and the Religious Customs and Civil Laws of the People of the Various Regions. He died in Rambouillet, France, July 22, 1824.

Perry, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, lawyer; born in Pendleton District, S. C., Nov. 20, 1805; was admitted to the bar in 1827; was a strong Unionist, and was instrumental in organizing a Union party in South Carolina; founded a Union paper in Greenville, S. C., in 1850, entitled *The Southern Patriot*. In 1860 he made strenuous efforts to prevent the secession of the State, but, being unsuccessful, embraced the Southern cause. His publications include *Reminiscences of Public Men*; and *Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen, with Speeches and Letters of Governor Perry, prefaced by an Outline of the Author's Life*. He died in Greenville, S. C., Dec. 3, 1886.

Perry, MATTHEW CALBRAITH, naval officer; born in Newport, R. I., April 10, 1794; was a brother of Commodore Oliver H. Perry, and entered the navy as midshipman in 1809. In command of the *Cyane*, in 1819, he fixed the locality of the settlement of Liberia. He captured several pirate vessels in the West Indies from 1821 to 1824, and was employed on shore from 1833 to 1841, when he again, as commodore, went to sea in command of squadrons for several years, engaging in the siege of Vera Cruz in 1847. From 1852 to 1854 he commanded the expedition to Japan, and negotiated a very important treaty with the rulers of that empire, which has led to wonderful results in the social and religious condition of that people, and secured great advantages to America.

A monument commemorating Commodore Perry's visit to Japan was erected at Kurihama, Japan, in 1901. In a circular sent out by the "American Association of Japan," of which the Japanese Minister of Justice is president, the following language is used: "Commodore Perry's visit was, in a word, the turn of the key which opened the doors of the Japanese Empire, an event which paved the

way for, and accelerated an introduction of a new order of things; an event that enabled the country to enter upon the unprecedented era in national prosperity in which we now live. Japan has not forgotten—nor will she ever forget—that next to her reigning and most beloved sovereign, whose rare virtue and great wisdom is above all praise, she owes her present prosperity to the United States of America. After a lapse of forty-eight years the people of Japan have come to entertain but an uncertain memory of Kurihama, and yet it was there that Commodore Perry first trod on the soil of Japan, and for the first time awoke the country from three centuries of slumberous seclusion, and there first gleamed the rays of her new era of progress." He died in New York City, March 4, 1858.

Perry, OLIVER HAZARD, naval officer; born in South Kingston, R. I., Aug. 23, 1785; entered the navy as midshipman in 1799; served in the Tripolitan War; had charge of a flotilla of gunboats in New York Harbor in 1812; and in 1813 was called to the command of a fleet on Lake Erie. On the evening of Sept. 9, 1813, Perry called around him the officers of his squadron and gave instructions to each in writing, for he had determined to attack



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.



Queen Charlotte and Johnny Bull got their dose of Perry.

the British squadron at its anchorage the next day. The conference ended at about 10 P.M.. The unclouded moon was at its full. Just before the officers departed, Perry brought out a square battle-flag which had been privately prepared for him at Erie. It was blue, and bore in large white letters made of muslin the alleged dying words of Lawrence—"Don't give up the ship."

"When this flag shall be hoisted at the main-yard," said Perry, "it shall be your signal for going into action." On the following day he gained a complete victory over the British squadron (see ERIE, LAKE, BATTLE OF). When Perry had fought the battle and his eye saw at a glance that victory was secure, he wrote in pencil on the back of an old letter, resting the paper on his navy cap, the following despatch to General Harrison, the first clause of which has often been quoted:

"We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

"Yours, with great respect and esteem,
"O. H. PERRY."

Many songs were written and sung in commemoration of Perry's victory. One of the most popular of these was "American Perry," beginning:

"Bold Barclay one day to Proctor did say,
I'm tired of Jamaica and cherry;
So let us go down to that new floating town
And get some American Perry.
Oh, cheap American Perry!
Most pleasant American Perry!
We need only bear down, knock and call,
And we'll have the American Perry."

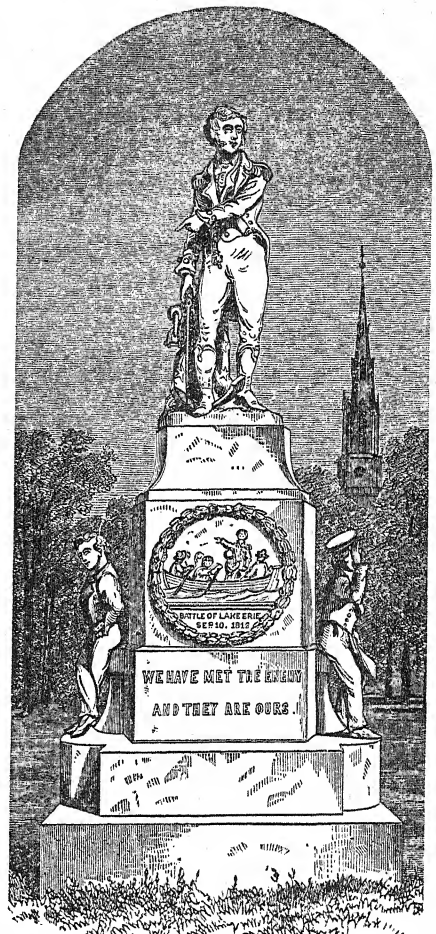


PERRY'S MONUMENT, NEWPORT, R. I.

Among the caricatures of the day was one by Charles, of Philadelphia, representing John Bull, in the person of the King, seated, with his hand pressed upon his stomach, indicating pain, which the fresh juice of the pear, called perry, will produce. Queen Charlotte, the King's wife (a fair likeness of whom is given), enters with a bottle labelled "Perry," out of which the cork has flown, and in the foam are seen the names of the vessels composing the American squadron. She says, "Johnny, won't you take some more perry?" John Bull replies, while writhing in pain produced by perry, "Oh! Perry! Curse that Perry! One disaster after another—I have not half recovered of the bloody nose I got at the boxing-match!" This last expression refers to the capture of the *Bower* by the American schooner *Enterprise*. This caricature is entitled "Queen Charlotte and Johnny Bull got their dose of Perry." The point will be better perceived by remembering that one of the principal vessels of the British squadron was named the *Queen Charlotte*, in honor of the royal consort. In a ballad of the day occur the following lines:

"On Erie's wave, while Barclay brave,
With *Charlotte* making merry,
He chanced to take the belly-ache,
We drenched him so with Perry."

At the time of his great victory Perry was only master-commander, but was immediately promoted to captain, and received the thanks of Congress and a medal. He assisted Harrison in retaking Detroit late in 1813. In 1815 he commanded the *Java* in Decatur's squadron in the Mediterranean, and in 1819 was sent against the pirates in the West Indies. He died in Port Spain, Trinidad, Aug. 23, 1819. The name and fame of Perry is held in loving remembrance by all Americans. In 1860 a fine marble statue of him by Walcutt was erected in a public square in Cleveland, O., with imposing ceremonies, and a monument to his memory has been erected in Newport, R. I. At the unveiling of the statue at Cleveland, George Bancroft delivered an address; Dr. Usher Parsons, Perry's surgeon in the fight on Lake Erie, read an historical discourse, and, at a dinner afterwards, about 300 sur-



PERRY'S STATUE, CLEVELAND, O.

viving soldiers of the War of 1812-15 sat down.

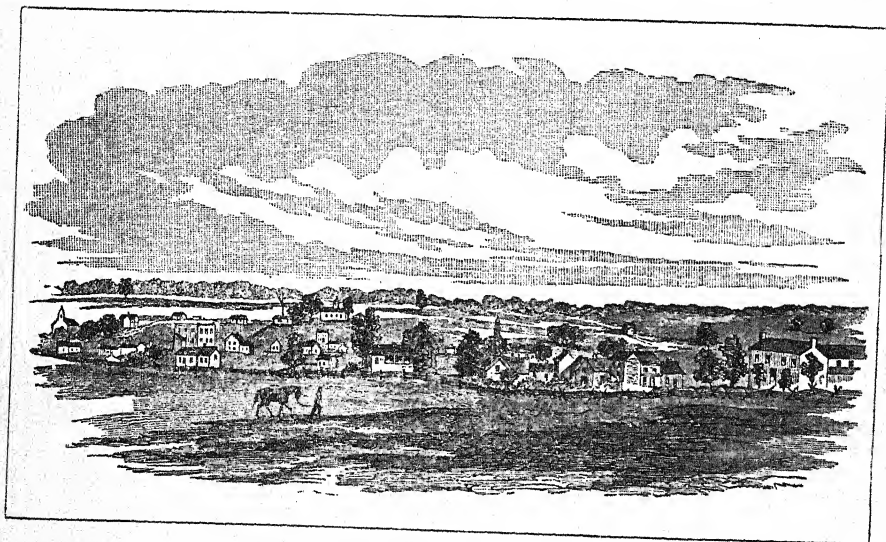
Perry, WILLIAM STEVENS, clergyman; born in Providence, R. I., Jan. 22, 1832; graduated at Harvard College in 1854; ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1858; held pastorates in various parts of New England; and was consecrated bishop of Iowa, Sept. 10, 1876. His publications include *Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America*; *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Unit-*

PERRYVILLE

ed States of America; Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church; The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883; The American Church and the American Constitution, etc. He died in Dubuque, Ia., May 13, 1898.

Perryville, BATTLE AT. Bragg's troops formed a junction with those of Gen. E. Kirby Smith at Frankfort, Ky., on Oct. 1, 1862, when they made Richard Hawes "provisional governor of Kentucky" while Bragg's plundering bands were scouring the State and driving away southward thousands of hogs and cattle

command, had charge of the right wing, and soon began to feel the Confederates. Bragg, outflanked, fell slowly back towards Springfield, when Buell, informed that he was moving to concentrate his army at Harrodsburg or Perryville, ordered the central division of his army under Gilbert to march for the latter place. The head of this division, under Gen. R. B. Mitchell, fell in with a heavy force of Confederates (Oct. 7) within 5 miles of Perryville, drawn up in battle order. These were pressed back about 3 miles, when General Sheridan's division was ordered up to an eligible position. Buell was there, and,



PERRYVILLE.

and numerous trains bearing bacon, bread-stuffs, and store-goods taken from merchants in various large towns. As a show of honesty, these raiders gave Confederate scrip in exchange. Regarding Kentucky as a part of the Confederacy, conscription was put in force by Bragg at the point of the bayonet. The loyal people cried for help. The cautious Buell made a tardy response. He had been engaged in a race for Louisville with Bragg, and, on Oct. 1, turned to strike his opponent. His army, 100,000 strong, was arranged in three corps, commanded respectively by Generals Gilbert, Crittenden, and McCook. Gen. George H. Thomas, Buell's second in

expecting a battle in the morning, he sent for the flank corps of Crittenden and McCook to close up on his right, and, if possible, surround the Confederates. There was a delay in the arrival of Crittenden, and Bragg, perceiving his peril, had begun to retreat. He was anxious to secure the exit of the plunder-trains from the State.

As Crittenden did not speedily arrive, Bragg resolved to give battle in his absence. His army was immediately commanded by General Polk. There had been a sharp engagement on the morning of the 8th, when the Confederates were repulsed and driven back by troops under Col. D.

McCook, of Sheridan's division, with Barnett's battery, some Michigan cavalry, and a Missouri regiment. The Confederates were repulsed, and so ended the preliminary battle of that day. Mitchell, Sheridan, Rousseau, and Jackson advanced with troops to secure the position, and a Michigan and an Indiana battery were planted in commanding positions. A reconnaissance in force was now made. Bragg was stealthily approaching, being well masked, and Cheatham's division fell suddenly and heavily upon McCook's flank with horrid yells, when the raw and outnumbered troops of General Terrell broke and fled. General Jackson had been killed. In an attempt to rally his troops, Terrell was mortally wounded. When Terrell's force was scattered, the Confederates fell with equal weight upon Rousseau's division. An attempt to destroy it was met by Starkweather's brigade and the batteries of Bush and Stone, who maintained their positions for nearly three hours, until the ammunition of both infantry and artillery was nearly exhausted. Bush's battery had lost thirty-five horses. Meanwhile, Rousseau's troops fought stubbornly, and held their position while resisting Confederates commanded by Bragg in person. The Confederates finally made a fierce charge on the brigade of Lytle, hurling it back with heavy loss. They pressed forward to Gilbert's flank, held by Mitchell and Sheridan. The latter held the king-point of the Union position. He quickly turned his guns on the assailants, when Mitchell sent Carlin's brigade to the support of Sheridan's right. This force charged at the double-quick, broke the Confederate line, and drove them through Perryville to the protection of their batteries on the bluff beyond.

Meanwhile, Colonel Gooding's brigade had been sent to the aid of McCook, and fought with great persistence for two hours against odds, losing fully one-third of its number, its commander being made prisoner. General Buell did not know the magnitude of the battle until 4 P.M., when McCook sent a request for reinforcements. They were promptly sent. The conflict ended at dark in a victory for the Nationals, the Confederates having been repulsed at all points, and during the night

they retired to Harrodsburg, where Bragg was joined by Kirby Smith and General Withers. All fled towards east Tennessee, leaving 1,200 of their sick and wounded at Harrodsburg, and about 25,000 barrels of pork at various points. The retreat was conducted by General Polk, covered by Wheeler's cavalry. Buell's effective force that advanced on Perryville was 58,000, of whom 22,000 were raw troops. He lost in the battle 4,348 men, of whom 916 were killed. The Confederate loss was estimated at about the same. Bragg claimed to have captured fifteen guns and 400 prisoners. It is believed that the Confederates lost more than they gained by their plundering raid. Buell was soon superseded in command by General Rosecrans, and the name of the Army of the Ohio was changed to the Army of the Cumberland.

Personal Liberty Laws. The provisions of the fugitive slave law, and the danger to the liberty of free colored citizens, caused several States to pass laws for their protection. The laws of Maine provided that no public officer of the State should arrest or aid in so doing, or in detaining in any building belonging to the State, or any county or town within it, any alleged fugitive slaves; so that duty was left to the United States officers. The laws of New Hampshire provided that any slave coming into that State by the consent of the master should be free, and declared that an attempt to hold any person as a slave within the State was a felony, unless done by an officer of the United States in the execution of legal process. This was to relieve the people of the duty of becoming slave-catchers by command of the United States officers. The law in Vermont provided that judicial officers of the State should take no cognizance of any warrant or process under the fugitive slave law, and that no person should assist in the removal of any alleged fugitive from the State, excepting United States officers. It also ordered that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and a trial of facts by a jury, should be given to the alleged fugitive, with the State's attorney for counsel. This was a nullification of the fugitive slave law. The law in Massachusetts provided for trial by jury of al-

leged fugitive slaves, who might have the services of any attorney. It forbade the issuing of any process under the fugitive slave law by any legal officer in the State, or "to do any official act in furtherance of the execution of the fugitive slave law of 1793 or that of 1850." It forbade the use of any prison in the State for the same purpose. All public officers were forbidden to assist in the arrest of alleged fugitive slaves, and no officer in the State, acting as United States commissioner, was allowed to issue any warrant, excepting for the summoning of witnesses, nor allowed to hear and try any cause under the law. This, also, was a virtual nullification of the fugitive slave law. The law in Connecticut was intended only to prevent the kidnapping of free persons of color within its borders, by imposing a heavy penalty upon those who should cause to be arrested any free colored person with the intent to reduce him or her to slavery. The law in Rhode Island forbade the carrying away of any person by force out of the State, and provided that no public officer should officially aid in the execution of the fugitive slave law, and denied the use of the jails for that purpose. Neither New York, New Jersey, nor Pennsylvania passed any laws on the subject, their statute-books already containing acts which they deemed sufficient to meet the case. The law in Michigan secured to the person arrested the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, a trial by jury, and the employment of the State's attorney as counsel. It denied the use of the jails in the execution of the fugitive slave law, and imposed a heavy penalty for the arrest of free colored persons as fugitive slaves. The law in Wisconsin was precisely like that of Michigan. The remainder of the free-labor States refrained from passing any laws on the subject.

Peters, HUGH, clergyman; born in Fowey, Cornwall, England, in 1599; was both a clergyman and politician, and after imprisonment for non-conformity he went to Rotterdam, where he preached several years. He came to New England in 1635, succeeded Roger Williams as pastor at Salem, and excommunicated his adherents. In politics and commerce he was equally active. In 1641 he sailed for England, to

procure an alteration in the navigation laws, and had several interviews with Charles I. He preached to and commanded a regiment of Parliamentary troops in Ireland in 1649, and afterwards held civil offices. After the restoration he was committed to the Tower, and on Oct. 16, 1660, was beheaded for high treason, as having been concerned in the death of Charles I. He wrote a work called *A Good Work for a Good Magistrate*, in 1651, in which he recommended burning the historical records in the Tower.

Peters, RICHARD, jurist; born near Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 22, 1744; was a distinguished lawyer, a good German scholar, and a bright wit. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he commanded a company, but Congress placed him with the board of war, of which he was made secretary in June, 1776, and served as such until December, 1781. In 1782-83 he was a member of Congress, and from 1789 until his death he was United States district judge of Pennsylvania. The country is indebted to Judge Peters for the introduction of gypsum as a fertilizer. In 1797 he published an account of his experience with it on his own farm. He was president of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society. He died at his birthplace, Aug. 22, 1828.

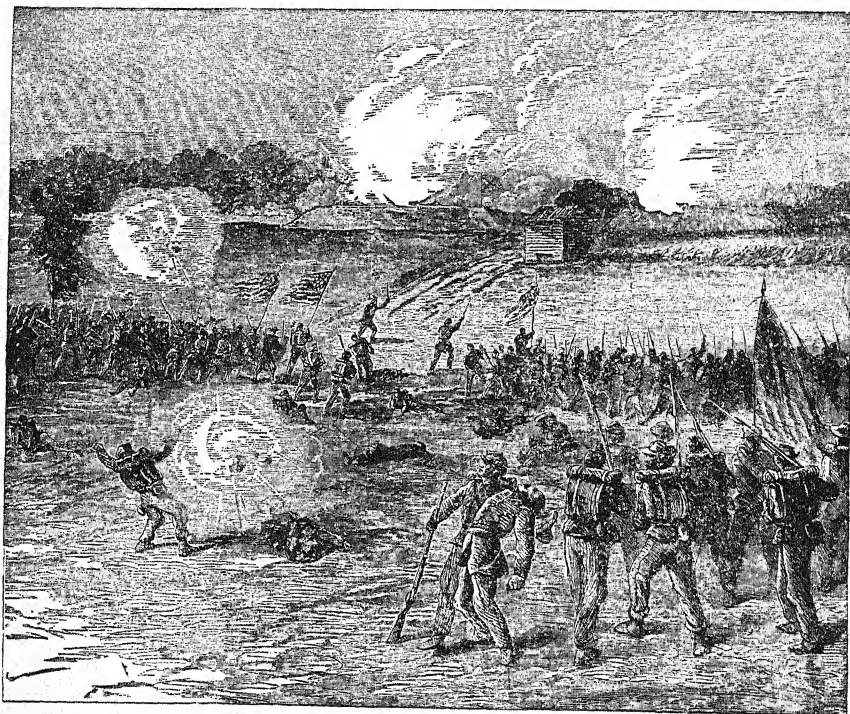
Peters, SAMUEL ANDREW, clergyman; born in Hebron, Conn., Dec. 12, 1735; graduated at Yale College in 1757; became a clergyman of the Church of England; and in 1762 took charge of the Episcopal churches at Hebron and Hartford. He opposed the movements of the patriots; became exceedingly obnoxious to them; and in 1774 was obliged to flee to England. In 1781 he published *A General History of Connecticut*, which has been characterized as the "most unscrupulous and malicious of lying narratives." In it he gave pretended extracts from the "blue laws," and the whole narrative shows an "independence of time, place, and probabilities." In 1794 he was chosen bishop of Vermont, but was never consecrated. In 1805 he returned to the United States, and towards the latter years of his life he lived in obscurity in New York City, where he died, April 19, 1826.

PETERSBURG

Petersburg. This city, on the south side of the Appomattox River, about 20 miles from Richmond, and 15 from City Point, was occupied, in the summer of 1864, by a large Confederate force, who cast up strong intrenchments upon its exposed sides. When the Army of the Potomac was led to the south side of the James River (June 14-16), it began immediate operations against Petersburg, which was then the strong defence of Richmond. Butler, at Bermuda Hundred, was very securely intrenched. Grant sent General Smith's troops quickly back to him after the battle at COLD HARBOR (*q. v.*), and directed him to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac in an attempt to capture Petersburg. On June 10 Butler sent 10,500 men, under Gillmore, and 1,500 cavalry, under Kautz, to attack the Confederates at Petersburg; at the same time two gunboats went up the Appomattox to bombard an earthwork a little below the city. The troops crossed the Appomattox

4 miles above City Point, and marched on Petersburg, while Kautz swept round to attack on the south. The enterprise was a failure, and the Nationals retired. Five days later there was another attempt to capture Petersburg. Smith arrived at Bermuda Hundred with his troops on June 14, and pushed on to the front of the defences of Petersburg, northeastward of the city. These were found to be very formidable and, ignorant of what forces lay behind these works, he proceeded so cautiously that it was near sunset (June 15), before he was prepared for an assault. The Confederates were driven from their strong line of rifle-pits.

Pushing on, Smith captured a powerful salient, four redoubts, and a connecting line of intrenchments about 2½ miles in extent, with 15 guns and 300 prisoners. Two divisions of Hancock's corps had come up, and rested upon their arms within the works just captured. While these troops were reposeing, nearly the whole of Lee's

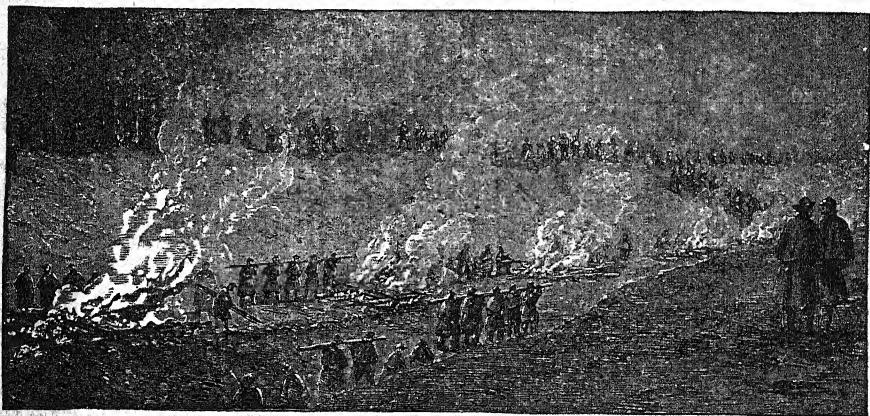


ATTACKING THE CONFEDERATE INTRENCHMENTS.

army were crossing the James River at Richmond, and troops were streaming down towards Petersburg to assist in its defence, and during the night (June 15-16) very strong works were thrown up. The coveted prize was lost. Twenty-four hours before, Petersburg might have been easily taken; now it defied the Nationals, and endured a most distressing siege for ten months longer. At the middle of June, a large portion of the Army of Northern Virginia was holding the city and the surrounding intrenchments, and a great part of the Army of the Potomac, with the command of Smith upon its right, confronted the Confederates. On the evening of the 16th a heavy bombardment was opened upon the Confederate works, and was kept up until 6 A.M. the next day. Birney, of Hancock's corps, stormed and carried a redoubt on his front, but Burnside's corps could make no impression for a long time, in the face of a murderous fire. There was a general advance of the Nationals, but at a fearful cost of life. At dawn General Potter's division of Burnside's corps charged upon the works in their front, carried them, and captured four guns and 400 men. He was relieved by General Ledlie's column, which advanced to within half a mile of the city, and held

Beauregard's lines, and destroy and hold, if possible, the railway in that vicinity. He had gained possession of the track, and was proceeding to destroy it, when he was attacked by a division of Longstreet's corps, on its way from Richmond to Petersburg. Terry was driven back to the intrenchments at Bermuda Hundred before aid could reach him. On the morning of the 17th the 7th and 9th Corps renewed the attack upon the works at Petersburg, when the hill upon which Fort Steadman was afterwards built was carried and held by the former. Another attack was made by the 9th Corps in the afternoon, and a severe battle began, and continued until night, with great slaughter. Desperate attempts had been made to recapture what the Confederates had lost, and that night a heavy Confederate force drove back the 9th (Burnside's) Corps. A general assault was made on the 18th, with disaster to the Nationals, who were repulsed at every point.

Then, after a loss of nearly 10,000 men, further attempts to take Petersburg by storm were abandoned for a while, and Grant prepared for a regular siege. He at once began intrenching, and to extend his left in the direction of the Petersburg and Weldon Railway, which he de-

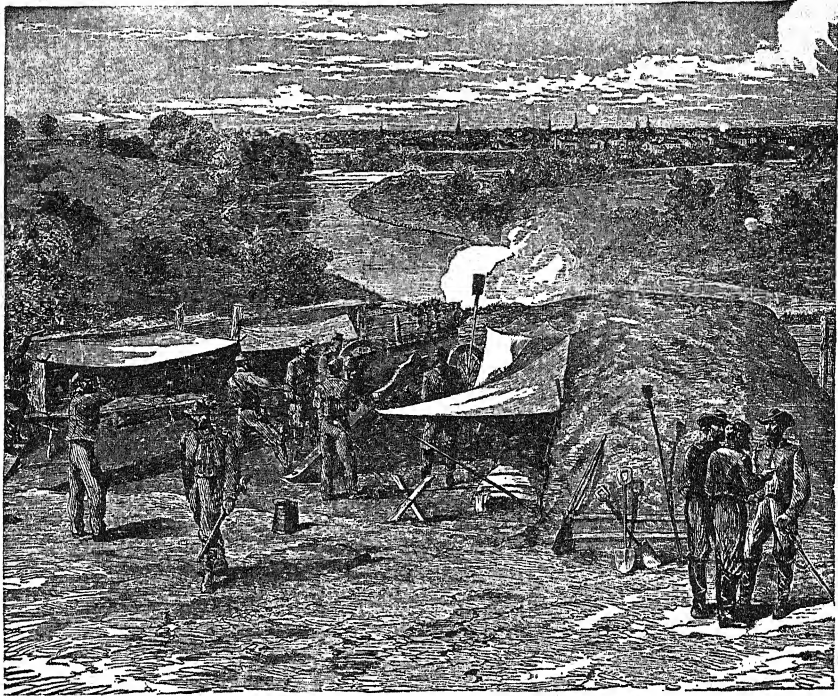


TEARING UP THE RAILROAD.

a position from which shells might be cast into the town. They were driven back with great loss.

On the same day (June 16) General Butler sent out General Terry to force left, to attempt to turn the Confederate left, to attempt to turn the Confederate left, to attempt to turn the Confederate left. The former was pushed back.

PETERSBURG



SCENE AT THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG.

On the following morning (June 22) the Nationals were attacked by divisions of the corps of A. P. Hill, driving back a portion of them with heavy loss. At sunset Meade came up and ordered both corps to advance and retake what had been lost. It was done, when Hill retired with 2,500 prisoners. The next morning Hancock and Wright advanced, and reached the Weldon road without much opposition, until they began to destroy it, when a part of Hill's corps drove off the destroyers. The National line had now been extended to the Weldon road. Meanwhile a cavalry expedition, 8,000 strong, under Kautz and Wilson, had been raiding upon the railways leading southward from Petersburg, the latter being in chief command. They destroyed the buildings at Reams's Station, 10 miles south of Petersburg, and the track for a long distance. They then struck the Southside Railway, and destroyed it over a space of 20 miles, fighting and defeating

a cavalry force under Fitzhugh Lee. Kautz pushed on, and tore up the track of the Southside and Danville railways, at and near their junction. The united forces destroyed the Danville road to the Staunton River, where they were confronted by a large force of Confederates. They were compelled to fight their way back to Reams's Station, on the Weldon road, which they had left in the possession of the Nationals; but they found the cavalry of Wade Hampton there, and a considerable body of Confederate infantry.

In attempting to force their way through them, the Nationals were defeated, with heavy loss, and they made their way sadly back to camp with their terribly shattered army of troopers. Their estimated loss during the raid was nearly 1,000 men.

Now, after a struggle for two months, both armies were willing to seek repose, and for some time there was a lull in

PETERSBURG

the storm of strife. The Union army lay in front of a formidable line of redans and redoubts, with lines of intrenchments and abatis, altogether 40 miles in length, extending from the left bank of the Appomattox around to the western side of Petersburg, and to and across the James to the northeastern side of Richmond. Within eight or nine weeks, the Union army, investing Petersburg, had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 70,000 men. Reinforcements had kept up its numbers, but not the quality of its materials. Many veterans remained, but a vast number were raw troops. The Nationals continued building fortifications and preparing for an effective siege. Butler, by a quick movement, had thrown Foster's brigade across the James River at Deep Bottom, and formed an intrenched camp there, within 10 miles of Richmond, and connected with the army at Bermuda Hundred by a pontoon bridge. By this movement a way was provided to move heavy masses of troops to the north side of the James at a moment's warning, if desired. Lee met this by laying a similar bridge at Drury's Bluff. By the close of July, 1864, Grant was in a position to choose his method of warfare—whether by a direct assault, by the slower process of a regular siege, or by heavy operations on the flanks of the Confederates.

The regular siege of Petersburg began in July. On June 25 operations were started for mining under the Confederate forts so as to blow them up. One of these was in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasants, who completed it on July 22. When the mine was ready Grant sent Hancock to assist Foster to flank the Confederates at Deep Bottom, and, pushing on to Chapin's Bluff, below Drury's Bluff, to menace Lee's line of communications across the river. It was done; and, to meet the seeming impending danger to Richmond, Lee withdrew five of his eight remaining divisions on the south side of the James, between the 27th and the 29th. Grant's opportunity for a grand assault now offered. The mine under one of the principal forts was exploded early on the morning of July 30, with terrible effect. In the place of the fort was left a crater of loose earth, 200 feet in length,

fully 50 feet in width, and from 20 to 30 feet in depth. The fort, its guns, and other munitions of war, with 300 men, were thrown high in air and annihilated. Then the great guns of the Nationals opened a heavy cannonade upon the remainder of the Confederate works, with precision and fatal effect, all along the line; but, owing partly to the slowness of motion of a portion of the assaulting force, the result was a most disastrous failure on the part of the assailants.

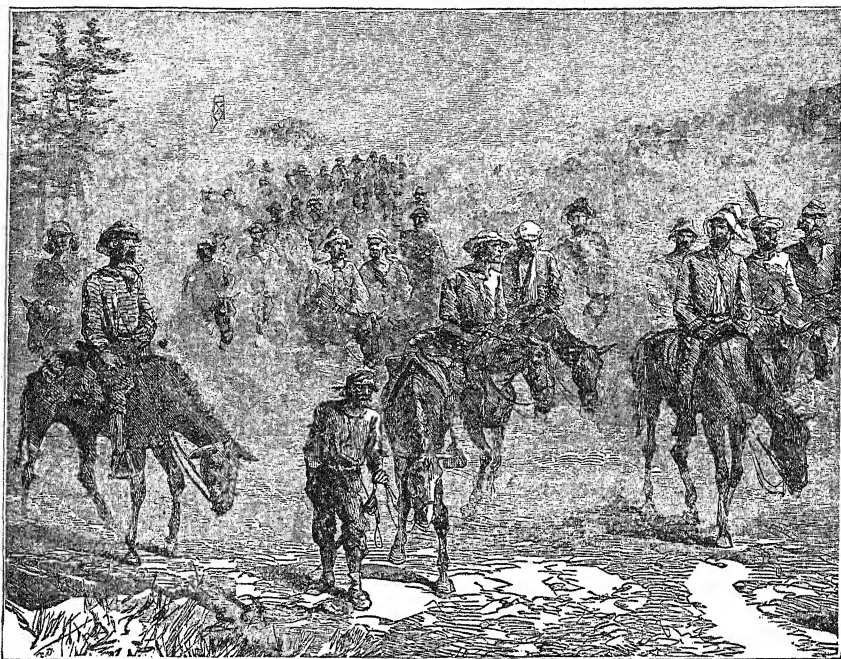
A fortnight later General Grant sent another expedition to the north side of the James, at Deep Bottom, composed of the divisions of Birney and Hancock, with cavalry under Gregg. They had sharp engagements with the Confederates on Aug. 13, 16, and 18, in which the Nationals lost about 5,000 men without gaining any special advantage excepting the incidental one of giving assistance to troops sent to seize the Weldon Railway south of Petersburg. This General Warren effected on Aug. 18. Three days afterwards he repulsed a Confederate force which attempted to recapture the portion of the road held by the Unionists; and on the same day (Aug. 21) General Hancock, who had returned from the north side of the James, struck the Weldon road at Reams's Station and destroyed the track for some distance. The Nationals were finally driven from the road with considerable loss.

For a little more than a month after this there was comparative quiet in the vicinity of Petersburg and Richmond. The National troops were moved simultaneously towards each city. General Butler, with the corps of Birney and Ord, moved upon and captured Fort Harrison on Sept. 29. These troops charged upon another fort near by, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Among the slain was General Burnham, and Ord was severely wounded. In honor of the slain general the captured works were named Fort Burnham. In these assaults the gallantry of the colored troops was conspicuous. Meanwhile, Meade had sent Generals Warren and Parke, with two divisions of troops each, to attempt the extension of the National left to the Weldon road and beyond. It was a feint in favor of Butler's movement on the

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north side of the James, but it resulted in severe fighting on Oct. 1 and 2, with varying fortunes for both parties. Then there was another pause, but not a set-

sum would be fully 100,000 men. The Army of the Potomac had captured 15,378 prisoners, sixty-seven colors, and thirty-two guns. They had lost twenty-



THE RETURN OF THE CAVALRY.

tled rest, for about two months, when the greater portion of the Army of the Potomac was massed on the Confederate right, south of the James. On Oct. 27 they assailed Lee's works on Hatcher's Run, westward of the Weldon road, where a severe struggle ensued. The Nationals were repulsed, and, on the 29th, they withdrew to their intrenchments in front of Petersburg. Very little was done by the Army of the Potomac until the opening of the spring campaign of 1865. The losses of that army had been fearful during six months, from the beginning of May until November, 1864. The aggregate number in killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners was over 80,000 men, of whom nearly 10,000 were killed in battle. Add to these the losses of the Army of the James during the same period, and the

five guns. The Confederates had lost, including 15,000 prisoners, about 40,000 men.

The Army of the Potomac had its winter quarters in front of the Army of Northern Virginia in 1864-65. The left of the former held a tight grasp upon the Weldon road, while the Army of the James, on the north side of that river, and forming the right of the besiegers of Petersburg and Richmond, had its pickets within a few miles of the latter city. Sheridan, at the same time, was at Kernstown, near Winchester, full master of the Shenandoah Valley from Harper's Ferry to Staunton. Grant's chief business during the winter was to hold Lee tightly while Sherman, Thomas, and Canby were making their important conquests, in accordance with the comprehensive plan of

the lieutenant-general. The leaders in the Confederate government at Richmond contemplated the abandonment of Virginia and the concentration of the troops of Lee and Johnson south of the Roanoke. The politicians of Virginia would not allow such a movement, nor would Lee have led the Army of Northern Virginia out of that State; so President Davis and his advisers had to abandon their project. Besides, Grant held Lee so firmly that he had no free choice in the matter.

It was near the close of March, 1865, before Grant was ready for a general movement against Lee. Early in December Warren had seized the Weldon road farther south than had yet been done. He destroyed it (Dec. 7) all the way to the Meherrin River, meeting with little opposition. A few weeks later there was some sharp skirmishing between Confederate gunboats and National batteries near Dutch Gap Canal. A little later a movement was made on the extreme left of the Nationals to seize the Southside Railway and to develop the strength of Lee's right. The entire army in front of Petersburg received marching orders, and, on Feb. 6, the flanking movement began. After a sharp fight near Hatcher's Run, the Nationals permanently extended their left to that stream. Grant now determined to cut off all communication with Richmond north of that city. The opportunity offered towards the middle of February. Lee had drawn the greater portion of his forces from the Shenandoah Valley, and Sheridan, under instructions, made a grand cavalry raid against the northern communications with the Confederate capital, and especially for the seizure of Lynchburg. It was a most destructive march, and very bewildering to the Confederates.

This raid, the junction of the National armies in North Carolina, and the operations at Mobile and in Central Alabama satisfied Lee that he could no longer maintain his position, unless, by some means, his army might be vastly increased and new and ample resources for its supply obtained. He had recommended the emancipation of the slaves and making soldiers of them, but the slave interest was too powerful in the civil councils of

the Confederacy to obtain a law to that effect. Viewing the situation calmly, he saw no hope for the preservation of his army from starvation or capture, nor for the existence of the Confederacy, except in breaking through Grant's lines and forming a junction with Johnston in North Carolina. He knew such a movement would be perilous, but he resolved to attempt it; and he prepared for a retreat from the Appomattox to the Roanoke. Grant saw symptoms of such a movement, and, on March 24, 1865, issued an order for a general forward movement on the 29th. On the 25th Lee's army attempted to break the National line at the strong point of Fort Steadman, in front of the 9th Corps. They also assailed Fort Haskell, on the left of Fort Steadman, but were repulsed. These were sharp but fruitless struggles by the Confederates to break the line. The grand movement of the whole National army on the 29th was begun by the left, for the purpose of turning Lee's right, with an overwhelming force. At the same time Sheridan was approaching the Southside Railway to destroy it. Lee's right intrenched lines extended beyond Hatcher's Run, and against these and the men who held them the turning column marched. General Ord, with three divisions of the Army of the James, had been drawn from the north side of that river and transferred to the left of the National lines before Petersburg. The remainder of Ord's command was left in charge of General Weitzel, to hold the extended lines of the Nationals, fully 35 miles in length.

Sheridan reached Dinwiddie Court-house towards the evening of March 29. Early that morning the corps of Warren (5th) and Humphreys (2d) moved on parallel roads against the flank of the Confederates, and, when within 2 miles of their works, encountered a line of battle. A sharp fight occurred, and the Confederates were repulsed, with a loss of many killed and wounded and 100 made prisoners. Warren lost 370 men. Lee now fully comprehended the perils that menaced him. The only line of communication with the rest of the Confederacy might be cut at any hour. He also perceived the necessity of strengthening his right to avert the impending shock of battle; like-

PETERSBURG

wise of maintaining his extended line of works covering Petersburg and Richmond. Not aware of the withdrawal of troops from the north side of the James, he left Longstreet's corps, 8,000 strong, to defend Richmond. Lee had massed a great body of his troops—some 15,000—at a point in front of the corps of Warren and Humphreys, the former on the extreme right of the Confederates. There Lee attempted (March 30) to break through the National lines, and for a moment his success seemed assured. A part of the line was pushed back, but Griffin's division stood firm and stemmed the fierce torrent, while Ayres and Crawford reformed the broken column. Warren soon assumed the offensive,

break. Parke carried the outer line of the Confederate works in his front, but was checked at an inner line. Wright drove everything before him to the Boydton plank-road, where he turned to the left towards Hatcher's Run, and, pressing along the rear of the Confederate intrenchments, captured several thousand men and many guns. Ord's division broke the Confederate division on Hatcher's Run, when the combined forces swung round to the right and pushed towards Petersburg from the southwest. On the same day the Southside Railway was first struck at three points by the Nationals, who had driven the Confederates from their intrenchments and captured many.



EVACUATION OF PETERSBURG.

made a countercharge, and, by the aid of a part of Hancock's corps, drove back the Confederates. Lee then struck another blow at a supposed weak point on the extreme left of the Nationals, held by Sheridan. A severe battle ensued (see FIVE FORKS, BATTLE OF). Both parties lost heavily.

On the evening of the same day all the National guns in front of Petersburg opened on the Confederate lines from Appomattox to Hatcher's Run. Wright, Parke, and Ord, holding the intrenchments at Petersburg, were ordered to follow up the bombardment with an assault. The bombardment was kept up until 4 A.M. (April 2), and the assault began at day-

This achievement effectually cut off one of Lee's most important communications. Gibbon's division of Ord's command captured two strong redoubts south of Petersburg. In this assault Gibbon lost about 500 men. The Confederates were now confined to an inner line of works close around Petersburg. Longstreet went to the help of Lee, and the latter ordered a charge to be made to recover some of the lost intrenchments. It failed; and so ended the really last blow struck for the defence of Richmond by Lee's army. Gen. A. P. Hill, one of Lee's best officers, was shot dead while reconnoitring. Lee now perceived that he could no longer hold Petersburg or the capital with safety

PETERSON—PETITION OF RIGHT

to his army. At 10.30 on Sunday morning (April 2) he telegraphed to the government at Richmond: "My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." Then Lee's troops withdrew from Petersburg, and the struggle there ended.

Peterson, CHARLES JACOBS, author; born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 20, 1819. His publications include *The Military Heroes of the Revolution, with a Narrative of the War of Independence*; *The Military Heroes of the War of 1812 and of the War with Mexico*; *Grace Dudley, or Arnold at Saratoga*; *Cruising in the Last War*; *The Naval Heroes of the United States*, etc. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., March 4, 1887.

Petigru, JAMES LEWIS, statesman; born in Abbeville district, S. C., March 10, 1789; graduated at the University of South Carolina in 1809; admitted to the bar in 1811. He was an opponent of nullification in 1830, and of secession in 1860. A *Memoir* of his life was written by William J. Grayson and published in 1866. He died in Charleston, S. C., March 3, 1863.

Petition of Right, THE. The Petition of Right is memorable as the first statutory restriction of the powers of the crown since the accession of the Tudor dynasty. Yet, though the principles laid down in it had the widest possible bearing, its remedies were not intended to apply to all questions which had arisen or might arise between the crown and the Parliament, but merely to those which had arisen since Charles's accession. Parliament had waived, for the present at least, the consideration of Buckingham's misconduct. It had also waived the consideration of the question of impositions.

The motives of the Commons in keeping silence on the impositions were probably twofold. In the first place, they probably wished to deal separately with the new grievances, because in dealing with them they would restrain the King's power to make war without Parliamentary consent. The refusal of tonnage and poundage would restrain his power to govern in time of peace. In the second place, they had a tonnage and poundage bill before them. Such a bill had been introduced into each of the preceding Parliaments,

but in each case an early dissolution had hindered its consideration, and the long debates on the Petition of Right now made it impossible to proceed further with it in the existing session. Yet, for three years the King had been collecting tonnage and poundage, just as he collected the impositions—that is to say, as if he had no need of a Parliamentary grant. The Commons therefore proposed to save the right of Parliament by voting tonnage and poundage for a single year, and to discuss the matter at length the following session. When the King refused to accept this compromise they had recourse to the bold assertion that the Petition of Right had settled the question in their favor. Charles answered by proroguing Parliament, and took occasion in so doing to repudiate the doctrine which they advanced.—*Gardiner*.

June 7, 1628.

The Petition exhibited to His Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, with the King's Majesty's Royal Answer thereunto in full Parliament.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

Humbly show unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward the First, commonly called, *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*,* that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the goodwill and assent of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of Parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loans to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should

* This is now held not to have been a statute. See *Gardiner's Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, page 1.

PETITION OF RIGHT, THE

be charged by any charge or imposition, called a Benevolence, or by such like charge, by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in Parliament:

Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry Commissioners in several counties with instructions have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money upon your Majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your Privy Council, and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties, by Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Commissioners for Musters, Justices of Peace and others, by command or direction from your Majesty or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of this realm:

And where also by the statute called, "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseised of his freeholds or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled; or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land:

And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law:

Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause show-

ed, and when for their deliverance they were brought before your Justices, by your Majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the Court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer; no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the Lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law:

And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people:

And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward the Third, it is declared and enacted, that no man shall be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter, and the law of the land: and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death; but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm or by Acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless of late divers commissions under your Majesty's Great Seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed Commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order, as is agreeable to martial law, and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to the law martial:

PETITION OF RIGHT, THE

By pretext whereof, some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said Commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been, adjudged and executed:

And also sundry grievous offenders by colour thereof, claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid, which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm:

They do therefore humbly pray your Most Excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

All which they most humbly pray of your Most Excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter

into consequence or example: and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

[Which Petition being read the 2nd of June 1628, the King's answer was thus delivered unto it.

The King willet that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative.

On June 7 the answer was given in the accustomed form, *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*]

THE REMONSTRANCE AGAINST TONNAGE AND POUNDAGE.

June 25, 1628.

Most Gracious Sovereign, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, being in nothing more careful than of the honour and prosperity of your Majesty, and the kingdom, which they know do much depend upon that happy union and relation betwixt your Majesty and your people, do with much sorrow apprehend, that by reason of the uncertainty of their continuance together, the unexpected interruptions which have been cast upon them, and the shortness of time in which your Majesty hath determined to end this Session, they cannot bring to maturity and perfection divers businesses of weight, which they have taken into their consideration and resolution, as most important for the common good: amongst other things they have taken into especial care the preparing of a Bill for the granting of your Majesty such a subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, as might uphold your profit and revenue in as ample a manner as their just care and respect of trade (wherein not only the prosperity, but even the life of the kingdom doth con-

sist) would permit: but being a work which will require much time, and preparation by conference with your Majesty's officers, and with the merchants, not only of London, but of other remote parts, they find it not possible to be accomplished at this time: wherefore considering it will be much more prejudicial to the right of the subject, if your Majesty should continue to receive the same without authority of law, after the determination of a Session, than if there had been a recess by adjournment only, in which case that intended grant would have related to the first day of the Parliament; and assuring themselves that your Majesty is resolved to observe that your royal answer, which you have lately made to the Petition of Right of both Houses of Parliament; yet doubting lest your Majesty may be misinformed concerning this particular case, as if you might continue to take those subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, and other impositions upon merchants, without breaking that answer, they are forced by that duty which they owe to your Majesty, and to those whom they represent, to declare, that there ought not any imposition to be laid upon the goods of merchants, exported or imported, without common consent by Act of Parliament, which is the right and inheritance of your subjects, founded not only upon the most ancient and original constitution of this kingdom, but often confirmed and declared in divers statute laws.

And for the better manifestation thereof, may it please your Majesty to understand, that although your royal predecessors the Kings of this realm have often had such subsidies, and impositions granted unto them, upon divers occasions, especially for the guarding of the seas, and safe-guard of merchants; yet the subjects have been ever careful to use such cautions, and limitations in those grants, as might prevent any claim to be made, that such subsidies do proceed from duty, and not from the free gift of the subjects: and that they have heretofore used to limit a time in such grants, and for the most part but short, as for a year or two, and if it were continued longer, they have sometimes directed a certain space of cessation, or intermission, that so the right of the subject might be more evi-

dent. At other times it hath been granted upon occasion of war, for a certain number of years, with proviso, that if the war were ended in the meantime, then the grant should cease; and of course it hath been sequestered into the hands of some subjects to be employed for the guarding of the seas. And it is acknowledged by the ordinary answers of your Majesty's predecessors in their assent to the Bills of subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, that it is of the nature of other subsidies, proceeding from the goodwill of the subject. Very few of your predecessors had it for life, until the reign of Henry VII,* who was so far from conceiving he had any right thereunto, that although he granted commissions for collecting certain duties and customs due by law, yet he made no commissions for receiving the subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, until the same was granted unto him in Parliament. Since his time all the Kings and Queens of this realm have had the like grants for life by the free love and goodwill of the subjects. And whensoever the people have been grieved by laying any impositions or other charges upon their goods and merchandises without authority of law (which hath been very seldom), yet upon complaint in Parliament they have been forthwith relieved; saving in the time of your royal father, who having through ill counsel raised the rates and charges upon merchandises to that height at which they now are, yet he was pleased so far forth to yield to the complaint of his people, as to offer that if the value of those impositions which he had set might be made good unto him, he would bind himself and his heirs by Act of Parliament never to lay any other; which offer the Commons at that time, in regard of the great burden, did not think fit to yield unto. Nevertheless, your loyal Commons in this Parliament, out of their especial zeal to your service, and especial regard of your pressing occasions, have taken into their consideration, so to frame a grant of subsidy of Tonnage or Poundage to your Majesty, that both you might have been the better enabled for the defence of your realm, and your subjects, by being

* Tonnage and poundage was granted for life to Edward IV. in 1464. It was also granted in 1483 to Richard III. for life.

secure from all undue charges, be the more encouraged cheerfully to proceed in their course of trade; by the increase whereof your Majesty's profit, and likewise the strength of the kingdom would be very much augmented.

But not now being able to accomplish this their desire, there is no course left unto them, without manifest breach of their duty, both to your Majesty and their country, save only to make this humble declaration, "That the receiving of Tonnage and Poundage, and other impositions not granted by Parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and contrary to your Majesty's royal answer to the said Petition of Right." And therefore they do most humbly beseech your Majesty to forbear any further receiving of the same, and not to take it in ill part from those of your Majesty's loving subjects, who shall refuse to make payment of any such charges, without warrant of law demanded.

And as by this forbearance, your Most Excellent Majesty shall manifest unto the world your royal justice in the observation of your laws: so they doubt not, but hereafter, at the time appointed for their coming again, they shall have occasion to express their great desire to advance your Majesty's honour and profit.

THE KING'S SPEECH AT THE PROROGATION
OF PARLIAMENT AT THE END OF THE
SESSION OF 1628.

June 26, 1628.

It may seem strange, that I came so suddenly to end this Session; before I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow, that I owe the account of my actions to God alone. It is known to every one, that a while ago the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance,* how acceptable every man may judge; and for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it.

Now since I am truly informed, that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me to take away the profit of my Tonnage and Poundage, one of the chiefest mainte-

nances of my Crown, by alleging I have given away my right thereto by my answer to your Petition:

This is so prejudicial unto me, that I am forced to end this Session some few hours before I meant, being not willing to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give a harsh answer. And since I see that even the House of Commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof:

The profession of both Houses in the time of hammering this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative, saying they had neither intention or power to hurt it. Therefore it must needs be conceived that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects: yet to show the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to recede from anything I have promised you, I do here declare myself, that those things which have been done, whereby many have had some cause to expect the liberties of the subjects to be trenched upon,—which indeed was the first and true ground of the Petition,—shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice, and from time to time; in the word of a king, ye shall not have the like cause to complain: but as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me—I am sure—to grant.

To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; but especially, you my Lords the Judges, for to you only under me belongs the interpretation of laws, for none of the Houses of Parliament, either joint or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a law without my consent.

Petrel, THE. The United States revenue-cutter *Aiken*, which had been surrendered to the insurgents at Charleston, in December, 1860, was converted into a privateer, manned by a crew of thirty-six men, mostly Irish, and called the *Petrel*.

* A general remonstrance on the misgovernment of the kingdom, in which Buckingham was named as the author of abuses, had been presented to the King on June 17.

On July 28, 1861, she went to sea, and soon fell in with the National frigate *St. Lawrence*, which she mistook for a merchantman. She was regarded as a rich prize, and the *Petrel* bore down upon her, while she appeared to be trying to escape. When the latter came within fair range, the *St. Lawrence* opened her ports and gave her the contents of three heavy guns. One of these sent a shell known as the "Thunderbolt," which exploded in the hold of the *Petrel*, while a 32-pound shot struck her amidships, below the water-mark. In an instant she was made a total wreck, and went to the bottom of the ocean, leaving the foaming waters over her grave thickly strewn with splinters and her struggling crew. Four of these were drowned; the remainder were saved. They were so dazed that they did not know what had happened. A flash of fire, a thunder-peat, the crash of timbers, and engulfment in the sea had been the incidents of a moment of their experience. Her surviving crew were sent to prison to answer the charge of piracy, but received the same treatment as those of the *SAVANNAH* (*q. v.*).

Petroleum. The early settlers around the headwaters of the Alleghany River, in Pennsylvania and New York, were acquainted with the existence of petroleum there, where it oozed out of the banks of streams. Springs of petroleum were struck in Ohio, in 1820, where it so much interfered with soft-water wells that it was considered a nuisance. Its real value was suspected by S. P. Hildreth, who wrote, in 1826: "It affords a clear, brisk light when burned in this way [in lamps in workshops], and it will be a valuable article for lighting the street-lamps in the future cities of Ohio." It remained unappreciated until 1859, when Messrs. Bowditch & Drake, of New Haven, Conn., bored through the rock at Titusville, on Oil Creek, Pa., and struck oil at the depth of 70 feet. They pumped 1,000 gallons a day, and so the regular boring for petroleum was begun. From 1861 until 1876 the average daily product of all the wells was about 11,000 barrels. The total yield within that period was about 2,250,000,000 gallons of crude oil. The first export of petroleum was in 1861, of 27,000 barrels, valued at \$1,000,000. The total pro-

duction in 1902 was 89,275,302 barrels, valued at \$71,397,739. The largest producing States were Ohio, 21,014,231 barrels; West Virginia, 13,513,345 barrels; and Pennsylvania, 12,063,880 barrels.

Petticoat Insurrection. See **NI-VELLES**, CHARLES ÉTIENNE DE.

Pettit, CHARLES, legislator; born in Amwell, N. J., in 1736; admitted to the bar in 1770; appointed secretary to Governor Franklin of New Jersey in 1772; was also secretary to Governor Livingston, Franklin's successor. He served as quartermaster during the War of the Revolution. He was elected to Congress in 1785, and was instrumental in obtaining Pennsylvania's adoption of the United States Constitution. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 4, 1806.

Peyton, BALIE, legislator; born in Sumner county, Tenn., Nov. 26, 1803; elected to Congress in 1833; served four years, when he removed to Louisiana. He served during the war with Mexico, and in 1849 was appointed United States minister to Chile. He died in Gallatin county, Tenn., Aug. 19, 1878.

Peyton, JOHN LEWIS, author; born in Staunton, Va., Sept. 15, 1824; graduated at the University of Virginia Law School in 1845; removed to Chicago, Ill., about 1855. He was made agent for the Southern Confederacy in Europe in 1861, and soon afterwards ran the blockade at Charleston, S. C. He was the author of *A Statistical View of the State of Illinois*; *Pacific Railway Communication and the Trade of China*; *The American Crisis*; *Over the Alleghanies and Across the Prairies*; *History of Augusta County, Va.*; etc. He died in 1896.

Phelps, EDWARD JOHN, diplomatist; born in Middlebury, Vt., July 11, 1822; graduated at Middlebury College in 1840; admitted to the bar in 1843, and began practice in his native town; removed to Burlington, Vt., in 1845 and practised there till 1851; was Professor of Law in Yale Law School in 1881-85; United States minister to England in 1885-89; and senior counsel for the United States on the Bering Sea Court of Arbitration. He died in New Haven, Conn., March 9, 1900.

Phelps, JOHN WOLCOTT, military officer; born in Guilford, Vt., Nov. 13, 1813;

graduated at West Point in 1836; and conserved in the artillery in the Seminole War. He fought in the war against Mexico, and accompanied the Utah expedition in 1858. He resigned in 1859. In May, 1861, he became colonel of a Vermont volunteer regiment, with which he established an intrenched camp at Newport News, and was soon afterwards made brigadier-general. Attached to General Butler's expedition against New Orleans, he landed on Ship Island, Miss., on Dec. 4, 1861, when he issued a proclamation hostile to slavery. It was disavowed by his superiors, and the temporizing policy which he believed was to rule caused his resignation. He was the first officer who enlisted and disciplined negro soldiers in the Civil War. He died in Guilford, Vt., Feb. 2, 1885.

Phelps, OLIVER, jurist; born in Windsor, Conn., in 1749; was a successful merchant, and during the Revolutionary War was in the Massachusetts commissary department. In 1788 he, with Nathaniel Gorham, purchased a large tract of land (2,200,000 acres) in the State of New York, and at Canandaigua opened the first land-office established in America. In 1795 he and William Hart bought the Connecticut Western Reserve, in Ohio, comprising 3,300,000 acres. Mr. Phelps afterwards settled with his family at Canandaigua, then a wilderness; represented that district in Congress from 1803 to 1805; and was judge of a circuit court. He died in Canandaigua, N. Y., Feb. 21, 1809.

Phelps, THOMAS STOWELL, naval officer; born in Buckfield, Me., Nov. 2, 1822; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1846; promoted lieutenant in 1855; distinguished himself in the Civil War at Fort Fisher, on blockading duty, and during the battle of West Point; was promoted rear-admiral in 1884; and retired in 1885. He wrote *Reminiscences of Washington Territory*. He died in New York City, Jan. 10, 1901.

Phelps, WILLIAM WALTER, diplomatist; born in New York City, Aug. 24, 1839; graduated at Yale in 1860; elected to Congress in 1872; appointed United States minister to Austria in 1881; re-elected to Congress in 1882. In the same year he was appointed a commissioner of the

United States to the international conference on Samoa in Berlin, and also appointed minister to Germany, retiring in 1893 and being appointed a judge of the court of errors and appeals of New Jersey. He died in Teaneck, N. J., June 17, 1894.

Philadelphia, the metropolitan city of Pennsylvania; popularly known as the "City of Brotherly Love" and the "City of Homes"; ranking among American cities third in area, population, product of manufactures, and foreign trade tonnage. The city is coextensive with the county of the same name; is situated at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, and on three main lines of railroads, the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Philadelphia & Reading, controlling 28,000 miles of direct trackage; and is the terminus of nine transatlantic steamship lines, one Pacific line, three West-Indian lines, and five coastwise lines. Population (1900), 1,293,697; 1905 (estimated), 1,408,150.

Government.—Philadelphia is a municipality with three local governmental departments, viz.: Executive, with authority vested in a mayor; legislative, comprising select and common councils; and judicial, with magistrates and civil, criminal, and orphans' courts. The directors of the Departments of Public Safety, Public Works, Supplies, and Public Health and Charities constitute the mayor's cabinet, and each of these departments embraces a number of bureaus. Other executive functions, largely financial, are vested in officers or boards elected by the people or appointed by officials other than the mayor, and besides municipal officers proper there are a number of county executive officers, acting for and representing the State, and independent of the mayor.

Public Interests.—The city embraces an area of 129.5 square miles, divided for administrative purposes into forty-two wards, and in its general arrangement follows the plans laid down by William Penn. There are 3,000 miles of highways, 1,142 of which are paved; 1,860 miles of sidewalks; 350 bridges belonging to the city, and valued at \$20,500,000; 299,474 buildings, of which 271,482 are dwellings; a water-works system, utilizing the two

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rivers, which cost over \$43,000,000, and is being supplemented by a sand-filtration system to cost \$26,000,000; a system of 979 miles of sewers, at a cost of \$23,330,450. Owing to popular opposition, an ordinance passed by the Councils to lease the gas and electric lighting plants for seventy-five years for \$25,000,000 was withdrawn, May 27, 1905. The police force of 3,100 men costs annually about \$3,198,000; and the fire department of 880 men costs about \$1,242,220.

The public parks and squares comprise 4,329 acres, the principal park, the magnificent Fairmount, having an area of

558 persons, exclusive of proprietors and firm members; paid in salaries and wages, \$132,001,912, and for materials used in manufacturing, \$326,877,441; and had a combined product valued at \$603,466,526. In the period 1880-1900 the increase of capital was 166.5 per cent.; of wages, 82.9; of materials, 71.6; and of gross products, 95. Among cities of the United States Philadelphia ranks first in the manufacture of carpets and rugs, woollen goods, leather, locomotives, hosiery and knit goods, chemicals, dentists' materials, bricks and tiles, car and carriage springs, dyeing and finishing textiles, and saws.



PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1790.

The buildings, from left to right, are: 1, back part of Protestant Episcopal Academy, not entirely finished. 2, County Court-house, showing west side on Sixth Street, and the back part extending into State-house Square. 3, State-house, built 1735; its original lofty steeple has been removed. 4, Hall of the American Philosophical Society. 5, Library Company of Philadelphia. 6, Carpenter's Hall. (Reduced from a plate in the "Columbian Magazine," January, 1790.)

3,411 acres, and being the largest municipal park in the United States. In 1904 the assessed real and personal valuations aggregated \$1,162,074,023; tax rate, \$15 per \$1,000. The real estate owned by the city had a value of \$66,787,369. On Jan. 1, 1905, the gross funded debt was \$69,851,820; the revenue of the calendar year 1904 was \$45,992,209; expenditure, \$35,270,684; general cash balance, \$22,809,081; liabilities, \$22,174,205; surplus, \$634,875.

Industrial Affairs.—According to the United States census of 1900, Philadelphia had 15,887 manufacturing and mechanical industries, which were operated on a total capital of \$476,529,407; employed 265,

Eleven per cent. of all textiles made in the United States are produced here.

No city in the world shows a wider range in production of iron and steel than Philadelphia, and its locomotive plants, ship-yards, rolling-mills, machine-tool plants, and saw-factories lead all similar establishments in the world. The Baldwin Locomotive Works have an output equal to the gross production of the remaining twenty-seven plants operating in the United States. The largest oil-refinery in the world is located at Point Breeze, Philadelphia, and several pipe-lines, supplemented by lines of tank-cars connecting the oil regions with the seaboard, have their terminals here.



FIRST CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

Foreign Trade.—Measured by the tonnage engaged in foreign trade, Philadelphia ranks third among American seaports, with a total shipping, both inward and outward, of more than 3,870,000 gross tons. The value of the foreign trade in merchandise in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, was: Imports, \$53,890,106, of which \$34,211,068 was dutiable; exports, \$71,393,254, of which all excepting \$155,770 was of domestic production;—total foreign trade, \$125,283,360. Despite its relative inland location, the city has the advantages of a great seaport. Situated 100 miles from the ocean, at the junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, the former offers clear passage to the ocean for vessels drawing up to twenty-six feet, and dredging under way early in 1905 promised a thirty-foot channel to the sea, to be deepened later to thirty-five feet. Three large ship-yards afford ample facilities for repairing disabled merchant-vessels; there are three commodious dry docks along the Delaware, and a fourth, capable of holding the largest vessel afloat, is being built at the League Island navy-yard; and the port also has three patent slip-railways, a floating derrick with lifting capacity of 125 tons, and four grain elevators on the water-front.

Domestic Trade.—Seventy-one commercial organizations, sixty-one of which are purely local, promote the foreign and domestic trade of the city, and its value as a distributing centre in the domestic field is attested by a wholesale annual

business of \$500,000,000, conducted by 1,000 wholesale and jobbing houses, many having a capital in excess of \$1,000,000. Four organizations represent the combined interests of the city: the Board of Trade, Manufacturers' Club, Merchants' and Travellers' Association, and Trades League; the others are interested generally in a single industry. Many of the commercial organizations, as well as exchanges, are housed in the Philadelphia Bourse, a magnificent structure in the business section.

The Philadelphia Commercial Museum is a unique institution, known all over the world, supported by municipal appropriations and membership subscriptions, and having for its specific purpose the development of foreign trade. One international and two Pan-American commercial congresses have been held under its auspices, and it has also conducted a National Export Exposition.

Financial Interests.—The citizens of Philadelphia have been noted for their thrift for generations, and this quality has not only built up the wealth of the city, but has made it more distinctively than any other in the United States a city of home-builders and home-owners, the latter feature being a noteworthy indication of the distribution of the aggregate wealth. In 1904 the city had eighty-six banks, trust companies, and saving-fund societies, possessing a combined capital of \$56,000,000, surplus and undivided profits of \$79,000,000, and deposits reaching the great total of \$494,000,000. Thirty-four of the banks were national, and had capital of \$21,905,000; deposits, \$224,635,754; surplus, \$24,830,000; and annual clearings of about \$6,000,000,000. Forty-three trust and safe deposit companies had capital of \$34,142,115; surplus and undivided profits, \$39,189,759; and deposits, \$152,804,450. Six saving-fund societies and savings-banks had deposits of \$102,949,427, equal to nearly \$70 for every man, woman, and child in the city.

No exposition of the thrift of Philadelphia would be adequate without a recognition of the great work of the building and loan associations. In the latest year of record there were 436 such associations, having 107,000 members, over

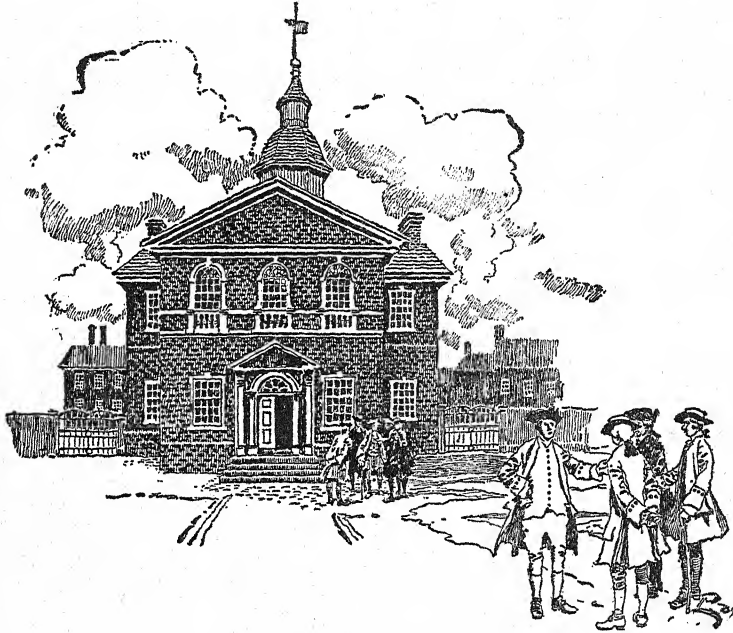
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\$45,000,000 in assets, \$22,750,000 in annual receipts, and \$11,000,000 in annual membership dues; and upward of 2,000 houses were purchased or built through their aid in a single year. The various lines of insurance are represented by forty-five local companies, and by a large number of agents of foreign corporations. It is worthy of note that many of the financial institutions have been in uninterrupted operation for 150 years and upward.

Educational Activities.—The public-

161,000 pupils, with more than 3,800 teachers. The cost of maintaining the public-school system is about \$4,722,500 per annum, and its property is valued at upward of \$15,000,000. Among the higher public institutions are a Central High School for boys, Central and Northeast Manual-training schools for boys, Girls' High School, Girls' Commercial High School, Girls' Normal School, and a school of pedagogy connected with the Boys' High School.

Private and denominational institutions



CARPENTER'S HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

school system of to-day is marked by several features inaugurated by the Provincial Assembly in 1683, which provided for general, compulsory, and industrial education, and the night school may trace its birth in an unbroken line back to 1698. The Model School, established in 1818, was the first institution in the country organized expressly for the training of teachers. To-day Philadelphia spends about one-sixth of its total income for public education, for which there are 277 schools, accommodating more than

include the William Penn Charter School (1689), the oldest school of its kind in the country; Cheltenham Military Academy (1760); Protestant Episcopal Academy (1785); Roman Catholic High School; La Salle and St. Joseph's colleges; Drexel Institute; Temple College; Franklin and Spring Garden institutes; Philadelphia Textile School; Builders' Exchange School of Trades; School of Design for Women; School of the Academy of Fine Arts; Girard College; and the Williamson Free School of Mechanical

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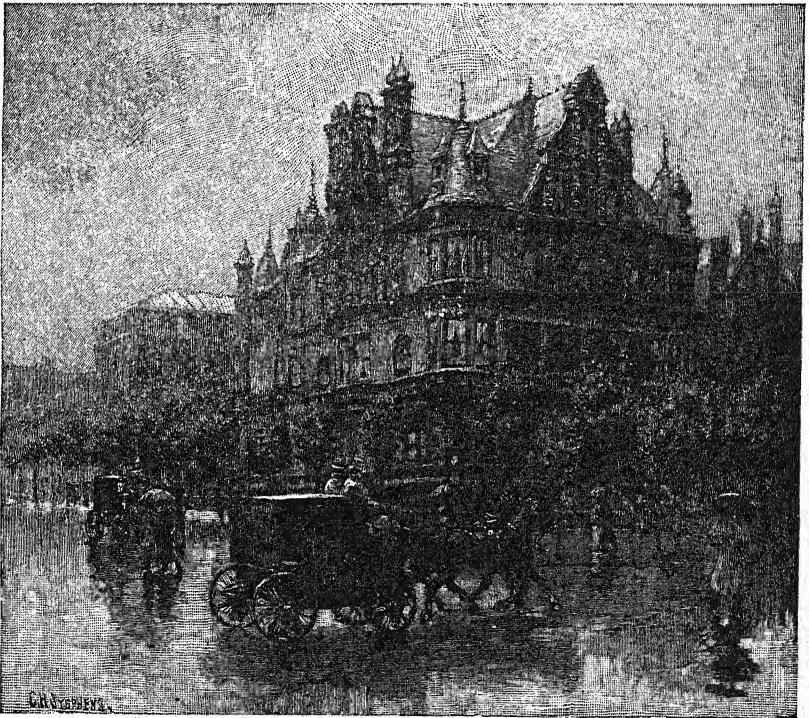
Trades. The University of Pennsylvania, with its fourteen departments, heads the higher institutions of learning, and there are many legal, medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and theological schools of high repute. Public and private educational systems are supplemented by thirty scientific associations, twenty-two museums, nine historical societies, thirty-one art, and thirty-three specific associations.

The library was early recognized as an essential adjunct to the public-school system, and to-day there are 146 public and subscription libraries, with more than 2,000,000 bound volumes, while libraries in private homes probably contain 10,000,000 volumes more. The largest circulating library is the Free Library of Philadelphia, consisting of a main and seventeen branch houses. Already the city has appropriated \$1,000,000 for a central building, and Andrew Carnegie has given \$1,500,000 for thirty branches. The Philadelphia Library, organized in 1731, is the

oldest subscription library in the United States.

Religious Work.—Practically every religious denomination has a place of worship in the city, the aggregate of churches being 848, with 325,000 communicants or members, of which the Methodist Episcopal Church predominates, with 146 edifices. The oldest religious organization is that of the Old Swedes' Church, founded in 1673, and the oldest church building is that of this congregation, begun in 1698 and finished in 1700. Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, established in 1695, is the second oldest, and Trinity Protestant Episcopal (1698) the third.

Besides the individual church agencies, religious interests are promoted by five Deaconesses' Training-houses; twenty-six religious communities; forty-two general religious associations, guilds, leagues, and social unions; twenty-two Bible and tract societies; eighteen Sunday-school associations; eighty-three church conferences and



A BIT OF PHILADELPHIA AS IT IS TO-DAY

PHILADELPHIA

ministerial associations; thirty-five church extension, education, publication, and historical associations; twenty-six home and foreign missionary associations; and eighteen city missionary societies. The Young Men's Christian Association, its railroad branch, and the Young Women's Christian Association are exerting a powerful influence for good in special fields of endeavor.

Benevolent Agencies.—At the head of philanthropic enterprises is the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee, the only organization of its kind in the country; founded to relieve suffering and destitution caused by great calamities in any part of the world. Started in 1877, it had distributed upward of \$5,000,000 in money and materials in the United States, Canada, Cuba, India, Armenia, and the South Sea Islands, up to 1905. Altogether the city has 1,200 agencies for the sole or secondary object of human relief, the majority being supported by individual subscriptions and endowments, the others by State or municipal appropriations.

Public relief was first extended in 1713, and has never since been permitted to lag. The city maintains the Philadelphia, Indigent, Insane, General, and Municipal hospitals, the last for contagious diseases; and there are twenty-three other general hospitals, racial, sectarian, and memorial, and twenty-seven special hospitals. All of these institutions have dispensaries connected with them, and there are also twenty independent ones.

Philadelphia is rich in charitable homes. For adults there are twenty-four temporary and sixty-two permanent homes. Similar provisions for children of both sexes number thirty-five; for boys and girls six each; and there are twenty day nurseries. Homes for children have a wide scope; many are for orphans; some notable ones for cripples. Relief of poverty and general out-door relief are carried on by the churches and many societies, all co-operating with the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, a most active and effective agency, supported entirely by subscriptions.

Notable Buildings.—The great structure at the intersection of Broad and Market streets, known as the Public Buildings,

is not only the largest building in the United States, but it is the most striking in boldness of architectural treatment. It is built of granite and marble; has a central tower rising to a height of 547 feet, 11 inches above the pavement, and supporting a statue of William Penn 36 feet in height; measures 486 feet, 6 inches from north to south, and 470 feet from east to west; covers an area of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres; and cost upward of \$20,000,000. The building accommodates the various municipal offices. Historically, the most interesting buildings are Independence Hall, where the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence, and where the famous Liberty Bell may yet be seen, and Carpenter's Hall, near by, where the first congress of the United Colonies assembled.

Other buildings of note are the new United States Mint, Masonic Temple, Odd Fellows' Hall, new Bourse, Commercial Museum, United States Custom-house (copied after the famous Parthenon), Pennsylvania Hospital, Historical Society, Pennsylvania and Philadelphia & Reading railroad stations, Jefferson Medical College, Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia Library, Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, Girard College, Drexel Institute, Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades, University of Pennsylvania, United States Naval Asylum, League Island navy-yard group, Eastern Penitentiary, and several reminders of the Centennial Exposition in Fairmount Park, especially Memorial Hall, the Horticultural Building, William Penn's cottage, the Belmont Mansion, and General Grant's City Point log cabin.

History.—A few Swedes settled on the site of the city in 1638, but the permanent settlement dates from the spring of 1682, when three ships sent out from England by WILLIAM PENN (*q. v.*) landed their human and material freight. Penn had inherited a claim against the British crown of £16,000, and had accepted in lieu thereof the grant of 26,000,000 acres of land which later became the STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA (*q. v.*). A feature of Penn's grant, which is highly suggestive to-day, is that it placed him under obligation to pay the British crown annually two beaver skins and one-fifth of all the

gold and silver found within the limits of the grant. Had other natural productions been included or substituted, the crown would still be in receipt of an enormous revenue from the yield of coal, iron, and petroleum.

Penn himself arrived in October of the same year with a large number of Quakers, and soon afterwards he made the first treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon. The site of Chester and another twelve miles above Philadelphia at first appealed to Penn as possessing the advantages he had in mind for his projected city; but the junction of the two rivers, affording a double water-front, and the underlying deposit of clay that was proved to be well adapted to building purposes, settled the question.

One year after the landing of the first party, Philadelphia was described as a town of 357 houses; but in three years after its foundation it contained 600 houses. In 1683-4 the population was largely increased by immigration from England, Wales, Germany, and Holland. The city was incorporated in 1691; received its charter in 1701; and was active in resisting British aggression in 1763-4. The First Continental Congress met here on Sept. 5, 1774; the second on May 10, 1775; and Col. George Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American army in the State-house here on June 15, 1775.

Here the immortal DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (*q. v.*) was adopted on July 4, 1776, and proclaimed four days later. The city, being the seat of authority of the revolted colonies, became a focal point of British military operations, and was occupied by the enemy from September, 1777, to June, 1778. During this period (Oct. 4, 1777) the GERMANTOWN (*q. v.*) section of the city of to-day was the scene of a battle in which the Americans were defeated, with losses about equal on both sides. In the summer of 1787 delegates from the various States assembled here and framed the Federal Constitution, and on March 4, 1793, Washington's second inauguration took place in the building adjoining Independence Hall.

On the call for volunteers at the beginning of the Civil War ten companies of the Washington Brigade of Philadelphia

accompanied the famous 6th Massachusetts Regiment to Washington. As they were wholly unarmed, they had to remain in the President Street depot in Baltimore while their comrades were fighting the mob in the streets. While in their cars they were attacked by a body of rioters, when many of them sprang out, and, aided by some sympathizing Unionists, had a hand-to-hand fight with their assailants for about two hours, when order was restored, and they resumed their journey to the national capital.

Chief among the later historical events of the city were the celebration of the centennial of American independence by the great CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION (1876) (*q. v.*); the gift by the city to the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Dames of the building in which Washington was inaugurated the second time (1893); the organization by the manufacturers and merchants of the Commercial Museum (1897), and the National Export Exposition held under its auspices (1899).

Philadelphia, THE, a frigate of the United States navy. On Oct. 3, 1803, the ship, under command of Captain Bainbridge, chased a corsair into the harbor of Tripoli. In endeavoring to beat off, the *Philadelphia* struck a sunken rock not laid down in the charts. In that helpless condition Bainbridge and his men were made prisoners, and the vessel was finally released and taken into the harbor of Tripoli. Bainbridge found means to inform Preble, at Malta, of his misfortune, and suggested the destruction of the *Philadelphia*, which the Tripolitans were fitting for sea. The Americans had captured a ketch, which was taken into the service and named *Intrepid*. She was assigned to the service of cutting out, or destroying, the *Philadelphia*. Lieut. Stephen Decatur was placed in command, and, with seventy determined young men, sailed for Tripoli, accompanied by the brig *Siren*, Lieut. Charles Stewart. On a moonlight evening (Feb. 16, 1804) the *Intrepid* sailed into the harbor, and was warped alongside the *Philadelphia* without exciting suspicion, for she seemed like an innocent merchant-vessel with a small crew, as most of the officers and men were concealed below. At a signal given, officers and men rushed from their conceal-

PHILIP

ment, sprang on board the *Philadelphia*, and, after a desperate struggle, drove her turbaned defenders into the sea. She was immediately burned, and the *Intrepid* and *Siren* departed for Syracuse.

Philip, JOHN WOODWARD, naval officer; born in New York City, Aug. 26, 1840; entered the navy in 1861; served with distinction during the Civil War and was wounded in the action on Stone River; was on duty in various capacities till placed in command of the battle-ship *Texas*, Oct. 18, 1897. In the war with Spain he greatly distinguished himself by his conduct in the action at Santiago. His ship, with the *Oregon*, forced the *Almirante Oquendo* of the Spanish fleet to run ashore. It was on that occasion that he uttered the memorable words: "Don't cheer, boys. The poor devils are dying." He was promoted commodore, Aug. 10, 1898, and rear-admiral, March 3, 1899; and at the time of his death, in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 30, 1900, was commandant of the Brooklyn navy-yard.

Philip, KING, sachem of the Wampanoag Indians; Indian name Pometacom, or Metacomet; was the youngest son of

MASSASOIT (q. v.); became sachem in 1662.

In 1671 the English were alarmed by warlike preparations made by Philip. A conference was held with him at Plymouth, when he averred that his warlike preparations were against the Narragansets. This, however, it is said, he confessed was false. Subsequently he was compelled to pay the expenses of the colony caused by his conduct. This, and especially the disarming of the Wampanoags, caused great indignation in the tribe. Philip made open war in July, 1675, and perished at its close, Aug. 12, 1676.

King Philip's War.—Massasoit kept his treaty of friendship faithfully until his death. Philip assumed the covenants on the death of his father and kept them inviolate many years. As he saw spreading settlements reducing his domains, his hunting-grounds broken up, his fisheries diminished, and his nation menaced with annihilation, his patriotism was so violently aroused that he listened to his warriors, who counselled the extermination of the whites. His capital was at Mount Hope, 300 feet high, not far from the eastern shore of Narraganset Bay. There he reigned over the Pokanokets and Wampanoags, and there he planned a confederacy of several New England tribes, comprising about 5,000 souls. It was done secretly and with great skill. John Sassamon, who had been educated at Harvard, and was a sort of secretary for Philip, betrayed him. Philip sent his women and children to the Narragansets for protection, and proclaimed war. He struck the first blow at Swanzy, July 4, 1675, 35 miles southwest of Plymouth, when the people were just returning from public worship. The surrounding settlements were aroused. The men of Boston, under Major Savage, joined the Plymouth forces, and all pressed towards Mount Hope. Philip had fled to a swamp at Pocasset (Tiverton). There he was besieged many days, but finally escaped and took refuge with the Nipmucks, an interior tribe in Massachusetts, who espoused his cause: and, with 1,500 warriors, Philip hastened



*Philip alias Metacomet
his Pnucke*

PORTRAIT AND SIGN MANUAL OF KING PHILIP.

towards the settlements in the valley of the Connecticut.

Meanwhile, the little colonial army had reached Narraganset and extorted a treaty of friendship from Canonchet, the chief sachem. The news of this discouraged Philip, and he saw that only in energetic action was there hope for him. He aroused other tribes, and attempted a war of extermination by the secret and efficient methods of treachery, ambush, and surprise. It seemed at one time as if the whole European population would be annihilated. Twenty Englishmen sent to treat with the Nipmucks were nearly all treacherously slain (Aug. 12, 1675) near Brookfield, which was burned. Sept. 12, Deerfield was laid in ashes. On the same day Hadley was attacked while the people were worshipping. A venerable-looking man, with white hair and beard, suddenly appeared, with a glittering sword, and led the people to a charge that dispersed the Indians, and then suddenly disappeared (see GORFE, WILLIAM). Over other settlements the scourge swept mercilessly. Many valiant young men, under Captain Beers, were slain in Northfield (Sept. 23), and others—"the flower of Essex"—under Captain Lathrop, were butchered by 1,000 Indians near Deerfield. Encouraged by these successes, Philip now determined to attack Hatfield, the chief settlement above Springfield. The Springfield Indians joined him, and with 1,000 warriors he fell upon the settlement (Oct. 29); but the English being prepared, he was repulsed with great loss.

Alarmed, he moved towards Rhode Island, where the Narragansets, in violation of their treaty, joined him on the warpath. Fifteen hundred men from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut marched to chastise Canonchet for his perfidy. They found the treacherous Indians with Philip, 3,000 in number, in a fort within a swamp (South Kingston, R. I.). The English began a siege (Dec. 19), and in a few hours 500 wigwams were in flames. Hundreds of men, women, and children perished in the fire. Fully 1,000 warriors were slain or wounded, and several hundred were made prisoners. The English lost 86 killed and 150 wounded. Canonchet was slain, but Philip escaped and took refuge again with the Nip-

mucks. During the winter he vainly asked the Mohawks to join him, but tribes eastward of Massachusetts became his allies. In the spring of 1676 the work of destruction began. In the course of a few weeks the war extended over a space of almost 300 miles. Weymouth, Groton, Medfield, Lancaster, and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, were laid in ashes. Warwick and Providence, in Rhode Island, were burned, and isolated dwellings of settlers were everywhere laid waste. About 600 inhabitants of New England were killed in battle or murdered; twelve towns were destroyed entirely, and about 600 buildings were burned. The colonists had contracted an enormous debt for that period. Quarrels at length weakened the Indians. The Nipmucks and Narragansets charged their misfortunes to the ambition of Philip, and they deserted him. Some of the tribes surrendered to avoid starvation; others went to Canada, while Captain Church chased Philip from one hiding-place to another, until he was killed at Mount Hope. See SWAMP FIGHT.

Philippi. One of the earliest contests in the Civil War occurred June 3, 1861, at Philippi, Va. Ohio and Indiana volunteers and loyal armed Virginians gathered at Grafton (on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad). They were divided into two columns, one commanded by Col. Benjamin F. Kelley, the other by Col. E. Dumont. Colonel Porterfield, with 1,500 Virginians, one-third of them mounted, was at Philippi. The two Union columns marched against him, by different routes, to make a simultaneous attack. Kelley was misled by a treacherous guide, and Dumont approached Philippi first. His troops were discovered by a woman, who fired a pistol at Colonel Lander, and sent her boy to alarm Porterfield. The lad was caught, but Porterfield's camp was aroused. Dumont's cannon commanded a bridge, the village, and the insurgent camp. Colonel Lander had taken command of the artillery, and, without waiting for the arrival of Kelley, he opened heavy guns upon the Confederates. At the same time Dumont's infantry swept down to the bridge, where the Confederates had gathered to dispute their passage. The latter were panic-stricken, and fled. Kelley, approaching rapidly, struck the

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

flank of the flying force, which was driven in wild confusion through the village and up the Beverly Road. The two columns pursued them about 2 miles, when the fugitives, abandoning their baggage-train, escaped. Colonel Kelley was severely wounded by a pistol-shot that passed through his right breast, and, fainting from loss of blood, fell into the arms of

some of his soldiers. For a long time his recovery was doubtful, but, under the watchful care of a devoted daughter, he finally recovered, and was commissioned a brigadier-general. Colonel Dumont assumed the command of the combined columns. Lacking transportation, the Indiana troops were recalled to Grafton by the chief-commander, T. A. Morris.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Philippine Islands, an archipelago between the Pacific Ocean and the China Sea; formerly belonging to Spain, and ceded to the United States for \$20,000,000 by the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain in 1898.

Location.—They occupy the most northern part of the east end of the geographical grand division known as the Eastern Archipelago in eastern Asia. Through the capital and chief emporium, Manila, they are the key to the commerce of the islands that border the steam routes between Japan and China and the Philippines, the Sulu Archipelago, the islands of the South Pacific, the coasts of Borneo, Celebes Sea and Islands, Molucca and Gillolo passages, Banda and Arafura seas, the coasts of Papua, or New Guinea, and Australia to the southeast and south; and Indo-China, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Java, and India, and countries beyond to the southwest and west. They lie entirely within the north torrid zone. They received their present name from Ruiz Lopez de Villalobos, one of the early discoverers, in honor of the Prince of Asturias, afterwards King Philip of Spain. The archipelago is bounded on the north by the China Sea, on the east by the Pacific Ocean, on the south by the Celebes Sea and Borneo, and on the west by the China Sea. The nearest land on the north is the island of Formosa, a dependency of Japan, 93 miles northwest of Y'Ami, the most northern of the Batanes group; on the east the Pelew Islands (German), 510 miles off Mindanao; on the south Ariaga (de la Silla Island), the most northern of the Carcara-long group (Dutch), 37 miles south of the Saranganis, off Mindanao; on the southwest the extreme east point of Borneo, 24 miles southwest of Sibutu; on

the south Belambangan, an island off the extreme north coast of Borneo, 31 miles south of Balabac, and on the west Cochin China, 515 miles west of Palawan. The nearest approach of the international dividing line between Asia and Oceania passes about 15° (900 nautical miles) east of Batac Island, off the northeast coast of Samar, in about latitude 12° 40' N. Spain also relinquished to the United States all title and claim to the islands of Cagayan Sulu and Sibutu and their dependencies, and all others belonging to the Philippine Archipelago and lying outside the lines described in Article III. of the treaty, the United States paying the sum of \$100,000 in consideration thereof.

Area.—The Philippine Islands within the treaty lines of boundary have an aggregate area of 724,329 geographical miles, or, in statute miles:

Land.....	127,853
Water.....	705,115
Total land and water.....	832,968

The land area lies between parallels 21° 10' N. (Y'Ami Island, the most northern of the Batanes group) and 4° 40' N. (the extreme south point of Balut Island and of the Sarangani Islands, south of Mindanao), and meridians 116° 40' (west coast of Balabac Islands) and 126° 34' (Sanco Point) longitude east of Greenwich, or a total of 1,010 nautical or 1,152 statute miles from north to south, and 594 nautical or 682 statute miles from west to east. The land superficies within the limits defined is greater than the combined area of the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, nearly twice as large as the five States of New England, and larger than the New England States, New York, and New Jer-

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

sey. The area of the archipelago is 7,000 square miles larger than that of the British Isles, within 20,000 square miles of that of the islands of Japan. Within this expansive area of the earth's surface, in general, in the northern part lie the Batanes and Babuyanes groups, eight of them important, separated by the Bachi channel from the Japanese island of Formosa, at a distance of 93 miles to the northwest; to the south lies the great island of Luzon, with the adjacent large islands of Polillo and Catanduanes on the Pacific side and Marinduque, Burias, Ticao, and Masbate off its Visayan seashores; to the southwest of Luzon extends the large island of Mindoro, forming, with the islands of Busuanga, the Calamianes, Palawan (Paragua), and Balabac, the great western chain of the archipelago between Luzon and the continental island of Borneo; to the southeast of Luzon lies the island of Samar, to the west of which is Leyte, and continuing towards the west the other great islands of the Visayan group, Bohol, Cebu, Negros, and Panay, and the smaller islands of Sibuyan, Romblon, Tablas, Guimaras, the last named near Panay, and Siquijor, south of Negros. Continuing south along the east side of the archipelago is Mindanao, in area one of the two most important islands of the entire group. To the southwest of Mindanao and very close to its shore is Basilan, the connecting link in the important chain between the mainland of the Philippine Archipelago and the east coast of the great island of Borneo through the Sulu and Tawi Tawi and other groups of the American Sulu Archipelago. Between this east-and-west chain, scattered over the northern waters of the Sulu Sea, are the Cuyos and Cagaynes groups and the Palawan islands of Dumarán. The following shows the areas by divisions:

Physical Features.—In general, the physical structure of the Philippine Archipelago as to mountains belongs to the succession of lofty ranges of volcanic origin which form the circuit and watersheds of the Pacific basin of the earth's surface. Mount Irada, 3,667 feet in height, in Bataan of the Batanes, and Camiguin, 2,793 feet, in Babuyanes, are the outlying summits of the Cordillera del Norte on the north. The summits of Marinduque, Burias, Masbate, and Ticao are the outcropping of the hidden connecting group, continued in the lofty Cordilleras of Mindanao, to the southeast, and with less elevation in the hills of Basilan and the larger islands of the Sulu Archipelago, to the southwest. From Mindoro through the Calamianes and the long, narrow mainland of Palawan another series terminates in the Sierra Empinada, with its peaks of Balabac in the extreme southwest of the possessions of the United States. The distribution of the igneous rocks of the Philippine Islands indicates the prevalence of a number of volcanic belts. There are 50 volcanoes in the Philippine Islands, 20 of these being more or less active and 30 extinct or dormant. The islands abound in minero-medicinal waters, of temperatures from cold to thermal, of all degrees to boiling. Of these 50 have been analyzed in Abra, Albay, Ambos Camarines, Bataan, Batangas, Benguet, Bulacan, Ilocos Sur, Laguna, Lepanto, Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, Rizal, Tarlac, Tayabas, in Luzon; Cebu in Visayas, and Cottabato in Mindanao. Besides these 117 are well known, but not analyzed, in all parts of Luzon, Mindoro, Marinduque, Samar, Calamianes, Panay, Leyte, Cebu, Negros, Bohol, Panglao, Siquijor, and Mindanao. The medicinal properties and curative effects of these waters are well known and patronized by the natives.

Grand Territorial Divisions.	Area. Sq. M.	Mainland. Sq. M.	Dependent Islands.	
			Sq. M.	Number.
Luzon.....	44,235	43,075	1,160	311
Marinduque.....	681	667	14	13
Mindanao.....	46,721	45,559	1,162	258
Mindoro.....	4,108	4,050	58	26
Palawan (Paragua).....	5,037	4,579	468	135
Sulu Archipelago.....	1,029	520	509	188
Visayan Islands.....	25,302	23,411	1,891	507
Unassigned.....	740	.....	740	145
Total.....	127,853	121,861	5,992	1,583

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The large islands of the archipelago have extensive fluvial systems, determined by the great mountain ranges. That of Luzon is represented by four streams and their drainage basins: the Grande de Cagayan, the Agno Grande, the Abra, and the Grande de la Pampanga. The lakes—Laguna de Bay, draining three provinces, having its sea outlet through the Pasig, the Bombon or Taal, with its drainage through the Pansipit—form a distinct system between the Pacific Ocean and Manila Bay.

Climate.—The climate of the Philippine Islands is temperate in the months of November, December, January, and February, the monthly mean oscillating between 25° C. and 26.5° C. It is excessively hot in the months of April, May, and June, when the monthly mean ranges between 27.5° and 28.5° C., and is intermediate in the months of March, July, August, September, and October. According to these variations of temperature, the year is divided into three seasons: (1) Dry and temperate (November, December, January, and February); (2) hot (April, May, and June); and (3) intermediate (March, July, August, September, and October).

Rainfall.—The maximum of days of rain is during July, August, and September, and the minimum in February and March. From the maximum rainfall observed in the first-named three months until the minimum in the last-named two months, the number of rainy days gradually diminishes; and the number of rainy days increases gradually from the minimum in February to the maximum in July. On account of this distribution of rain, two seasons are recognized in the Philippines, namely, the dry season, which lasts from November to May, inclusive, and the humid or rainy season, which continues from June to October, both inclusive. This division, however, can only be applied to the interior, and principally to the occidental coasts of the archipelago, but not to the oriental regions. On the east coasts the season from November to May is distinguished by much precipitation, and the season from June to October is far from being as wet as on the west coasts.

Bays and Harbors.—There are numer-

ous gulfs, bays, coves, ports, and harbors, affording commercial and coastwise advantages unsurpassed in the Far East. Among the larger gulfs and bays, in their order of importance, Manila, the principal bay of the archipelago, and one of the finest in the East, occupies a strategic position, in peace or war, about the centre of the western, or China Sea, coast of Luzon. It is beautiful, expansive, and clear of obstruction, with excellent anchorage. The capital of the United States possessions in the Far East is situated on its shore, as also Cavite, the United States naval headquarters in the Philippines. It is surrounded by five provinces. Subic Bay lies immediately north of Manila Bay. It is 6 miles between heads and 8 miles inland, forming two safe harbors, with 7 to 10 fathoms, and sheltered from all winds. Lingayen, a gulf, is north of Subic Bay, on the same coast, with an entrance 20 miles wide, extending inland 31 miles, and having a depth and shelter for the fleets of the world. It washes the shores of three provinces, and its chief landmark, Mount Sto. Tomas, to the east, is 7,418 feet high. Lamon, on the north coast of Tayabas; South Luzon, 45 miles wide at the mouth, and 35 miles inland, with a good depth of 10 to 75 fathoms, well sheltered by Polillo and other islands of some size, capable of accommodating a large fleet; Tayabas, on the opposite shore, 50 miles between heads and 18 miles inland—reduce the peninsula of Luzon to a narrow neck of but 5 miles from bay to bay. Ragay, another large indentation of the south coast, forms between the peninsula of Tayabas and Ambos Camarines, being 26 miles between heads and extending 52 miles inland. Balayan and Batangas, separated from it by a narrow peninsula on the south coast of Batangas, Luzon, also afford spacious facilities for vessels of all sizes. On the same coast, Sorsogon, in the province of the same name, extends 19 miles inland to Sorsogon, the capital. On the opposite, or Pacific, shore is the expansive bay of Lagonoy, which is 26 miles between heads and lies along the coast of Ambos Camarines and Albay. Albay is also an important bay in the province of the same name immediately south of Lagonoy. Asid forms a deep bight on the

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

south coast of Masbate, 20 miles between heads and 23 miles inland. Carigara, on the north coast of Leyte, is connected by means of the Janabatas channel on the strait of San Juanico, between Leyte and Samar, with the Pacific, Bay of San Pedro and San Pablo. Sogod is an important bay on the south coast of Leyte, 11 miles between heads and 20 miles inland. Sindangan, Iligan, Macajalar, and Butuan on the north, and Davao, Sarangani, Illana, and Sibuguey on the south coasts of Mindanao, are among the finest of the landlocked coast waters of the archipelago.

Roadways.—The means of communication between the provinces, towns, and villages on the different islands are by cart road, horse trail, or foot-path. On the island of Luzon, Manila is the centre of a system of intercourse by highways constructed with an idea to continuous lines of trade and transportation. Among the great lines of intercourse by land may be mentioned the main highway which leaves Manila, and, passing through Bulacan and Bacolor, divides a short distance beyond the latter point, one line following the course of the Grande Pampanga River towards the northeast after entering Nueva Vizcaya, crossing to the head waters of the Grande Cagayan River, the course of which stream it follows to the north to Aparri on the north coast of Luzon. At the point north of Bacolor another main line extends in a northwest direction to Lingayen, whence another main highway parallels the entire north stretch of Chinese Sea coast to Cape Bojeador, the extreme northwest corner of the island, thence by horse path following the north coast to Aparri. From these trunk lines extend branch roads, horse trails, and foot-paths to the towns in the interior, or into the adjacent provinces. Another main line, leaving Manila to the south, parallels the coast of Laguna de Bay, making almost the entire circuit of that inland body of water. At Binang a highway leaves the main line and extends to the southwest of the Balayan Bay on the south coast. At Calamba another road branches off and connects Laguna de Bay with Batangas, on the bay of that name, on the south shore. At Santa Cruz another branch road extends into Taya-

bas, and continues as a highway, horse path, or trail the entire length of the peninsula of southeast Luzon, terminating at Sorsogon in the extreme southeast. From this central line roads, paths, or trails branch in every direction to the towns on the different bays, ports, and harbors on the Pacific and Visayan seashores.

Railroads.—Manila is connected with Dagupan by railroad, the only one in the island. From this point an extension was projected in 1902 paralleling the China Sea coast to Laoag, the capital of Ilocos Norte, the extreme northwest province of Luzon, and another from Dagupan to Baguio Benguet. Another line was plotted from Manila along the Pasig River and Laguna de Bay to Santa Cruz in Laguna. At Calamba a branch was proposed to connect with Batangas on that bay on the south side. A steam tramway extends from Manila to Malabon. In Cebu two private lines connect certain mines. An expert estimate gives 1,000 miles of railroads as sufficient to meet all requirements of the islands for some years, at a cost of \$35,000,000. This project includes a trunk line 600 miles through the Rio Grande de Cagayan valley and the entire length of Luzon, an extension of the existing Manila and Dagupan railroad to the north, along the China Sea coast provinces of Union, Ilocos Sur, and Norte, 200 miles, to Laoag, the capital of the latter; a cross-island (east and west) line with Manila as its starting-point, about 100 miles; an extension of the Manila and Dagupan railroad to Baguio Benguet, the proposed sanitarium, 55 miles; and short feeders to the main line as the productive development of the country will warrant.

Telegraphs.—The signal corps of the army has constructed and laid approximately 9,000 miles of telegraph, telephone, and submarine cable lines in the Philippines since the occupancy by the United States forces. About one-third of this mileage was for extensive temporary field lines erected for the purpose of maintaining communication between flying military columns and their bases, the latter being always in communication by means of permanent lines with division headquarters, and lines destroyed through hostile operations of the insurgents. The

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

permanent system embraces 1,327 miles of military cables and 5,000 miles of military telegraph lines, the whole aggregating 6,327 miles. These afford the means of prompt communication, and consequent executive control, from Appari and Bangui, on the north of Luzon, to the island of Siassi, in the extreme south, and connecting all the important islands of the archipelago except Palawan and Romblon. In addition to the signal corps telegraph and cable systems, the islands of Luzon, Panay, Negros, and Cebu are connected by the cables of the Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company, approximately 610 miles in length, with stations at Manila, Iloilo, Bacolod, and Cebu; and the United States is now connected directly by cable, opened by President Roosevelt on July 4, 1903, extending from San Francisco to Hawaii, Midway Island, Guam, and thence to Luzon and Manila City.

Agriculture.—Although agriculture is the chief occupation of the Philippines, yet only one-ninth of the surface is under cultivation. The soil is very fertile, and even after deducting the mountainous areas it is probable that the area of cultivation can be very largely extended and that the islands can support a population equal to that of Japan (42,000,000). The chief products are rice, corn, hemp, sugar, tobacco, cocoanuts, and cacao. Coffee and cotton were formerly produced in large quantities—the former for export and the latter for home consumption; but the coffee plant has been almost exterminated by insects and the home-made cotton cloths have been driven out by the competition of

Visayas; hemp is produced in southern Luzon, Mindoro, the Visayas, and Mindanao, and is nearly all exported in bales. Tobacco is raised in all the islands, but the best quality and greatest amount in Luzon. A large amount is consumed in the islands, smoking being universal among the women as well as the men, but the best quality is exported. Cocoanuts are grown in southern Luzon, and are used in various ways. The products are largely consumed in the islands. Cattle, goats, and sheep have been introduced from Spain, but they are not numerous. Domestic pigs and chickens are seen everywhere in the farming districts. The principal beast of burden is the carabao, or water-buffalo, which is used for ploughing rice-fields, as well as drawing heavy loads on sledges or on carts. Large horses are almost unknown, but there are great numbers of native ponies from 9 to 12 hands high, possessing strength and endurance far beyond their size.

Commerce.—The extraordinary increase in exports during the year ending June 30, 1903, established a new record in the commercial history of the Philippines, and for the first time since American occupation a balance of trade in favor of the islands was shown, in addition to the fact that their total foreign commerce was considerably larger than ever before. The following figures show the value of the archipelago's trade, exclusive of gold and silver and government supplies, during each of the five fiscal years of American administration, as compared with the average annual trade for periods prior thereto.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Total Imports and Exports.	Excess of Exports.	Excess of Imports.
Average annual, 1880-1884..	\$19,500,274	\$20,838,325	\$40,338,599	\$1,338,051	.....
Average annual, 1885-1889..	15,789,165	20,991,265	36,780,430	5,202,100	.....
Average annual, 1890-1894..	15,827,694	19,751,293	35,578,987	3,923,599	.....
1899.....	13,113,010	12,366,912	25,479,922	.....	\$746,098
1900.....	20,601,436	19,751,068	40,452,504	.....	850,368
1901.....	30,279,406	23,214,948	53,494,354	.....	7,064,458
1902.....	32,141,842	23,927,679	56,069,521	.....	8,214,163
1903.....	32,971,882	33,121,780	66,093,662	149,898	.....

those imported from England. Rice and corn are principally produced in Luzon and Mindoro, and are consumed in the islands. Cacao is raised in the southern islands and is all made into chocolate and consumed in the islands. Sugar-cane is raised in the

The value of goods imported from the United States during 1903, inclusive of coin shipments amounting to \$164,862, was \$4,108,960, and the Philippine exports to the United States approximated \$14,000,000 in value.

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Revenue, etc.—In the following statement, covering revenues and expenditures of the insular government in 1899–1903, the figures included audited accounts, with the exception of returns for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, which were estimated:

in 1898, 6,559,998 souls were distributed among 746 regular parishes, 105 mission parishes, 116 missions—total, 967. Of the regular parishes all but 150 were administered by Spanish friars of the Dominican, Augustinian, or Franciscan order. By the revolutions of 1896 and 1898 mem-

FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	Total
Revenues.						
Customs.....	\$3,097,864.15	\$5,739,297.40	\$9,105,754.67	\$8,550,758.49	\$9,686,533.29	\$36,180,208.00
Postal.....	42,954.87	104,282.54	122,816.83	137,811.99	146,659.44	554,525.67
Internal.....	240,754.00	561,993.18	966,400.47	225,505.09	222,980.40	2,217,633.14
Provincial.....				1,993,270.97	2,559,601.94	4,552,872.91
City of Manila.....				1,199,590.01	1,561,473.61	2,761,063.62
Miscellaneous.....	127,109.81	357,954.61	491,217.00	624,482.97	1,148,877.05	2,649,641.44
Total.....	\$3,503,682.83	\$6,763,527.73	\$10,686,188.97	\$12,631,419.52	\$15,326,125.73	\$48,915,944.78
Expenditures.						
Customs.....	\$28,817.90	\$100,194.09	\$267,446.88	\$490,126.40	\$587,142.89	\$1,473,728.13
Postal.....	30,410.75	89,149.51	155,347.77	175,156.57	226,730.33	676,794.96
Provincial.....				746,586.80	1,163,585.01	1,910,171.81
Loans and refunds to provinces.....				324,479.35	1,760,563.87	2,085,043.22
City of Manila.....				1,744,344.56	1,813,118.10	3,557,462.66
Other expenditures...	2,316,779.97	4,569,334.15	5,650,971.79	6,564,426.64	8,711,363.27	27,812,875.83
Total.....	\$2,376,008.62	\$4,758,677.75	\$6,073,766.44	\$10,045,120.32	\$14,262,503.47	\$37,516,076.60

Finance.—The ordinary receipts (expressed in United States currency) of the insular government during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, were \$9,964,472, and the ordinary disbursements aggregated \$7,514,161. Including extraordinary revenues the total receipts were \$12,074,730, and including extraordinary expenditures the payments aggregated \$12,557,116. Of the total receipts \$9,215,551 was from customs duties.

On March 2, 1903, the Congress of the United States passed "an act to establish a standard of value and to provide for a coinage system in the Philippine Islands," which made the unit of value a gold peso of twelve and nine-tenths grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, equal to 50 cents, United States currency, and also for the coinage of 75,000,000 subsidiary silver coins of four denominations. The act also provided for the issue of certificates of indebtedness to maintain the parity of silver pesos for the unit of value, to be limited to \$10,000,000.

Religion.—The establishment of religious freedom was guaranteed under the treaty of peace of 1898. Except the Moros (Moslem) and wild tribes (pagans), the people of the islands are Roman Catholics. As shown by the church registry,

December, 1903, members of the orders were obliged to take refuge in Manila; of the number, 40 were killed and 403 imprisoned until relieved by the American troops; of 1,124 in the islands in 1896, but 246 remained in 1903. There were at that time missions and missionaries—42 Jesuits, 16 Capuchins, 6 Benedictines, and 150 native secular clergymen with small parishes. The American members of the commission who negotiated the treaty of peace, in their deliberations in Paris, became convinced that one of the most important steps in tranquillizing the islands and in reconciling the Filipinos to the American government would be the governmental purchase of the so-called friars' agricultural lands in the Philippines, and the sale of these lands to the tenants on long and easy payments. This policy was recommended by the first, or Schurman, commission, and was approved by both the Secretary of War and the President. After a series of negotiations between Governor Taft and the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, the most important part of which was conducted in Rome with the aid of the late Pope Leo, the purchase of upward of 410,000 acres for \$7,239,000 gold was consummated in

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

As soon as it was evident that the American occupation of the Philippines would be permanent the leading denominations in the United States undertook the establishment of various religious institutions on the islands based on American methods so far as local conditions would permit. Archbishop Chapelle of New Orleans was appointed by the Pope apostolic delegate in 1899, and in 1903 the Rev. Jeremiah J. Harty was appointed archbishop of Manila, the Rev. Frederick Z. Rooker, bishop of Nueva Caceres, the Rev. Dennis J. Dougherty bishop of Nueva Segovia, and the Rev. Thomas A. Hendrick, bishop of Cebu. In 1901 the Rev. Charles H. Brent, of Boston, Mass., was appointed Protestant Episcopal bishop of the Philippine Islands. Experienced teachers and missionaries were also sent out from the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and other denominations.

Public Instruction.—One of the first concerns of the American military authorities after the occupation of the islands was the establishment of an educational system based on that of the United States. Men and women trained in the profession of teaching were sent out from the United States, and without understanding a word of Spanish or of the local dialects, they set to work to impart information in an unknown tongue. In 1903 the islands were divided into 35 school divisions, and 681 municipal and 384 barrio (outlying districts) primary schools were in operation. In addition to the primary schools there were a nautical school, a trade school, 2 normal schools, 3 high-schools, and 38 secondary schools. The teaching force was composed of 691 American and 2,496 native teachers. The Christian population of the islands was estimated at 6,967,000, and the school population at 1,424,776, of which 182,202 were enrolled in the day schools and 11,429 in the night schools, making a total of 193,631 who had been brought within the sphere of educational influence. The average attendance in the day schools was 131,371, and in the night schools 8,595, a total attendance of 139,966, or about seventy-three per cent. of the enrolment. The total appropriation for the bureau of education for the year ending June 30, 1903,

was \$1,562,161, and the expenditure was \$1,128,433.

Population.—The first systematic census of the Philippine Islands was taken March 2, 1903, under the direction of Gen. J. P. Sanger, U. S. A., assisted by Henry Gannett and Victor H. Olmsted.

Province or Military District.	Total Population.	Civilized.	Wild.
Philippine Islands.....	7,635,426	6,987,686	647,740
Abra.....	51,860	37,823	14,037
Albay.....	240,326	239,434	892
Ambos Camarines.....	239,405	233,472	5,932
Antique.....	134,166	131,245	2,921
Basilan.....	30,179	1,331	28,848
Bataan.....	46,787	45,166	1,621
Batangas.....	257,715	257,715	.....
Benguet.....	22,745	917	21,828
Buhol.....	269,223	269,223	.....
Bulacan.....	223,742	223,327	415
Cagayan.....	156,239	142,825	13,414
Capiz.....	230,721	225,092	5,629
Cavite.....	134,779	134,779	.....
Cebu.....	653,727	653,727	.....
Cotabato.....	125,875	2,313	123,562
Dapital.....	23,577	17,154	6,423
Davao.....	65,496	20,224	45,272
Ilocos Norte.....	178,995	176,785	2,210
Ilocos Sur.....	187,411	173,800	13,611
Iloilo.....	410,315	403,932	6,383
Isabela.....	76,431	68,793	7,638
Jolo.....	51,389	1,270	50,119
La Laguna.....	148,606	148,606	.....
La Union.....	137,839	127,739	10,060
Lepanto-Bontoc.....	72,750	2,467	70,283
Leyte.....	388,922	388,922	.....
Manila City.....	219,928	219,928	.....
Marinduque.....	51,674	51,674	.....
Masbate.....	43,675	43,675	.....
Mindoro.....	39,582	32,318	7,264
Misamis.....	175,683	135,473	40,210
Negros Occidental.....	308,272	303,660	4,612
Negros Oriental.....	201,494	184,889	16,605
Nueva Ecija.....	134,147	132,999	1,148
Nueva Vizcaya.....	62,541	16,026	46,515
Pampanga.....	223,754	222,656	1,098
Pangasinan.....	397,302	394,516	2,786
Paragua.....	29,351	27,493	1,858
Paragua Sur.....	6,345	1,359	4,986
Rizal.....	150,023	148,502	2,421
Romblon.....	52,848	52,848	.....
Samar.....	266,237	265,549	688
Siassi.....	24,562	297	24,265
Sorsogon.....	120,495	120,454	41
Surigao.....	115,112	99,298	15,814
Tarlac.....	135,107	133,513	1,594
Tawi Tawi.....	14,638	93	14,545
Tayabas.....	153,065	150,262	2,803
Zambales.....	104,549	101,381	3,168
Zamboanga.....	44,322	20,692	23,630

GOVERNORS.

Military.

Maj.-Gen. Wesley Merritt, U.S.A.....	Appointed. May 11, 1898
Maj.-Gen. Elwell S. Otis, U.S.A.....	Aug. 20, 1898
Maj.-Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, U.S.A.....	July 4, 1901

Civil.

William H. Taft.....	June 5, 1901
Luke E. Wright.....	Aug. 25, 1903
Henry Clay Ide.....	1905
James F. Smith.....	1906

Americanizing the Islands.—On Jan. 17, 1899, President McKinley announced to

His Cabinet the appointment of the following commission to visit and report on the affairs of the archipelago: Messrs. Jacob G. Schurman, president of Cornell University; Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Maj.-Gen. Elwell S. Otis, U. S. A.; Col. Charles Denby, ex-minister to China; and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan. The report of this commission was sent to Congress in February, 1900. After reviewing the situation the commission reached the following conclusions:

1. The United States cannot withdraw from the Philippine Islands. We are there and duty binds us to remain. There is no escape from our responsibility to the Filipinos and to mankind for the government of the archipelago and the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants.

2. The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence, and if independence were given to them they could not maintain it.

3. Under the third head is included a copy of Admiral Dewey's letter to Senator Lodge, which was read in the Senate the other day, denying Aguinaldo's claim that he was promised independence.

4. There being no Philippine nation, but only a collection of different peoples, there is no general public opinion in the archipelago; but the men of property and education, who alone interest themselves in public affairs, in general recognize as indispensable American authority, guidance, and protection.

5. Congress should, at the earliest practicable time, provide for the Philippines the form of government herein recommended or another equally liberal and beneficent.

6. Pending any action on the part of Congress, the commission recommends that the President put in operation this scheme of civil government in such parts of the archipelago as are at peace.

7. So far as the finances of the Philippines permit, public education should be promptly established, and, when established, free to all.

8. The greatest care should be taken in the selection of officials for administration. They should be men of the highest character and fitness, and partisan politics should be entirely separated from the government of the Philippines.

On the return of this commission the President appointed a second one, and

prescribed their duties in the following letter of instructions:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April, 7, 1900.

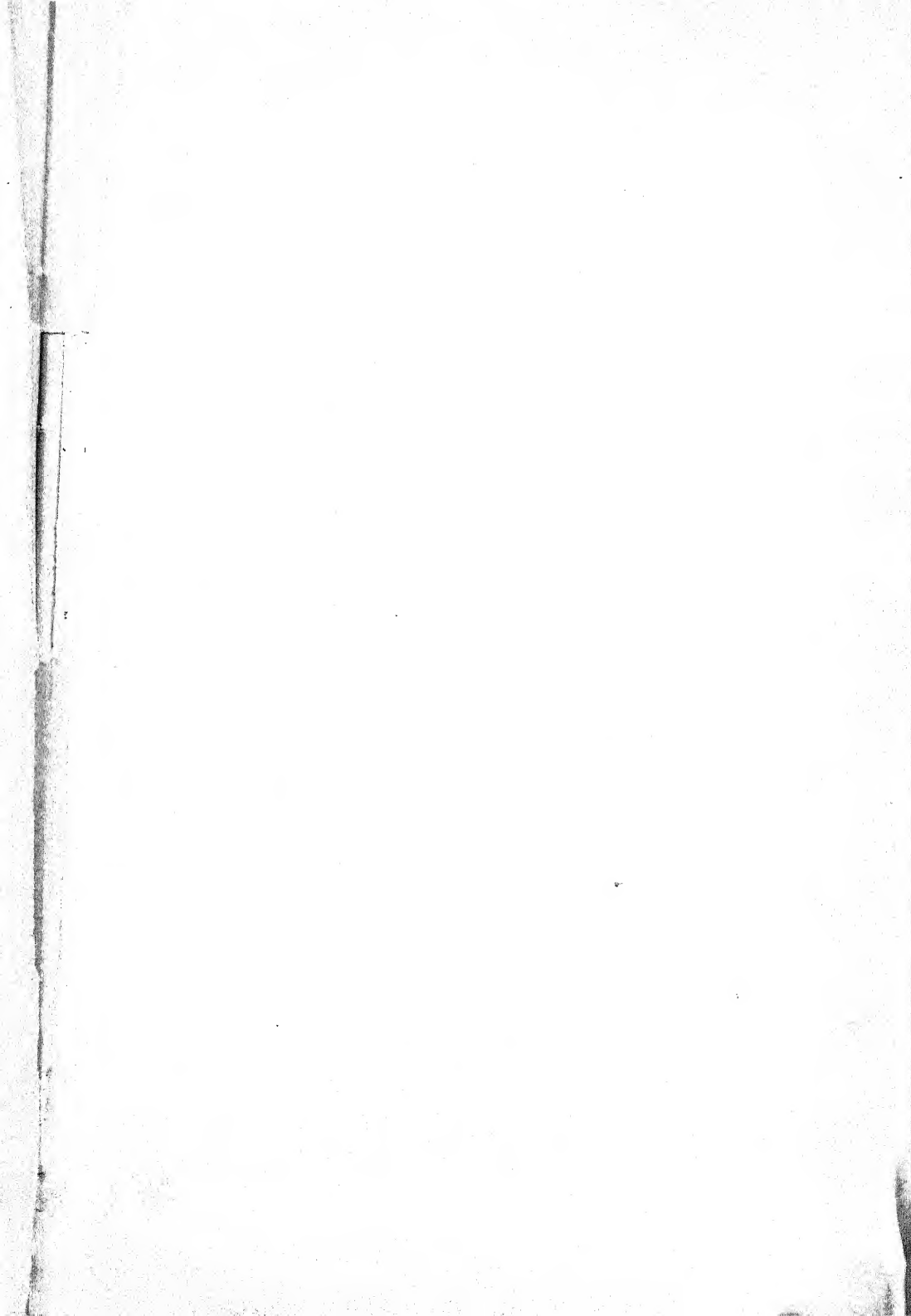
The Secretary of War, Washington.

SIR,—In the message transmitted to the Congress on Dec. 5, 1899, I said, speaking of the Philippine Islands: "As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands."

To give effect to the intention thus expressed, I have appointed Hon. William H. Taft, of Ohio; Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Hon. Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Hon. Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; and Prof. Bernard Moses, of California, commissioners to the Philippine Islands to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact.

The commissioners named will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board. It is probable that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers will be gradual and will occupy a considerable period. Its successful accomplishment and the maintenance of peace and order in the mean time will require the most perfect co-operation between the civil and military authorities in the islands, and both should be directed during the transition period by the same executive department. The commission will therefore report to the Secretary of War, and all their action will be subject to your approval and control.

You will instruct the commission to proceed to the city of Manila, where they will make their principal office, and to communicate with the military governor of the Philippine Islands, whom you will at the same time direct to render to them every assistance within his power in the perform-



Scale of Miles

0 20 40 60 80 100



ance of their duties. Without hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty.

The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions corresponding to counties, departments, or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subversed by a common administration. Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you, with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control.

Beginning with Sept. 1, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by it in the place and stead of the military governor, under such rules and regulations as you shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph, or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders, having the effect of law, for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties, and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of public funds of the islands, the establishment of an educational system throughout the

islands, the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service, the organization and establishment of courts, the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character.

The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational, and civil service systems, and in the municipal and departmental governments, as shall be provided for. Until the complete transfer of control the military governor will remain the chief executive head of the government of the islands, and will exercise the executive authority now possessed by him and not herein expressly assigned to the commission, subject, however, to the rules and orders enacted by the commission in the exercise of the legislative powers conferred upon them. In the mean time the municipal and departmental governments will continue to report to the military governor and be subject to his administrative supervision and control, under your direction, but that supervision and control will be confined within the narrowest limits consistent with the requirement that the powers of government in the municipalities and departments shall be honestly and effectively exercised and that law and order and individual freedom shall be maintained.

All legislative rules and orders, establishments of government and appointments to office by the commission will take effect immediately, or at such times as they shall designate, subject to your approval and action upon the coming in of the commission's reports, which are to be made from time to time as their action is taken. Wherever civil governments are constituted under the direction of the commission, such military posts, garrisons, and forces will be continued for the suppression of insurrection and brigandage, and the maintenance of law and order, as the military commander shall deem requisite, and the military forces shall be at all times subject under his orders to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and the enforcement of their authority.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

In the establishment of municipal governments the commission will take as the basis of their work the governments established by the military governor under his order of Aug. 8, 1899, and under the report of the board constituted by the military governor by his order of Jan. 29, 1900, to formulate and report a plan of municipal government, of which his Honor Cayetano Arellano, president of the Audiencia, was chairman, and they will give to the conclusions of that board the weight and consideration which the high character and distinguished abilities of its members justify.

In the constitution of departmental or provincial governments they will give special attention to the existing government of the island of Negros, constituted, with the approval of the people of that island, under the order of the military governor of July 22, 1899, and after verifying, so far as may be practicable, the reports of the successful working of that government, they will be guided by the experience thus acquired, so far as it may be applicable to the condition existing in other portions of the Philippines. They will avail themselves to the fullest degree practicable of the conclusions reached by the previous commission to the Philippines.

In the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the commission, the presumption is always to be in favor of the smaller subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental government shall be vested in that government, and so that in the governmental system, which is the result of the process, the central government of the islands, following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the national government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

The many different degrees of civilization and varieties of custom and capacity among the people of the different islands

preclude very definite instruction as to the part which the people shall take in the selection of their own officers; but these general rules are to be observed: That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that, wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and, if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others.

It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans, which, after a time, may well be filled by natives of the islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil office should be put in force. An indispensable qualification for all offices and positions of trust and authority in the islands must be absolute and unconditional loyalty to the United States, and absolute and unhampered authority and power to remove and punish any officer deviating from that standard must at all times be retained in the hands of the central authority of the islands.

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

At the same time the commission should bear in mind, and the people of the islands should be made plainly to understand, that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation

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of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar.

It will be the duty of the commission to make a thorough investigation into the titles to the large tracts of land held or claimed by individuals or by religious orders; into the justice of the claims and complaints made against such landholders by the people of the island or any part of the people, and to seek by wise and peaceable measures a just settlement of the controversies and redress of wrongs which have caused strife and bloodshed in the past. In the performance of this duty the commission are enjoined to see that no injustice is done; to have regard for substantial rights and equity, disregarding technicalities so far as substantial right permits, and to observe the following rules.

That the provision of the treaty of Paris, pledging the United States to the protection of all rights of property in the islands, and as well the principle of our own government which prohibits the taking of private property without due process of law, shall not be violated; that the welfare of the people of the islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right; that if it becomes necessary for the public interest of the people of the islands to dispose of claims to property which the commission find to be not lawfully acquired and held, disposition shall be made thereof by due legal procedure, in which there shall be full opportunity for fair and impartial hearing and judgment; that if the same public interests require the extinguishment of property rights lawfully acquired and held, due compensation shall be made out of the public treasury therefor; that no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or upon any citizen of the islands; that upon the other hand no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between State and Church shall be real, entire, and absolute.

It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed these inviolable rules:

That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offence, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist, except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex-post-facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed.

It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. This instruction should be given in the first instance in

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every part of the islands in the language of the people. In view of the great number of languages spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.

It may be well that the main changes which should be made in the system of taxation and in the body of the laws under which the people are governed, except such changes as have already been made by the military government, should be relegated to the civil government which is to be established under the auspices of the commission. It will, however, be the duty of the commission to inquire diligently as to whether there are any further changes which ought not to be delayed, and, if so, they are authorized to make such changes, subject to your approval. In doing so they are to bear in mind that taxes which tend to penalize or repress industry and enterprise are to be avoided; that provisions for taxation should be simple, so that they may be understood by the people; that they should affect the fewest practicable subjects of taxation which will serve for the general distribution of the burden.

The main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people should be maintained with as little interference as possible. Changes made should be mainly in procedure, and in the criminal laws to secure speedy and impartial trials, and at the same time effective administration and respect for individual rights.

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the islands the commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform. Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation; and, without undue or petty interference, constant and

active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs.

Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on Aug. 13, 1898, concluded with these words:

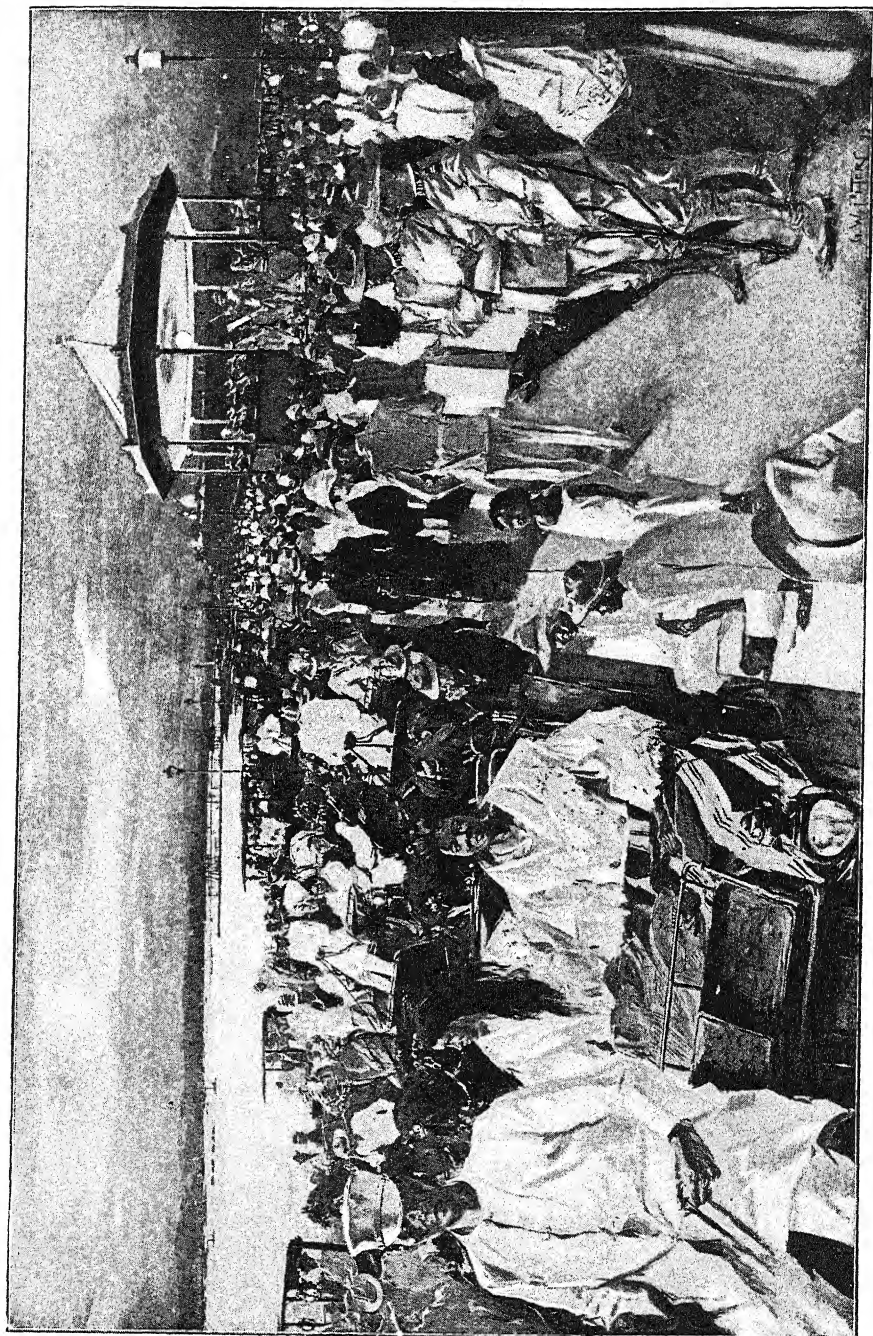
"This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army."

I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Code of Civil Government.—On Jan. 31, 1901, the Taft Commission enacted into law a code of civil government for the islands, thus outlined in the official report of the commission:

The *pueblos* of these islands sometimes include a hundred or more square miles. They are divided into so-called *barrios*, or wards, which are often very numerous and widely separated. In order that the interests of the inhabitants of each ward may be represented in the council, on the one hand, and that the body may not become so numerous as to be un-



SCENE ON THE LUNETTA, MANILA

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wieldy, on the other, it is provided that the councillors shall be few in number (eighteen to eight, according to the number of inhabitants), and shall be elected at large; that where the wards are more numerous than are the councillors the wards shall be grouped into districts, and that one councillor shall be in charge of each ward or district with power to appoint a representative from among the inhabitants of every ward thus assigned to him, so that he may the more readily keep in touch with conditions in that portion of the township which it is his duty to supervise and represent.

The subject of taxation has been made the object of especially careful attention. The effect of the old Spanish system was to throw practically the whole burden on those who could least afford to bear it. The poor paid the taxes, and the rich, in many instances, went free, or nearly so, unless they were unfortunate enough to hold office and thus incur responsibility for the taxes of others which they failed to collect. There was a considerable number of special taxes, many of which were irritating and offensive to the people, and yielded at the best a pitifully small revenue.

In dealing with the question of taxation it has been our purpose, first, to do away with all taxes which, through irritating those from whom they were collected or through the small amount of resulting revenue, were manifestly objectionable; second, to remove the so-called industrial taxes, except where levied on industries requiring police supervision; third, to abolish special taxes, such as the tax for lighting and cleaning the municipality and the tax for the repair of roads and streets; fourth, to provide abundant funds for the legitimate needs of the township by a system which should adjust the burden of contribution with some reference to the resources of those called upon to bear it. To this end provision has been made for a moderate tax on land and improvements thereon.

It is reasonably certain that at the outset there will be more or less opposition to this tax. This opposition will come from the rich, who have thus far escaped their fair share of the burden of taxation, and who will naturally be more or less unwilling to assume it. It is believed, how-

ever, that this opposition will be transient and will disappear as the people come to realize that the payment of taxes results in direct benefit to the communities in which they live and to themselves individually.

The exact rate of taxation on land and improvements is left to the several municipal councils, within certain limits. They may reduce it to one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the assessed valuation or raise it to one-half of 1 per cent.; but in any event they must spend the amount accruing from a tax of at least one-fourth of 1 per cent. on free public schools. Education is the crying need of the inhabitants of this country, and it is hoped and believed that the funds resulting from the land tax will be sufficient to enable us to establish an adequate primary-school system. Careful and, it is believed, just provisions have been made for the determination of values and for the protection of the rights of property owners.

In the matter of collection of revenues a complete innovation has been introduced, which, it is believed, will be productive of satisfactory results. It is intended to create for the islands a centralized system for the collection and disbursement of revenues, the head officer of which shall be the insular treasurer at Manila. It is proposed to establish subordinate offices in the several departments, and others, subordinate in turn to the several departmental offices, in the various provinces. All revenues within any given province, whether for the municipal, provincial, departmental, or insular treasury, will be collected by deputies of the provincial treasurer, who will immediately turn over to the several municipalities all funds collected for them. It is believed that by this means a much higher degree of honesty and efficiency can be secured than would be the case were the collectors appointed by the municipalities or chosen by suffrage, while it will be of great convenience to the taxpayer to be able to meet his obligations to all departments of the government at one time, and thus escape annoyance at the hands of a multiplicity of officials, each of whom is collecting revenue for a different end. Furthermore, the provincial treasurer will know the exact amount paid in to each municipal treasury, and

will thus have a valuable check on the finances of every one in his province.

In order to meet the situation presented by the fact that a number of the *pueblos* have not as yet been organized since the American occupation, while some 250 others are organized under a comparatively simple form of government and fifty-five under a much more complicated form on which the new law is based, the course of procedure which must be followed in order to bring these various towns under the provisions of the new law has been prescribed in detail, and every effort has been made to provide against unnecessary friction in carrying out the change.

In view of the disturbed conditions which still prevail in some parts of the archipelago it has been provided that the military government should be given control of the appointment and arming of the municipal police, and that in all provinces where civil provincial government has not been established by the commission the duties of the provincial governor, provincial treasurer, and provincial "fiscal" (prosecuting attorney) shall be performed by military officers assigned by the military governor for these purposes.

The law does not apply to the city of Manila or to the settlements of non-Christian tribes, because it is believed that in both cases special conditions require special legislation.

The question as to the best methods of dealing with the non-Christian tribes is one of no little complexity. The number of these tribes is greatly in excess of the number of civilized tribes, although the total number of Mohammedans and pagans is much less than the number of Christianized natives. Still, the non-Christian tribes are very far from forming an insignificant element of the population. They differ from each other widely, both in their present social, moral, and intellectual state and in the readiness with which they adapt themselves to the demands of modern civilization.

The necessity of meeting this problem has been brought home to the commission by conditions in the province of Benguet.

The Igorrotes, who inhabit this province, are a pacific, industrious, and relatively honest and truthful people, who have never taken any part in the insur-

rection, and who have rendered our forces valuable service by furnishing them with information, serving as carriers, and aiding them in other ways. They certainly deserve well of us. They are, however, illiterate pagans, and it is stated on good authority that there are not three Igorrotes in the province who can read or write. They are uncomplaining, and, when wronged, fly to the mountain fastnesses in the centre of the island, instead of seeking redress.

The conditions in Benguet may be taken as fairly typical of those which prevail in many other provinces, populated in whole or in part by harmless and amiable but ignorant and superstitious wild tribes. The commission has already passed an act for the establishment of township governments in this province, and it is believed that this measure will serve as a model for other acts necessitated by similar conditions in other provinces. The division of the province into townships and wards is provided for. The government of each township is nominally vested in a president and council, the latter composed of one representative from each ward of the township. The president and vice-president are chosen at large by a *viva voce* vote of the male residents of the township eighteen or more years of age, and the councillors are similarly chosen by the residents of the several *barrios*.

The difficulties arising from the complete illiteracy of the people are met by providing for the appointment of a secretary for each town, who shall speak and write Ilocano, which the Igorrotes understand, and English or Spanish. He is made the means of communication between the people and the provincial governor, makes and keeps all town records, and does all clerical work.

The president is the chief executive of the township, and its treasurer as well. He is also the presiding officer of a court consisting of himself and two councillors chosen by the council to act with him. This court has power to hear and adjudge violations of local ordinances.

It is believed that, by encouraging the municipal councils to attempt to make ordinances, and then giving them the benefits of the criticism and suggestions of the provincial governor with reference to such

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attempts, they may be gradually taught much-needed lessons in self-government, while sufficient power is given to the governor to enable him to nullify harmful measures and to take the initiative when a council fails to act.

The Igorrotes are tillers of the soil, and a few of the inhabitants of each township have acquired very considerable wealth.

Civil Government Inaugurated. — On July 4, 1901, the authorities in Manila ceremoniously inaugurated civil government in the Philippines. The President had previously appointed Judge Taft civil governor of the islands, and GEN. ADNA R. CHAFFEE (*q. v.*) military governor in succession to GEN. ARTHUR MACARTHUR (*q. v.*).

Commissioner Taft was escorted by Generals MacArthur and Chaffee from the palace to a great temporary tribune opposite the Plaza Palacio. Standing on a projecting centre of the Tribuna, Judge Taft took the oath of office, which was administered by Chief-Justice Arellano. Governor Taft was then introduced by General MacArthur, a salute being fired by the guns of Fort Santiago.

A feature of the inaugural address of Governor Taft was the announcement that on Sept. 1, 1901, the Philippine Commission would be increased by the appointment of three native members, Dr. Wardo Detavera, Benito Legarda, and José Luzuriaga. Before Sept. 1 departments would exist as follows, heads having been arranged thus: Interior Commissioner, Worcester; Commerce and Police Commissioner, Wright; Justice and Finance Commissioner, Ide; Public Instruction Commissioner, Moses. Of the twenty-seven provinces organized, Governor Taft said the insurrection still existed in five. This would cause the continuance of the military government in these provinces. Sixteen additional provinces were reported without insurrection, but as yet they had not been organized. Four provinces were not ready for civil government.

Governor Taft predicted that with the concentration of troops into larger garrisons it would be necessary for the people to assist the police in the preservation of order. Fleet launches would be procured, which would facilitate communication among the provinces as well as aid the

postal and revenue departments. In connection with educational efforts, Governor Taft said that adults should be educated by an observation of American methods. He said that there was a reasonable hope that Congress would provide a tariff that would assist in the development of the Philippines instead of an application of the United States tariff. According to the civil governor, there was an unexpended balance in the insular treasury of \$3,700,000, and an annual income of \$10,000,000.

The reading of President McKinley's message of congratulation was enthusiastically cheered. The entire front of the Tribuna, a block long, was decorated with flags, and several hundred officers, with their families and friends, were seated therein. General MacArthur, Civil Governor Taft, and Military Governor Chaffee, with the other generals. Rear-Admiral Kempff and his staff, the United States commissioners and the justices of the Supreme Court and the Filipino leaders were there, but there were more Americans than Filipinos present. The transfer of the military authority was carried out without any formality.

On March 16, 1905, Secretary Taft announced the retention of the Philippines as the policy of the administration.

Military and Naval Operations.—For an account of the principal operations of the United States forces against Spain and the Filipino insurgents the reader is referred to AGUINALDO, DEWEY, MACARTHUR, MANILA, MERRITT; SPAIN, WAR WITH, and other readily suggested titles. In his last annual report as military commander of the Division of the Philippines, General MacArthur gave the following statistics of military operations from May 5, 1900, to June 30, 1901: 1,062 contacts between American troops and insurgents, involving the following casualties: Americans—killed, 245; wounded, 490; captured, 118; missing, 20. Insurgents—killed, 2,854; wounded, 1,193; captured, 6,572; surrendered, 23,095. During the same period the following material was captured from or surrendered by the insurgents: rifles, 15,693; rifle ammunition, 296,365 rounds; revolvers, 868; bolos, 3,516; cannon, 122; cannon ammunition, 10,270 rounds.

Chronology of the War.—The following is a list of the more important events from

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the outbreak of the insurrection to July, 1902:

Feb. 4, 1899. The Filipinos, under Aguinaldo, attacked the American defenses at Manila. The Americans assumed the offensive the next day, and in the fighting which ensued for several days the American loss was fifty-seven killed and 215 wounded. Five hundred Filipinos were killed, 1,000 wounded, and 500 captured.

Feb. 10. Battle of Caloocan.

March 13-19. General Wheaton attacked and occupied Pasig.

March 21-30. General MacArthur advanced towards and captured Malolos. Military operations were partially suspended during the rainy season.

Meanwhile the southern islands were occupied by the American forces; Iloilo by General Miller, Feb. 11; Cebu by the Navy, March 27; and Negros, Mindanao, and the smaller islands subsequently.

A treaty was concluded with the Sultan of Sulu, in which his rights were guaranteed, and he acknowledged the supremacy of the United States.

With the advance of the dry season military operations on a much larger scale than heretofore were begun, the army of occupation having been reinforced by 30,000 men.

April 4. The commission issued a proclamation promising "The amplest liberty of self-government, reconcilable with just, stable, effective, and economical administration, and compatible with the sovereign rights and obligations of the United States.

April 22-May 17. General Lawton led an expedition to San Isidro.

April 25-May 5. General MacArthur captured Calumpit and San Fernando.

June 10-19. Generals Lawton and Wheaton advanced south to Imus.

June 26. General Hall took Calamba.

Aug. 16. General MacArthur captured Angeles.

Sept. 28. General MacArthur, after several days' fighting, occupied Porac.

Oct. 1-10. General Schwan's column operated in the southern part of Luzon and captured Rosario and Malabon.

Nov. 2. The Philippine commission appointed by the President, consisting of J. G. Schurman, Prof. Dean Worcester,

Charles Denby, Admiral Dewey, and General Otis, which began its labors at Manila, March 20, and returned to the United States in September, submitted its preliminary report to the President.

Nov. 7. A military expedition on board transports, under General Wheaton, captured Dagupan.

Dec. 25. Gen. S. B. M. Young appointed military governor of northwestern Luzon.

Dec. 26. The Filipino general Santa Ana, with a force of insurgents, attacked the garrison at Subig; the Americans successfully repelled the attack.

Dec. 27. Colonel Lockett, with a force of 2,500 men, attacked a force of insurgents near Montalban; many Filipinos were killed.

Jan. 1, 1900. General advance of the American troops in southern Luzon; Cabuyac, on Laguna de Bay, taken by two battalions of the 39th Infantry; two Americans killed and four wounded.

Jan. 7. Lieutenant Gillmore and the party of Americans held as prisoners by the Filipinos arrive at Manila.

Jan. 12. A troop of the 3d Cavalry defeated the insurgents near San Fernando de la Union; the Americans lose two killed and three wounded. General Otis reports all of Cavite province as occupied by General Wheaton.

Jan. 17. Lieutenant McRae, with a company of the 3d Infantry, defeated an insurgent force under General Hizon and captured rifles and ammunition near Mabalacat.

Feb. 5. Five thousand Filipino insurgents attacked American garrison at Duroga and were repulsed.

Feb. 16. Expedition under Generals Bates and Bell leave Manila to crush rebellion in Camarines.

March. Civil commission appointed by President McKinley (Wm. H. Taft, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, Bernard Moses). They reached the Philippines in April.

April 7. General Otis relieved. General MacArthur succeeds him.

May 5. Gen. Pantelon Garcia, the chief Filipino insurgent in central Luzon, is captured.

May 29. Insurgents capture San Miguel de Mayamo, five Americans killed, seven

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—PHILLIPS

- wounded, and Capt. Charles D. Reports made a prisoner.
- June 8. Gen. Pio del Pilar is captured at San Pedro Macati.
- June 12. General Grant reports the capture of an insurgent stronghold near San Miguel.
- June 21. General MacArthur issues a proclamation of amnesty.
- Nov. 14. Major Bell entered Tarlac.
- Nov. 14. Brisk fighting near San Jacinto. Maj. John A. Logan killed.
- Nov. 24. General Otis announced that the whole of central Luzon was in the hands of the United States authorities; that the president of Filipino congress, the secretary of state, and treasurer were captured, and that only small bands of the enemy were in arms, while Aguinaldo was being pursued towards the mountains.
- Nov. 26. The navy captured Vigan on the coast.
- Nov. 26. At Pavia, in Panay, the Filipinos are driven out of their trenches.
- Nov. 28. Colonel Bell disperses the insurgents in the Dagupan Valley. Bayombong, in the province of Nueva Viscaya, defended by 800 armed Filipinos, surrenders to Lieutenant Monroe.
- Dec. 3. Gen. Gregario del Pilar, one of the Filipino insurgent leaders, is killed in a fight near Cervantes.
- Dec. 4. Vigan, held by American troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, attacked by 800 Filipinos; they are driven off, leaving forty killed and thirty-two prisoners; the Americans lose eight men.
- Dec. 11. General Tirona, the Filipino insurgent commander in Cagayan, surrenders the entire province to Captain McCalla, of the *Newark*.
- Dec. 11. The President directed General Otis to open the ports of the Philippines to commerce.
- Dec. 19. General Lawton was killed in attacking San Mateo.
- Jan. 22, 1901. The islands of Cibusu and Cagayan bought for \$100,000 by United States.
- Jan. 28. Petition from Filipinos praying for civil government presented.
- March 1. Twenty-one officers and 120 bolomen surrender.
- March 23. Aguinaldo captured by General Funston.
- April 2. Aguinaldo takes oath of allegiance.
- April 20. General Tinio surrendered.
- June 15. Arellano, chief-justice, and six other Supreme Court judges appointed.
- June 21. Promulgation of order establishing civil government, and appointing William H. Taft the first governor.
- July 4. Civil government established.
- July 24. General Zumbano, with 547 men, surrenders at Zabayas.
- Sept. 29. Massacre of forty-eight Americans at Balangiga, Samar.
- Jan. 14, 1902. Twenty-two officers and 245 men surrendered to the United States.
- Organized rebellion ended early in 1902. Throughout the larger part of the Philippine Islands the people are peaceable, satisfied, are learning English, and are approaching self-government fairly well. The exceptions lie in the Sulu (or Jolo) Archipelago and the island of Samar, where the Moros, who are Mohammedans, bitterly hate the civilized Filipinos.
- Early in March, 1906, a large band of insurgent Moros intrenched themselves in the crater of Mt. Dago. They were attacked by Gen. Wood, and 600 of them were killed, including some women and children. The Moros are bitter fanatics, who believe they merit heaven by dying in battle with unbelievers. The women, dressed as men, fought as men. The men used their children as shields when charging upon the United States troops.
- On March 24, 1906, a band of over 100 Pulajanes, in Samar, offered to surrender under a flag of truce. They treacherously attacked the Americans who were to receive their arms, forcing Gov. Curry, Judge Loebinger, and the constabulary to fly.
- Phillips, JOHN**, philanthropist; born in Andover, Mass., Dec. 6, 1719; graduated at Harvard College in 1735. He founded Phillips Academy at Andover, and Phillips Academy at Exeter. He died in Exeter, N. H., April 21, 1795. His nephew, **SAMUEL PHILLIPS**, was born in Andover, Feb. 7, 1751; graduated at Harvard College in 1771; was a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress four years; State Senator twenty years; and president of the Senate fifteen years; a judge of the court of common pleas; commissioner of the State to deal with

Shays's insurrection, and was lieutenant-governor of the State at his death. He left \$5,000 to the town of Andover, the interest of which was to be applied to

educational purposes. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston. He died in Andover, Mass., Feb. 10, 1802.

PHILLIPS, WENDELL

Phillips, WENDELL, orator and reformer; born in Boston, Mass., Nov. 29, 1811; son of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston; graduated at Harvard College in 1831, and at the Cambridge Law School in 1833, and was admitted to the bar in 1834. At that time the agitation of the slavery question was violent and wide-spread, and in 1836 Mr. Phillips joined the abolitionists. He conceived it such a wrong in the Constitution of the United States in sanctioning slavery that he could not conscientiously act under his attorney's oath to that Constitution, and he abandoned the profession. From that time until the emancipation of the slaves in 1863 he did not cease to lift up his voice against the system of slavery and in condemnation of the Constitution of the United States. His first great speech against the evil was in Faneuil Hall, in December, 1837, at a meeting "to notice in a suitable manner the murder, in the city of Alton, Ill., of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, who fell in defence of the freedom of the press." Mr. Phillips was an eloquent, logical, and effective speaker. He conscientiously abstained from voting under the Constitution, and was ever the most earnest of "Garrisonian abolitionists." He was an earnest advocate of other reforms—temperance, labor, and other social relations. He was president of the American Anti-slavery Society at the time of its dissolution, April 9, 1870. He died in Boston, Mass., Feb. 2, 1884.

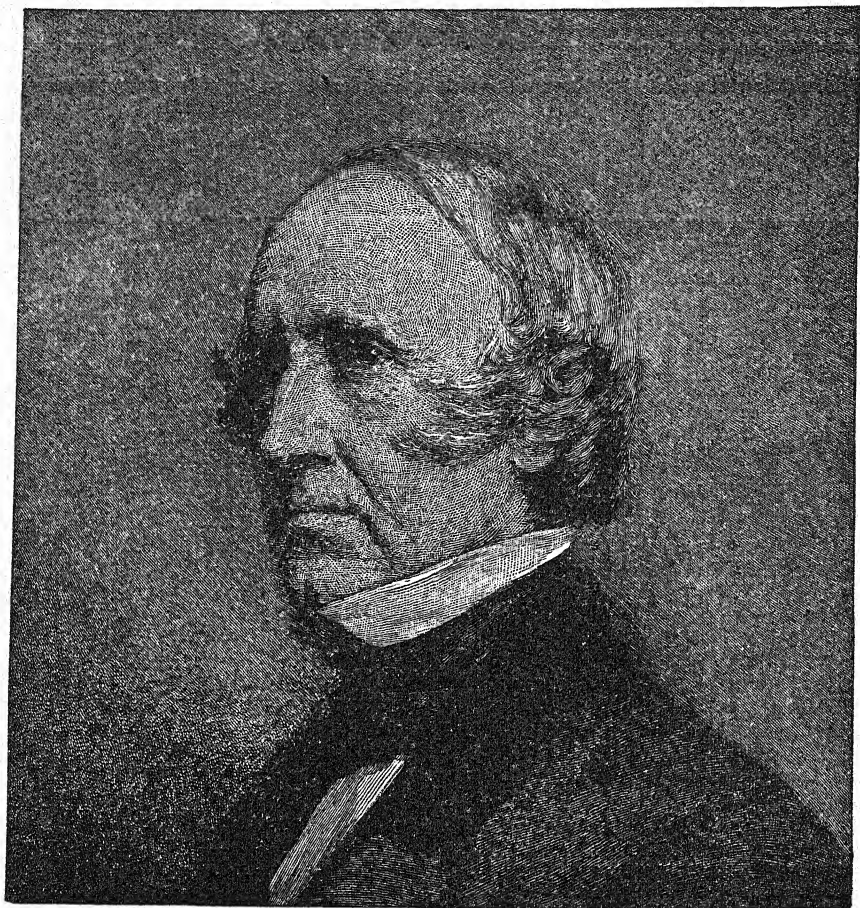
The War for the Union.—In December, 1861, Mr. Phillips delivered a patriotic address in Boston, which is here reprinted, somewhat abridged.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It would be impossible for me fitly to thank you for this welcome; you will allow me, therefore, not to attempt it, but to avail myself of your patience to speak to you, as I have been invited to do, upon the war.

Whence came this war? You and I

need not curiously investigate. While Mr. Everett on one side, and Mr. Sumner on the other, agree, you and I may take for granted the opinion of two such opposite statesmen—the result of the common-sense of this side of the water and the other—that slavery is the root of this war. I know some men have loved to trace it to disappointed ambition, to the success of the Republican party, convincing 300,000 nobles at the South, who have hitherto furnished us the most of the Presidents, generals, judges, and ambassadors we needed, that they would have leave to stay at home, and that 20,000,000 of Northerners would take their share in public affairs. I do not think that cause equal to the result. Other men before Jefferson Davis and Governor Wise have been disappointed of the Presidency. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and Stephen A. Douglas were more than once disappointed, and yet who believed that either of these great men could have armed the North to avenge his wrong? Why, then, should these pygmies of the South be able to do what the giants I have named could never achieve? Simply because there is a radical difference between the two sections, and that difference is slavery. A party victory may have been the occasion of this outbreak. So a tea-chest was the occasion of the Revolution, and it went to the bottom of Boston Harbor on the night of December 16, 1773; but that tea-chest was not the cause of the Revolution, neither is Jefferson Davis the cause of the rebellion. If you will look upon the map, and notice that every slave State has joined or tried to join the rebellion, and no free State has done so, I think you will not doubt substantially the origin of this convulsion. . . .

I know the danger of a political prophecy—a kaleidoscope of which not even a Yankee can guess the next combination—but for all that, I venture to offer my opinion, that on this continent the



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system of domestic slavery has received its death-blow. Let me tell you why I think so. Leaving out of view the war with England, which I do not expect, there are but three paths out of this war. One is, the North conquers; the other is, the South conquers; the third is, a compromise. Now, if the North conquers, or there be a compromise, one or the other of two things must come—either the old Constitution or a new one. I believe that, so far as the slavery clauses of the Constitution of '89 are concerned, it is dead. It seems to me impossible that the thrifty and painstaking North, after keeping 600,000 men idle for two or three years, at a cost of \$2,000,000 a day; after that flag lowered at Sumter; after Baker, and Lyon, and Ellsworth, and Winthrop, and Putnam, and Wesselhoeft have given their lives to quell the rebellion; after our Massachusetts boys, hurrying through ploughed fields and workshops to save the capital, have been foully murdered on the pavements of Baltimore—I cannot believe in a North so lost, so craven as to put back slavery where it stood on March 4 last. But if there be reconstruction without those slave clauses, then in a little while, longer or shorter, slavery

dies—indeed, on other basis but the basis of '89 she has nothing else to do but to die. On the contrary, if the South—no, I cannot say conquers—my lips will not form the word—but if she balks us of victory; the only way she can do it is to write Emancipation on her banner, and thus bribe the friends of liberty in Europe to allow its aristocrats and traders to divide the majestic republic whose growth and trade they fear and envy. Either way, the slave goes free. Unless England flings her fleets along the coast, the South can never spring into separate existence, except from the basis of negro freedom; and I for one cannot yet believe that the North will consent again to share his chains. Exclusively as an abolitionist, therefore, I have little more interest in this war than the frontiersman's wife had, in his struggle with the bear, when she didn't care which whipped. But before I leave the abolitionists let me say one word. Some men say we are the cause of this war. Gentlemen, you do us too much honor! If it be so, we have reason to be proud of it; for in my heart, as an American, I believe this year the most glorious of the republic since '76. The North, craven and contented until now, like Mammon, saw nothing even in heaven but the golden pavement; to-day she throws off her chains. We have a North, as Daniel Webster said. This is no epoch for nations to blush at. England might blush in 1620, when Englishmen trembled at a fool's frown, and were silent when James forbade them to think; but not in 1649, when an outraged people cut off his son's head. Massachusetts might have blushed a year or two ago, when an insolent Virginian, standing on Bunker Hill, insulted the Commonwealth, and then dragged her citizens to Washington to tell what they knew about John Brown; but she has no reason to blush to-day, when she holds that same impudent Senator an acknowledged felon in her prison-fort. In my view, the bloodiest war ever waged is infinitely better than the happiest slavery which ever fattened man into obedience. And yet I love peace. But it is real peace; not peace such as we have had, not peace that meant lynch-law in the Carolinas and mob-law in New York; not peace that

meant chains around Boston court-house, a gag on the lips of statesmen, and the slave sobbing himself to sleep in curses. No more such peace for me; no peace that is not born of justice, and does not recognize the rights of every race and every man. . . .

Now, how do we stand? In a war—not only that, but a terrific war—not a war sprung from the caprice of a woman, the spite of a priest, the flickering ambition of a prince, as wars usually have; but a war inevitable; in one sense nobody's fault; the inevitable result of past training, the conflict of ideas, millions of people grappling each other's throat, every soldier in each camp certain that he is fighting for an idea which holds the salvation of the world—every drop of his blood in earnest. Such a war finds no parallel nearer than that of the Catholic and Huguenot of France, or that of aristocrat and republicans in 1790, or of Cromwell and the Irish, when victory meant extermination. Such is our war. I look upon it as the commencement of the great struggle between the disgusted aristocracy and the democracy of America. You are to say to-day whether it shall last ten years or seventy, as it usually has done. It resembles closely that struggle between aristocrat and democrat which began in France in 1789, and continues still. While it lasts it will have the same effect on the nation as that war between blind loyalty, represented by the Stuart family, and the free spirit of the English constitution, which lasted from 1660 to 1760, and kept England a second-rate power almost all that century.

Such is the era on which you are entering. I will not speak of war in itself—I have no time; I will not say with Napoleon, that it is the practice of barbarians; I will not say that it is good. It is better than the past. A thing may be better, and yet not good. This war is better than the past, but there is not an element of good in it. I mean, there is nothing in it which we might not have gotten better, fuller, and more perfectly in other ways. And yet it is better than the craven past, infinitely better than a peace which had pride for its father and subserviency for its mother. Neither will I speak of the cost of war,

although you know we shall never get out of this one without a debt of at least \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000. . . .

You know that the writ of *habeas corpus*, by which government is bound to render a reason to the judiciary before it lays its hands upon a citizen, has been called the high-water mark of English liberty. Jefferson, in his calm moments, dreaded the power to suspend it in any emergency whatever, and wished to have it in "eternal and unremitting force." The present Napoleon, in his treatise on the English constitution, calls it the gem of English institutions. Lieber says that the *habeas corpus*, free meetings like this, and a free press are the three elements which distinguish liberty from despotism. All that Saxon blood has gained in the battles and toils of 200 years are these three things. But to-day, Mr. Chairman, every one of them—*habeas corpus*, the right of free meeting, and a free press—is annihilated in every square mile of the republic. We live to-day, every one of us, under martial law. The Secretary of State puts into his bastille, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of Louis, any man whom he pleases. And you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the government without being silenced. At this moment 1,000 men, at least, are "bastilled" by an authority as despotic as that of Louis—three times as many as Eldon and George III. seized when they trembled for his throne. Mark me, I am not complaining. I do not say it is not necessary. It is necessary to do anything to save the ship. It is necessary to throw everything overboard in order that we may float. It is a mere question whether you prefer the despotism of Washington or that of Richmond. I prefer that of Washington. But, nevertheless, I point out to you this tendency because it is momentous in its significance. We are tending with rapid strides, you say inevitably—I do not deny it; necessarily—I do not question it; we are tending towards that strong government which frightened Jefferson; towards that unlimited debt, that endless army. We have already those alien and sedition laws which, in 1798, wrecked the Federal party, and summoned the Democratic into

existence. For the first time on this continent we have passports, which even Louis Napoleon pronounces useless and odious. For the first time in our history government spies frequent our great cities. And this model of a strong government, if you reconstruct on the old basis, is to be handed into the keeping of whom? If you compromise it by reconstruction, to whom are you to give these delicate and grave powers? To compromisers? Reconstruct this government, and for twenty years you can never elect a Republican. Presidents must be wholly without character or principle, that two angry parties, each hopeless of success, contemptuously tolerate them as neutrals. . . .

What shall we do? The answer to that question comes partly from what we think has been the cause of this convulsion. Some men think—some of your editors think—many of ours, too—that this war is nothing but the disappointment of 1,000 or 2,000 angered politicians, who have persuaded 8,000,000 of Southerners, against their convictions, to take up arms and rush to the battle-field; no great compliment to Southern sense! They think that, if the Federal army could only appear in the midst of this demented mass, the 8,000,000 will find out for the first time in their lives that they have got souls of their own, tell us so, and then we shall all be piloted back, float back, drift back into the good old times of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan. There is a measure of truth in that. I believe that if, a year ago, when the thing first showed itself, Jefferson Davis and Toombs and Keitt and Wise, and the rest, had been hung for traitors at Washington, and a couple of frigates anchored at Charleston, another couple in Savannah, and a half-dozen in New Orleans, with orders to shell those cities on the first note of resistance, there never would have been this outbreak, or it would have been postponed at least a dozen years; and if that interval had been used to get rid of slavery, we never should have heard of the convulsion. . . . I do not consider this a secession. It is no secession. I agree with Bishop-General Polk—it is a conspiracy, not a secession. There is no wish, no intention to go peaceably and permanently off. It is a con-

spiracy to make the government do the will and accept the policy of the slaveholders. Its root is at the South, but it has many a branch at Wall Street and in State Street. It is a conspiracy, and on the one side is every man who still thinks that he that steals his brother is a gentleman, and he that makes his living is not. It is the aristocratic element which survived the Constitution, which our fathers thought could be safely left under it, and the South to-day is forced into this war by the natural growth of the antagonistic principle. You may pledge whatever submission and patience of Southern institutions you please—it is not enough. South Carolina said to Massachusetts in 1835, when Edward Everett was governor, "Abolish free speech—it is a nuisance." She is right—from her stand-point it is. That is, it is not possible to preserve the quiet of South Carolina consistently with free speech; but you know the story Sir Walter Scott told of the Scotch laird, who said to his old butler, "Jock, you and I can't live under this roof." "And where does your honor think of going?" So free speech says of South Carolina to-day. Now I say you may pledge, compromise, guarantee what you please. The South well knows that it is not your purpose—it is your character she dreads. It is the nature of Northern institutions, the perilous freedom of discussion, the flavor of our ideas, the sight of our growth, the very neighborhood of such States, that constitutes the danger. It is like the two vessels launched on the stormy seas. The iron said to the crockery, "I won't come near you." "Thank you," said the weaker vessel; "there is just as much danger in my coming near you." This the South feels; hence her determination; hence, indeed, the imperious necessity that she should rule and shape our government, or of sailing out of it. I do not mean that she plans to take possession of the North, and choose our Northern mayors; though she has done that in Boston for the last dozen years, and here till this fall. But she conspires and aims to control just so much of our policy, trade, offices, presses, pulpits, cities, as is sufficient to insure the undisturbed existence of slavery. She conspires with the full intent so to mould this government

as to keep it what it has been for thirty years, according to John Quincy Adams—a plot for the extension and perpetuation of slavery. As the world advances, fresh guarantees are demanded. The nineteenth century requires sterner gags than the eighteenth. Often as the peace of Virginia is in danger, you must be willing that a Virginian Mason shall drag your citizens to Washington, and imprison them at his pleasure. So long as Carolina needs it, you must submit that your ships be searched for dangerous passengers, and every Northern man lynched. No more Kansas rebellions. It is a conflict between the two powers, aristocracy and democracy, which shall hold this belt of the continent. You may live here, New York men, but it must be in submission to such rules as the quiet of South Carolina requires. That is the meaning of the oft-repeated threat to call the roll of one's slaves on Bunker Hill and dictate peace in Faneuil Hall. Now, in that fight, I go for the North—for the Union.

In order to make out this theory of "irrepressible conflict" it is not necessary to suppose that every Southerner hates every Northerner (as the *Atlantic Monthly* urges). But this much is true: some 300,000 slave-holders at the South, holding 2,000,000,000 of so-called property in their hands, controlling the blacks and befooling the 7,000,000 of poor whites into being their tools—into believing that their interest is opposed to ours—this order of nobles, this privileged class, has been able for forty years to keep the government in dread, dictate terms by threatening disunion, bring us to its verge at least twice, and now almost break the Union in pieces. . . .

Now some Republicans and some Democrats—not Butler and Bryant and Cochrane and Cameron; not Boutwell and Bancroft and Dickinson and others—but the old set—the old set say to the Republicans, "Lay the pieces carefully together in their places; put the gunpowder and the match in again, say the Constitution backward instead of your prayers, and there never will be another rebellion!" I doubt it. It seems to me that like causes will produce like effects. If the reason of the war is because we are two nations, then the cure must be to

make us one nation, to remove that cause which divides us, to make our institutions homogeneous. If it were possible to subjugate the South, and leave slavery just as it is, where is the security that we should not have another war in ten years? Indeed, such a course invites another war, whenever demagogues please. I believe the policy of reconstruction is impossible. If it were possible, it would be the greatest mistake that Northern men could commit. I will not stop to remind you that, standing as we do to-day, with the full constitutional right to abolish slavery—a right Southern treason has just given us—a right, the use of which is enjoined by the sternest necessity—if after that, the North goes back to the Constitution of '89, she assumes, a second time, afresh, unnecessarily, a criminal responsibility for slavery. Hereafter no old excuse will avail us. A second time with open eyes, against our honest interests we clasp bloody hands with tyrants to uphold an acknowledged sin, whose evil we have fully proved.

Reconstruction is but another name for the submission of the North. It is her subjugation under a mask. It is nothing but the confession of defeat. Every merchant, in such a case, puts everything he has at the bidding of Wigfall and Toombs in every cross-road bar-room at the South. For, you see, never till now did anybody but a few abolitionists believe that this nation could be marshalled, one section against the other, in arms. But the secret is out. The weak point is discovered, Why does the London press lecture us like a school-master his seven-year-old boy? Why does England use a tone such as she has not used for half a century to any power? Because she knows us as she knows Mexico, as all Europe knows Austria—that we have the cancer concealed in our very vitals. Slavery, left where it is, after having created such a war as this, would leave our commerce and all our foreign relations at the mercy of any Keitt, Wigfall, Wise, or Toombs. Any demagogue has only to stir up a pro-slavery crusade, point back to the safe experiments of 1861; and lash the passions of the aristocrat, to cover the sea with privateers, put in jeopardy the trade of twenty States, plunge the country into millions of debt,

send our stock down 50 per cent., and cost thousands of lives. Reconstruction is but making chronic what now is transient. What that is, this week shows. What that is, we learn from the tone England dares to assume towards this divided republic. I do not believe reconstruction possible. I do not believe that the cabinet intend it. True, I should care little if they did, since I believe the administration can now more resist the progress of events than a spear of grass can retard the step of an avalanche. But if they do, allow me to say, for one, that every dollar spent in this war is worse than wasted, that every life lost is a public murder, and that every statesman who leads States back to reconstruction will be damned to an infamy compared with which Arnold was a saint, and James Buchanan a public benefactor. I said reconstruction is not possible. I do not believe it is, for this reason; the moment these States begin to appear victorious, the moment our armies do anything that evinces final success, the wily statesmanship and unconquerable hate of the South will write "Emancipation" on her banner, and welcome the protectorate of a European power. And if you read the European papers of to-day, you need not doubt that she will have it. . . .

The value of the English news this week is the indication of the nation's mind. No one doubts now that should the South emancipate, England would make haste to recognize and help her. In ordinary times, the government and aristocracy of England dread American example. They may well admire and envy the strength of our government, when, instead of England's impressment and pinched levies, patriotism marshals 600,000 volunteers in six months. The English merchant is jealous of our growth; only the liberal middle classes sympathize with us. When the two other classes are divided, this middle class rules. But now Herod and Pilate are agreed. The aristocrat, who usually despises a trader, whether of Manchester or Liverpool, as the South does a negro, now is secessionist from sympathy, as the trader is from interest. Such a union no middle class can checkmate. The only danger of war with England is, that, as soon as England

declared war with us, she would recognize the Southern Confederacy immediately, just as she stands, slavery and all, as a military measure. As such, in the heat of passion, in the smoke of war, the English people, all of them, would allow such a recognition even of a slave-holding empire. War with England insures disunion. When England declares war, she gives slavery a fresh lease of fifty years. Even if we had no war with England, let another eight or ten months be as little successful as the last, and Europe will acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, slavery, and all, as a matter of course. Further, any approach towards victory on our part, without freeing the slave, gives him free to Davis. So far, the South is sure to succeed, either by victory or defeat, unless we anticipate her. Indeed, the only way, the only sure way, to break this Union, is to try to save it by protecting slavery. "Every moment lost," as Napoleon said, "is an opportunity for misfortune." Unless we emancipate the slave, we shall never conquer the South without her trying emancipation. Every Southerner, from Toombs up to Frémont, has acknowledged it. Do you suppose that Davis and Beauregard, and the rest, meant to be exiles, wandering condemned in every great city in Europe, in order that they may maintain slavery and the Constitution of '89? They, like ourselves, will throw everything overboard before they will submit to defeat—defeat from Yankees. I do not believe, therefore, that reconciliation is possible, nor do I believe that the cabinet have any such hopes. Indeed, I do not know where you will find the evidence of any purpose in the administration at Washington. If we look to the West, if we look to the Potomac, what is the policy? If, on the Potomac, with the aid of twenty governors, you assemble an army and do nothing but return fugitive slaves, that proves you competent and efficient. If, on the banks of the Mississippi, unaided, the magic of your presence summons an army into existence, and you drive your enemy before you a hundred miles farther than your second in command thought it possible for you to advance, that proves you incompetent, and entitles your second in command to succeed you.

Looking in another direction, you see

the government announcing a policy in South Carolina. What is it? Well, Mr. Secretary Cameron says to the general in command there: "You are to welcome into your camp all comers; you are to organize them into squads and companies; use them any way you please—but there is to be no general arming." That is a very significant exception. The hint is broad enough for the dullest brain. In one of Charles Reade's novels, the heroine flies away to hide from the hero, announcing that she never will see him again. Her letter says: "I will never see you again, David. You, of course, won't come to see me at my old nurse's little cottage, between eleven in the morning and four in the afternoon, because I sha'n't see you." So Mr. Cameron says there is to be no general arming. But I suppose there is to be a very particular arming. But he goes on to add: "This is no greater interference with the institutions of South Carolina than is necessary, than the war will cure." Does he mean he will give the slaves back after the war is over? I don't know. All I know is, that the Port Royal expedition proved one thing—it laid forever that ghost of an argument, that the blacks loved their masters—it settled forever the question whether the blacks were with us or the South. My opinion is that the blacks are the key of our position. He that gets them wins, and he that loses them goes to the wall. Port Royal settled one thing—the blacks are with us and not with the South. At present they are the only Unionists. I know nothing more touching in history, nothing that art will immortalize and poets dwell upon more fondly—I know no tribute to the stars and stripes more impressive than that incident of the blacks coming to the water-side with their little bundles, in that simple faith which had endured through the long night of so many bitter years. They preferred to be shot rather than driven from the sight of that banner they had so long prayed to see. And if that was the result when nothing but General Sherman's equivocal proclamation was landed on the Carolinas, what should we have seen if there had been 18,000 veterans with Frémont, the statesman-soldier of this war, at their head, and over them the stars and stripes,

gorgeous with the motto, "Freedom for all, freedom forever!" If that had gone before them, in my opinion they would have marched across the Carolinas and joined Brownlow in east Tennessee. The bulwark on each side of them would have been 100,000 grateful blacks; they would have cut this rebellion in halves, and while our fleets fired salutes across New Orleans, Beauregard would have been ground to powder between the upper millstone of McClellan and the lower of a quarter-million of blacks rising to greet the stars and stripes. McClellan may drill a better army—more perfect soldiers. He will never marshal a stronger force than those grateful thousands. . . .

When Congress declares war, says John Quincy Adams, Congress has all the power incident to carrying on war. It is not an unconstitutional power—it is a power conferred by the Constitution; but the moment it comes into play it rises beyond the limit of constitutional checks. I know it is a grave power, this trusting the government with despotism. But what is the use of government, except just to help us in critical times? All the checks and ingenuity of our institutions are arranged to secure for us men wise and able enough to be trusted with grave powers—bold enough to use them when the times require. Lancets and knives are dangerous instruments. The use of the surgeon is, that when lancets are needed somebody may know how to use them, and save life. One great merit of democratic institutions is, that, resting as they must on educated masses, the government may safely be trusted in a great emergency, with despotic power, without fear of harm or of wrecking the State. No other form of government can venture such confidence without risk of national ruin. Doubtless the war power is a very grave power; so are some ordinary peace powers. I will not cite extreme cases—Louisiana and Texas. We obtained the first by treaty, the second by joint resolutions; each case an exercise of power as grave and despotic as the abolition of slavery would be, and unlike that, plainly unconstitutional—one which nothing but stern necessity and subsequent acquiescence by the nation could make valid. Let me remind you that seventy

years' practice has incorporated it as a principle in our constitutional law, that what the necessity of the hour demands, and the continued assent of the people ratifies, is law. Slavery has established that rule. We might surely use it in the cause of justice. But I will cite an unquestionable precedent. It was a grave power, in 1807, in time of peace, when Congress abolished commerce; when, by the embargo of Jefferson, no ship could quit New York or Boston, and Congress set no limit to the prohibition. It annihilated commerce. New England asked, "Is it constitutional?" The Supreme Court said, "Yes." New England sat down and starved. Her wharfs were worthless, her ships rotted, her merchants beggared. She asked no compensation. The powers of Congress carried bankruptcy from New Haven to Portland; but the Supreme Court said, "It is legal," and New England bowed her head. We commend the same cup to the Carolinas to-day. We say to them that, in order to save the government, there resides somewhere despotism. It is in the war powers of Congress. That despotism can change the social arrangement of the Southern States, and has a right to do it.

Now, this government, which abolishes my right of *habeas corpus*—which strikes down, because it is necessary, every Saxon bulwark of liberty—which proclaims martial law, and holds every dollar and every man at the will of the cabinet—do you turn round and tell me that this same government has no rightful power to break the cobweb—it is but a cobweb—which binds a slave to his master—to stretch its hands across the Potomac and root up the evil which for seventy years has troubled its peace and now culminates in rebellion? I maintain, therefore, the power of the government itself to inaugurate such a policy; and I say in order to save the Union, do justice to the black.

I would claim of Congress—in the exact language of Adams, of the "government"—a solemn act abolishing slavery throughout the Union, securing compensation to the loyal slave-holders. As the Constitution forbids the States to make and allow nobles, I would now, by equal authority, forbid them to make slaves or allow slave-holders.

People may say this is a strange language for me—a disunionist. Well, I was a disunionist, sincerely, for twenty years; I did hate the Union, when Union meant lies in the pulpit and mobs in the streets, when Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves. I did prefer purity to peace—I acknowledge it. The child of six generations of Puritans, knowing well the value of Union, I did prefer disunion to being the accomplice of tyrants. But now, when I see what the Union must mean in order to last, when I see that you cannot have Union without meaning justice, and when I see 20,000,000 of people, with a current as swift and as inevitable as Niagara, determined that this Union shall mean justice, why should I object to it? I endeavored honestly, and am not ashamed of it, to take nineteen States out of this Union, and consecrate them to liberty, and 20,000,000 of people answer me back, “We like your motto, only we mean to keep thirty-four States under it.” Do you suppose I am not Yankee enough to buy Union when I can have it at a fair price? I know the value of Union; and the reason why I claim that Carolina has no right to secede is this: we are not a partnership, we are a marriage, and we have done a great many things since we were married in 1789, which render it unjust for a State to exercise the right of revolution on any ground now alleged. I admit the right. I acknowledge the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, that a State exists for the liberty and happiness of the people, that these are the ends of government, and that, when government ceases to promote those ends, the people have a right to remodel their institutions. I acknowledge the right of revolution in South Carolina, but at the same time I acknowledge that right of revolution only when government has ceased to promote those ends. Now, we have been married for seventy years. We have bought Florida. We rounded the Union to the Gulf. We bought the Mississippi for commercial purposes. We stole Texas for slave purposes. Great commercial interests, great interests of peace, have been subserved by rounding the Union into a perfect shape; and the money and sacrifices of two gen-

erations have been given for this purpose. To break up that Union now is to defraud us of mutual advantages relating to peace, trade, national security, which cannot survive disunion. The right of disunion is not matter of caprice. “Governments long established,” says our Declaration of Independence, “are not to be changed for light and transient causes.” When so many important interests and benefits, in their nature indivisible and which disunion destroys, have been secured by common toils and cost, the South must vindicate her revolution by showing that our government has become destructive of its proper ends, else the right of revolution does not exist. Why did we steal Texas? Why have we helped the South to strengthen herself? Because she said that slavery within the girdle of the Constitution would die out through the influence of natural principles. She said: “We acknowledge it to be an evil; but at the same time it will end by the spread of free principles and the influence of free institutions.” And the North said: “Yes; we will give you privileges on that account, and we will return your slaves for you.” Every slave sent back from a Northern State is a fresh oath of the South that she would secede. Our fathers trusted to the promise that this race should be left under the influence of the Union, until, in the maturity of time, the day should arrive when they would be lifted into the sunlight of God’s equality. I claim it of South Carolina. By virtue of that pledge she took Boston and put a rope round her neck in that infamous compromise which consigned to slavery Anthony Burns. I demand the fulfilment on her part even of that infamous pledge. Until South Carolina allows me all the influence that 19,000,000 of Yankee lips, asking infinite questions, have upon the welfare of those 4,000,000 of bondsmen, I deny her right to secede. Seventy years has the Union postponed the negro. For seventy years has he been beguiled with the promise, as she erected one bulwark after another around slavery, that he should have the influence of our common institutions.

I know how we stand to-day, with the frowning cannon of the English fleet

ready to be thrust out of the port-holes against us. But I can answer England with a better answer than William H. Seward can write. I can answer her with a more statesmanlike paper than Simon Cameron can indite. I would answer her with the stars and stripes floating over Charleston and New Orleans, and the itinerant cabinet of Richmond packing up archives and wearing apparel to ride back to Montgomery. There is one thing and only one, which John Bull respects, and that is success. It is not for us to give counsel to the government on points of diplomatic propriety, but I suppose we may express our opinions, and my opinion is, that, if I were the President of these thirty-four States, while I was, I should want Mason and Slidell to stay with me. I say, then, first, as a matter of justice to the slave, we owe it to him; the day of his deliverance has come. The long promise of seventy years is to be fulfilled. The South draws back from the pledge. The North is bound in honor of the memory of her fathers, to demand its exact fulfilment, and in order to save this Union, which now means justice and peace, to recognize the rights of 4,000,000 of its victims. And if I dared to descend to a lower level, I should say to the merchants of this metropolis, Demand of the government a speedy settlement of this question. Every hour of delay is big with risk. Remember, as Governor Boutwell suggests, that our present financial prosperity comes because we have corn to export in place of cotton, and that another year, should Europe have a good harvest and we an ordinary one, while an inflated currency tempts extravagance and large imports, general bankruptcy stares us in the face. Do you love the Union? Do you really think that on the other side of the Potomac are the natural brothers and customers of the manufacturing ingenuity of the North? I tell you, certain as fate, God has written the safety of that relation in the same scroll with justice to the negro. The hour strikes. You may win him to your side; you may anticipate the South; you may save 12,000,000 of customers. Delay it, let God grant McClellan victory, let God grant the stars and stripes over New Orleans, and it is too late.

It is not power that we should lose, but it is character. How should we stand when Jeff Davis has turned that corner upon us—abolished slavery, won European sympathy, and established his Confederacy? Bankrupt in character—outwitted in statesmanship. Our record would be, as we entered the sisterhood of nations—"Longed and struggled and begged to be admitted into the partnership of tyrants, and they were kicked out!" And the South would spring into the same arena, bearing on her brow—"She flung away what she thought gainful and honest, in order to gain her independence!" A record better than the gold of California or all the brains of the Yankee.

Righteousness is preservation. You who are not abolitionists do not come to this question as I did—from an interest in these 4,000,000 of black men. I came on this platform from sympathy with the negro. I acknowledge it. You come to this question from an idolatrous regard for the Constitution of '89. But here we stand. On the other side of the ocean is England, holding out, not I think a threat of war—I do not fear it—but holding out to the South the intimation of a willingness, if she will but change her garments, and make herself decent, to take her in charge, and give her assistance and protection. There stands England, the most selfish and treacherous of modern governments. On the other side of the Potomac stands a statesmanship, urged by personal and selfish interests, which cannot be matched, and between them they have but one object—it is in the end to divide the Union.

I do not forget the white man, the 8,000,000 of poor whites, thinking themselves our enemies, but who are really our friends. Their interests are identical with our own. An Alabama slaveholder, sitting with me a year or two ago, said: "In our northern counties they are your friends. A man owns one slave or two slaves, and he eats with them, and sleeps in the same room (they have but one), much as a hired man here eats with the farmer he serves. There is no difference. They are too poor to send their sons north for education. They have no newspapers, and they know nothing but what they are told by us. If you could

get at them, they would be on your side, but we mean you never shall."

In Paris there are 100,000 men whom caricature or epigram can at any time raise to barricade the streets. Whose fault is it that such men exist? The government's; and the government under which such a mass of ignorance exists deserves to be barricaded. The government under which 8,000,000 of people exist, so ignorant that 2,000 politicians and 100,000 aristocrats can pervert them into rebellion, deserves to be rebelled against. In the service of those men I mean, for one, to try to fulfil the pledge my fathers made when they said, "We will guarantee to every State a republican form of government." A privileged class, grown strong by the help and forbearance of the North, plots the establishment of aristocratic government in form as well as essence—conspires to rob the non-slave-holders of their civil rights. This is just the danger our national pledge was meant to meet. Our fathers' honor, national good faith, the cause of free institutions, the peace of the continent, bid us fulfil this pledge—insist on using the right it gives us to preserve the Union.

I mean to fulfil the pledge that free institutions shall be preserved in the several States, and I demand it of the government. I would have them, therefore, announce to the world what they have never yet done. I do not wonder at the want of sympathy on the part of England with us. The South says, "I am fighting for slavery." The North says "I am not fighting against it." Why should England interfere? The people have nothing on which to hang their sympathy.

I would have government announce to the world that we understand the evil which has troubled our peace for seventy years, thwarting the natural tendency of our institutions, sending ruin along our wharves and through our workshops every ten years, poisoning the national conscience. We well know its character. But democracy, unlike other governments, is strong enough to let evils work out their own death—strong enough to face them when they reveal their proportions. It was in this sublime consciousness of strength, not of weakness, that our fathers submitted to the well-known evil of

slavery, and tolerated, until the viper we thought we could safely tread on, at the touch of disappointment starts up a fiend whose stature reaches the sky. But our cheeks do not blanch. Democracy accepts the struggle. After this forbearance of three generations, confident that she has yet power to execute her will, she sends her proclamation down to the Gulf—freedom to every man beneath the stars, and death to every institution that disturbs our peace or threatens the future of the republic.

The following is an extract from his oration on Garrison:

His was an earnestness that would take no denial, that consumed opposition in the intensity of its convictions, that knew nothing but right. As friend after friend gathered slowly, one by one, to his side, in that very meeting of a dozen heroic men to form the New England Anti-slavery Society, it was his compelling hand, his resolute unwillingness to temper or qualify the utterance, that finally dedicated that first organized movement to the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He seems to have understood—this boy without experience—he seems to have understood by instinct that righteousness is the only thing which will finally compel submission; that one, with God, is always a majority. He seems to have known it at the very outset, taught of God, the herald and champion, God-endowed and God-sent to arouse a nation, that only by the most absolute assertion of the uttermost truth, without qualification or compromise, can a nation be waked to conscience or strengthened for duty. No man ever understood so thoroughly—not O'Connell nor Cobden—the nature and needs of that *agitation* which alone, in our day, reforms states. In the darkest hour he never doubted the omnipotence of conscience and the moral sentiment.

And then look at the unquailing courage with which he faced the successive obstacles that confronted him! Modest, believing at the outset that America could not be as corrupt as she seemed, he waits at the door of the churches, importunes leading clergymen, begs for a voice from the sanctuary, a consecrated

protest from the pulpit. To his utter amazement, he learns, by thus probing it, that the Church will give him no help, but, on the contrary, surges into the movement in opposition. Serene, though astounded by the unexpected revelation, he simply turns his footsteps, and announces that "a Christianity which keeps peace with the oppressor is no Christianity," and goes on his way to supplant the religious element which the Church had allied with sin by a deeper religious faith. Yes, he sets himself to work—this stripling with his sling confronting the angry giant in complete steel, this solitary evangelist—to make Christians of 20,000,000 of people! I am not exaggerating. You know, older men, who can go back to that period; I know that when one, kindred to a voice that you have heard to-day, whose pathway Garrison's bloody feet had made easier for the treading, when he uttered in a pulpit in Boston only a few strong words, injected in the course of a sermon, his venerable father, between seventy and eighty years, was met the next morning and his hand shaken by a much-moved friend. "Colonel, you have my sympathy. I cannot tell you how much I pity you." "What," said the brusque old man, "what is your pity?" "Well, I hear your son went crazy at 'Church Green' yesterday." Such was the utter indifference. At that time bloody feet had smoothed the pathway for other men to tread. Still, then and for years afterwards, insanity was the only kind-hearted excuse that partial friends could find for sympathy with such a madman!

Phipps, SIR WILLIAM, royal governor; born in Pemaquid (now Bristol), Me., Feb. 2, 1631; was one of twenty-six children by the same father and mother, twenty-one of whom were sons. Nurtured in comparative poverty in childhood and youth, he was at first a shepherd-boy, and at eighteen years of age became an apprentice to a ship-carpenter. He went to Boston in 1673, where he learned to read and write. In 1684 he went to England to procure means to recover a treasure-ship wrecked near the Bahamas. With a ship furnished by the government, he was unsuccessful; but with another furnished by the Duke of Albemarle, he recovered

treasure to the amount of about \$1,400,000, of which his share amounted to about \$75,000. The King knighted him, and he was appointed high sheriff of New England. In 1690, in command of a fleet, he captured Port Royal (Acadia), and late in the same year he led an unsuccessful expedition against Quebec. Phipps went to England in 1692 to solicit another expedition against Canada. There he was appointed captain-general and governor of Massachusetts under a new royal charter, just issued, and he returned in May of that year, bringing the charter with him. In 1694 he was summoned to England to answer charges preferred against him, and there he died of a malignant fever, Feb. 18, 1695. Sir William was a member of the congregation over which Cotton Mather preached. He was dull of intellect, rudely educated, egotistical, superstitious, headstrong, and patriotic, but totally unfitted for statesmanship or to be a leader in civil or military affairs.

Pickens, ANDREW, military officer; born in Paxton, Bucks co., Pa., Sept. 19, 1739. His parents, who were of Huguenot descent, went to South Carolina in 1752.



ANDREW PICKENS.

Andrew served in the Cherokee War in 1761, and at the beginning of the Revolutionary War was made a captain of militia and soon rose to the rank of brigadier-general. He, with Marion and Sum-

PICKENS

ter, by their zeal and boldness, kept alive the spirit of resistance in the South when Cornwallis overran South Carolina. He performed excellent service in the field during the war, and for his conduct at the battle of the Cowpens Congress voted him a sword. He led the Carolina militia in the battle of Eutaw Springs, and, in 1782, a successful expedition against the Cherokees. From the close of the war till 1793 he was in the South Carolina legislature, and was in Congress from 1793 to 1795. In the latter year he was made major-general of militia, and was in the legislature from 1801 to 1812. A treaty made by him with the Cherokees obtained from the latter the region of South Carolina now known as Pendleton and Greenville districts, and he settled in the former district, where he died Aug. 17, 1817.

Pickens, FRANCIS WILKINSON, diplomatist; born in St. Paul's parish, S. C., April 7, 1805; became a lawyer, and was



FRANCIS WILKINSON PICKENS.

a distinguished debater in the South Carolina legislature during the nullification excitement. He spoke and wrote much against the claim that Congress might abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He was minister to Russia (1857-60); and when South Carolina declared its secession from the Union, he was elected the first governor, or president, of that "sovereign nation." He held the office until 1862. Governor Pickens was a successful planter, of great wealth, and was popular in his State as a speaker before

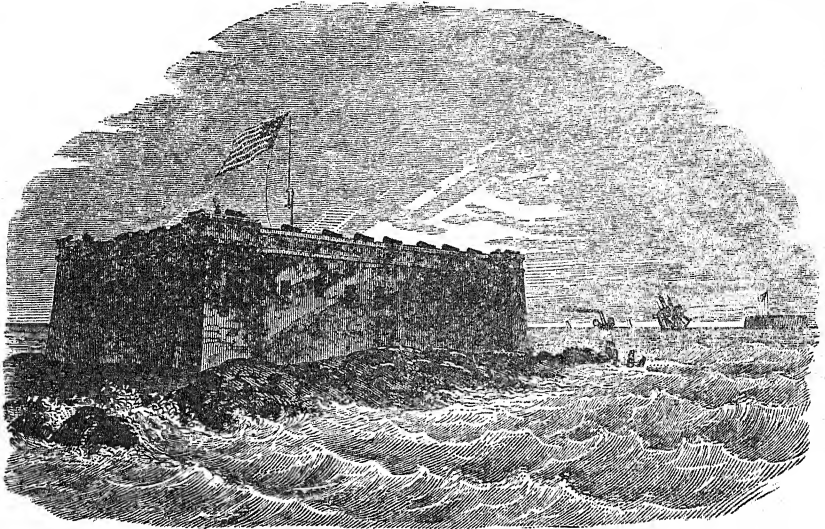
colleges and literary institutions. He died in Edgefield, S. C., Jan. 25, 1869.

Pickens, Fort, a defensive work on Santa Rosa Island, commanding the entrance to the harbor of Pensacola Bay. At the beginning of the Civil War, nearly opposite, but a little farther seaward, on a low sand-pit, was Fort McRae. Across from Fort Pickens, on the main, was Fort Barrancas, built by the Spaniards, and taken from them by General Jackson. Nearly a mile eastward of the Barrancas was the navy-yard, then in command of Commodore Armstrong. Before the Florida ordinance of secession was passed (Jan. 10, 1861) the governor (Perry) made secret preparations with the governor of Alabama to seize all the national property within the domain of Florida—namely, Fort Jefferson, at the Garden Key, Tortugas; Fort Taylor, at Key West; Forts Pickens, McRae, and Barrancas, and the navy-yard near Pensacola. Early in January the commander of Fort Pickens (Lieut. Adam J. Slemmer), a brave Pennsylvanian, heard rumors that the fort was to be attacked, and he took immediate measures to save it and the other forts near. He called on Commodore Armstrong (Jan. 7) and asked his co-operation, but having no special order to do so, he declined. On the 9th Slemmer received instructions from his government to use all diligence for the protection of the forts, and Armstrong was ordered to co-operate with Slemmer. It was feared that the small garrison could not hold more than one fort, and it was resolved that it should be Pickens. It was arranged for Armstrong to send the little garrison at the Barrancas on a vessel to Fort Pickens. Armstrong failed to do his part, but Slemmer, with great exertions, had the troops of Barrancas carried over to Pickens, with their families and much of the ammunition. The guns bearing upon Pensacola Bay at the Barrancas were spiked; but the arrangement for the vessels of war *Wyandotte* and *Supply* to anchor near Fort Pickens was not carried out. To Slemmer's astonishment, these vessels were ordered away to carry coal and stores to the home squadron on the Mexican coast. On the 10th the navy-yard near Pensacola was surrendered to Florida and Alabama troops, and these prepared to

PICKENS, FORT

bring guns to bear upon Pickens and Fort Barrancas. Slemmer was now left to his own resources. His was the strongest fort in the Gulf, but his garrison consisted of only eighty-one officers and men. These labored unceasingly to put everything in working

a new line of policy was adopted. The government resolved to reinforce with men and supplies both Sumter and Pickens. Between April 6 and 9 the steamers *Atlantic* and *Illinois* and the United States steam frigate *Powhatan* left New



FORTS PICKENS AND McRAE

order. Among the workers were the heroic wives of Lieutenants Slemmer and Gilmore, refined and cultivated women, whose labors at this crisis form a part of the history of Fort Pickens. On the 12th Captain Randolph, Major Marks, and Lieutenant Rutledge appeared, and, in the name of the governor of Florida, demanded a peaceable surrender of the fort. It was refused. "I recognize no right of any governor to demand the surrender of United States property," said Slemmer. On the 15th Col. William H. Chase, a native of Massachusetts, in command of all the insurgent troops in Florida, accompanied by Farrand, of the navy-yard near Pensacola, appeared, and, in friendly terms, begged Slemmer to surrender, and not be "guilty of allowing fraternal blood to flow." On the 18th Chase demanded the surrender of the fort, and it was refused. Then began the siege.

When President Lincoln's administration came into power (March 4, 1861)

York for Fort Pickens with troops and supplies. LIEUT. JOHN L. WORDEN (*q. v.*) was sent by land with an order to Captain Adams, of the *Sabine*, then in command of a little squadron off Port Pickens, to throw reinforcements into that work at once. Braxton Bragg was then in command of all the Confederate forces in the vicinity, with the commission of brigadier-general; and Captain Ingraham, late of the United States navy, was in command of the navy-yard near Pensacola. Bragg had arranged with a sergeant of the garrison to betray the fort on the night of April 11, for which service he was to be rewarded with a large sum of money and a commission in the Confederate army. He had seduced a few of his companions into complicity in his scheme. A company of 1,000 Confederates were to cross over in a steamboat and escalate the fort when the sergeant and his companions would be on guard. The plot was revealed to Slemmer by a loyal

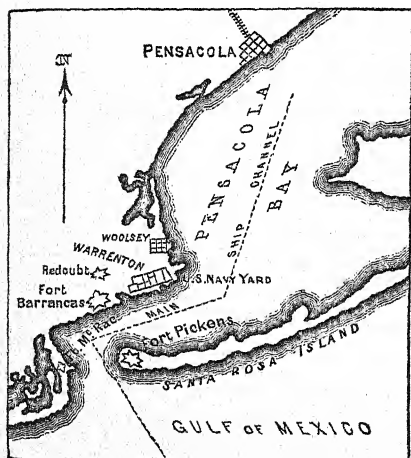
PICKENS—PICKERING

man in the Confederate camp named Richard Wilcox, and the catastrophe was averted by the timely reinforcement of the fort by marines and artillerymen under Captain Vogdes. A few days afterwards the *Atlantic* and *Illinois* arrived with several hundred troops under the command of Col. Henry Brown, with ample supplies of food and munitions of war; and Lieutenant Slemmer and his almost exhausted little garrison were sent to Fort Hamilton, New York, to rest. By May 1 there was a formidable force of insurgents menacing Fort Pickens, numbering nearly 7,000, arranged in three divisions. The first, on the right, was composed of Mississippians, under Col. J. R. Chalmers; the second was composed of Alabamians and a Georgia regiment, under Colonel Clayton; and the third was made up of Louisianians, Georgians, and a Florida regiment—the whole commanded by Colonel Gladdin. There were also 500 troops at Pensacola, and General Bragg was commander-in-chief. Reinforcements continued to be sent to Fort Pickens, and in June Wilson's *Zouaves*, from New York, were encamped on Santa Rosa Island, on which Fort

Pickering, TIMOTHY, statesman; born in Salem, Mass., July 17, 1745; graduated at Harvard College in 1763; and admitted to the bar in 1768. He was the leader



TIMOTHY PICKERING.



MAP OF PENSACOLA BAY.

Pickens stands. During the ensuing summer nothing of great importance occurred in connection with Fort Pickens, and other efforts afterwards made by the Confederates to capture it failed.

of the Essex Whigs in the controversy preceding the Revolutionary War; was on the committee of correspondence; and wrote and delivered the address of the people of Salem to Governor Gage, on the occasion of the Boston port bill in 1774. The first armed resistance to British troops was by Pickering, as colonel of militia, in February, 1775, at a drawbridge at Salem, where the soldiers were trying to seize military stores. He was a judge in 1775, and in the fall of 1776 joined Washington, in New Jersey, with his regiment of 700 men. In May, 1777, he was made adjutant-general of the army, and after he had participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, he was appointed a member of the board of war. He succeeded Greene as quartermaster-general in August, 1780, and after the war resided in Philadelphia. In 1786 he was sent to the Wyoming settlement, to adjust difficulties there (see *SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY*; *PENNYMITE AND YANKEE WAR*), where he was personally abused, imprisoned, and put in jeopardy of his life. He was an earnest advocate of the national Constitution, and succeeded Osgood as United States Postmaster-General. In 1794-95 he was Secretary of War and from 1795 to 1800 Secretary of State. Pickering left office poor, and

PICKETT—PIEDMONT

settling on some wild land in Pennsylvania, lived there with his family, in a log hut; but the liberality of friends enabled him to return to Salem in 1801. He was made chief judge of the Essex county court of common pleas in 1802; was United States Senator from 1803 to 1811; and then was made a member of the council. During the War of 1812-15 he was a member of the Massachusetts board of war, and from 1815 to 1817 of Congress. He died in Salem, Mass., Jan. 29, 1829.

Pickett, ALBERT JAMES, historian; born in Anson county, N. C., Aug. 13, 1810; settled with his parents in Autauga county, Ala., in 1818; devoted his time mainly to literature; and participated in the Creek War in 1836. He published a *History of Alabama* (2 volumes). He died in Montgomery, Ala., Oct. 28, 1858.

Pickett, GEORGE EDWARD, military officer; born in Richmond, Va., Jan. 25, 1825; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1846; distinguished

the National army June 25, 1861; and was appointed a colonel of Virginia State troops. He was promoted brigadier-general under Longstreet in 1862, and soon afterwards major-general. He became famous by leading the charge, named after him, in the battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. On that day he carried a hill and entered the lines of the National troops. Though his command was nearly annihilated, his feat is considered the most brilliant one in the history of the Confederate army. In May, 1864, when General Butler tried to take Petersburg, that city was saved by Pickett's brave defence. He died in Norfolk, Va., July 30, 1875. See **GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF**.

Pico, Pio, governor; born in Los Angeles, Cal., May 5, 1801; appointed governor of Northern and Southern California in 1832, and reappointed in 1846. At this time the United States was at war with Mexico, and Pio Pico had instituted a revolution against Mexico in connection with his brothers, Jesus and Andres. Frémont advanced from Northern California and captured Gen. Jesus Pico, who was paroled. While under parole he took part in an insurrection, was discovered, and he was condemned to death, but, at the solicitation of his mother and wife, was pardoned by Frémont. This action on the part of Frémont converted the Picos to the American cause. Pio Pico was the last Mexican governor of California. He died in Los Angeles, Sept. 11, 1894.

Pidansat de Mairobert, MATHIEU FRANÇOIS, author; born in Chaource, France, Feb. 20, 1727; began his literary career at an early age. His publications relating to the United States include *Letters on the True Boundaries of the English and French Possessions in America*; *Some Discussions on the Ancient Boundaries of Acadia*; *English Observations*, etc. He died in Paris, France, March 29, 1779.

Piedmont, BATTLE AT. General Hunter, with 9,000 men, advanced on Staunton, Va., early in June, 1864. At Piedmont, not far from Staunton, he encountered (June 5) an equal force of Confederates, under Generals Jones and McCausland. An obstinate and hard-fought battle ensued, which ended with the day,



G. E. Pickett

himself in the Mexican War, taking part in most of the important actions; was promoted captain in 1855; resigned from

PIEGAN INDIANS—PIERCE

and resulted in the complete defeat of the Confederates. Their leader, General Jones, was killed by a shot through the head, and 1,500 Confederates were made prisoners. The spoils of victory were battle-flags, three guns, and 3,000 small-arms.

Piegan Indians. See BLACKFEET.

PIERCE, FRANKLIN

Pierce, FRANKLIN, fourteenth President of the United States, from 1853 to 1857; Democrat; born in Hillsboro, N. H., Nov. 23, 1804; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1824; became a lawyer; was admitted to the bar in 1827, and made his permanent residence at Concord in 1838. He was in Congress from 1833 to 1837; United States Senator from 1837 to 1842; served first as colonel of United States Infantry in the war against Mexico, and as brigadier-general, under Scott, in 1847, leading a large reinforcement for that general's army on its march for the Mexican capital. In June, 1852, the Democratic Convention nominated him for President of the United States, and he was elected in November (see CABINET, PRESIDENT'S). President Pierce favored the pro-slavery party in Kansas, and in January, 1856, in a message to Congress, he denounced the formation of a free-State government in Kansas as an act of rebellion. During the Civil War ex-President Pierce was in full sympathy with the Confederate leaders. He died in Concord, N. H., Oct. 8, 1869.

Special Message on Kansas.—On Jan. 24, 1856, President Pierce sent the following message to the Congress on the affairs in Kansas: —

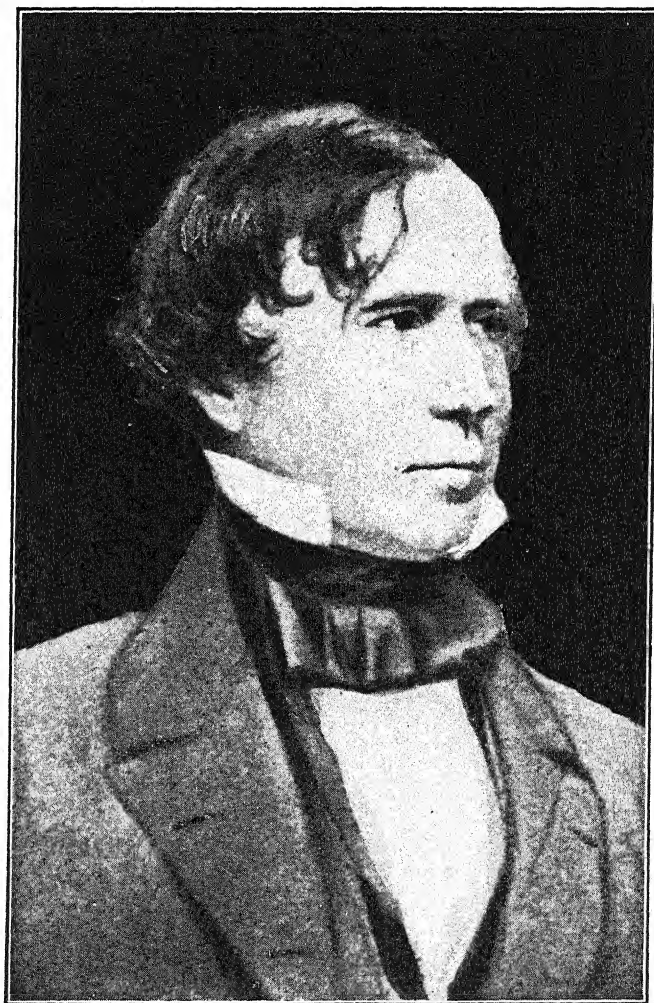
WASHINGTON, Jan. 24, 1856.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,—Circumstances have occurred to disturb the course of governmental organization in the Territory of Kansas, and produce there a condition of things which renders it incumbent on me to call your attention to the subject and urgently to recommend the adoption by you of such measures of legislation as the grave exigencies of the case appear to require.

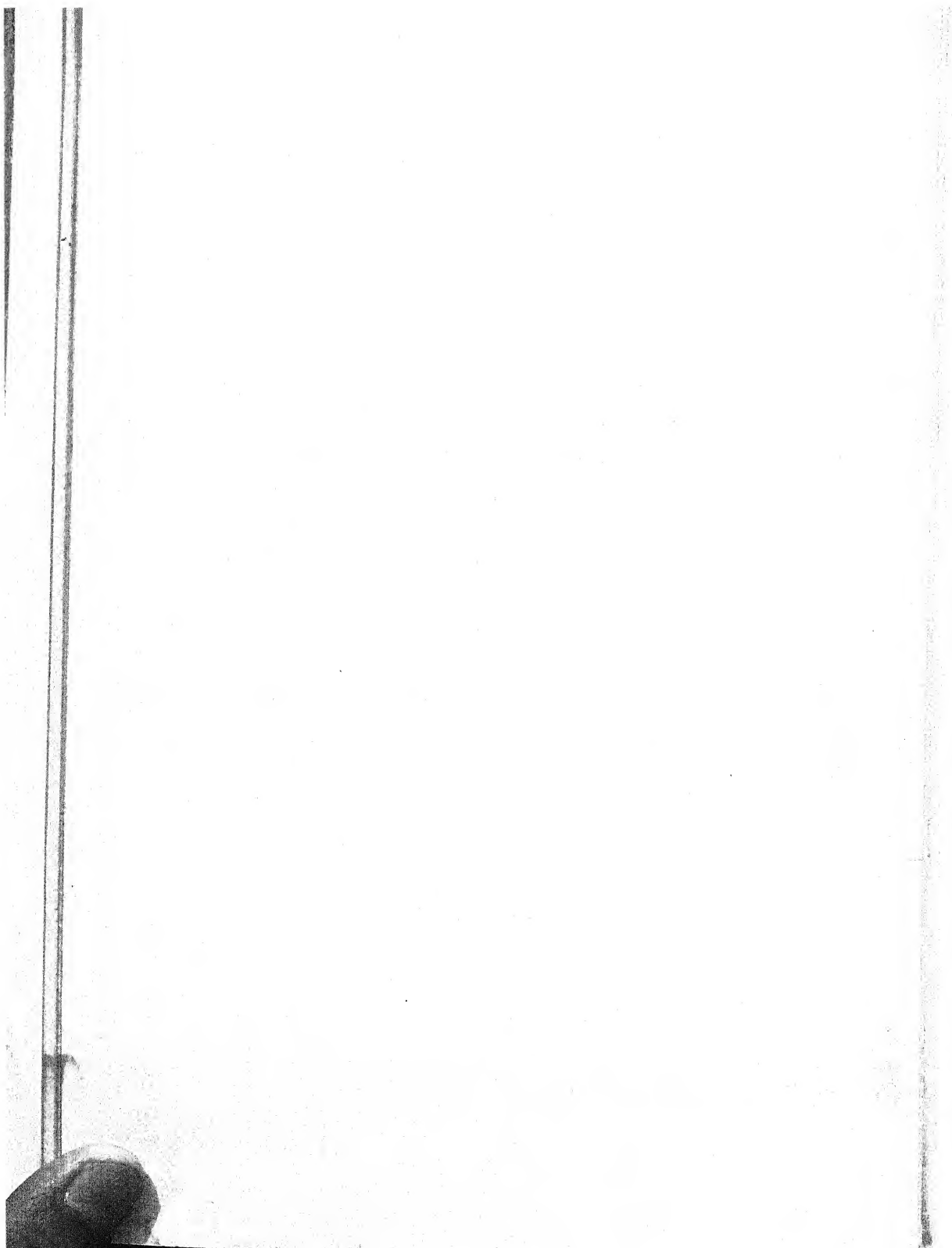
A brief exposition of the circumstances referred to and of their causes will be necessary to the full understanding of the recommendations which it is proposed to submit.

The act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas was a manifestation of the legislative opinion of Congress on two great points of constitutional construction: One, that the designation of the boundaries of a new Territory and provision for its political organization and administration as a Territory are measures which of right fall within the powers of the general government; and the other, that the inhabitants of any such Territory, considered as an incloate State, are entitled, in the exercise of self-government, to determine for themselves what shall be their own domestic institutions, subject only to the Constitution and the laws duly enacted by Congress under it, and to the power of the existing States to decide according to the provisions and principles of the Constitution, at what time the Territory shall be received as a State into the Union. Such are the great political rights which are solemnly declared and affirmed by that act.

Based upon this theory, the act of Congress defined for each Territory the outlines of republican government, distributing public authority among lawfully created agents—executive, judicial, and legislative—to be appointed either by the general government or by the Territory. The legislative functions were intrusted to a council and a House of Representatives, duly elected, and empowered to enact all the local laws which they might deem essential to their prosperity, happiness, and good government. Acting in the same spirit, Congress also defined the persons who were in the first instance to be considered as the people of each Territory, enacting that every free white male inhabitant of the same above the age of twenty-one years, being an actual resident thereof and possessing the qualifications hereafter described, should be entitled to vote at the first election, and be eligible to any office within the Territory, but that the qualification of voters and holding



Franklin Pierce



PIERCE, FRANKLIN

office at all subsequent elections should be such as might be prescribed by the legislative Assembly; provided, however, that the right of suffrage and of holding office should be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who should have declared on oath their intention to become such, and have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of the act; and provided further, that no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached troops in their service, should be allowed to vote or hold office in either Territory by reason of being on service therein.

Such of the public officers of the Territories as by the provisions of the act were to be appointed by the general government, including the governors, were appointed and commissioned in due season, the law having been enacted on May 30, 1854, and the commission of the governor of the Territory of Nebraska being dated Aug. 2, 1854, and of the Territory of Kansas on June 29, 1854. Among the duties imposed by the act on the governors was that of directing and superintending the political organization of the respective Territories.

The governor of Kansas was required to cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the Territory to be taken by such persons and in such mode as he might designate and appoint; to appoint and direct the time and places of holding the first elections, and the manner of conducting them, both as to the persons to superintend such elections and the returns thereof; to declare the number of the members of the council and the House of Representatives for each county or district; to declare what persons might appear to be duly elected, and to appoint the time and place of the first meeting of the legislative Assembly. In substance, the same duties were devolved on the governor of Nebraska.

While by this act the principle of constitution for each of the Territories was one and the same, and the details of organic legislation regarding both were as nearly as could be identical, and while the Territory of Nebraska was tranquilly and successfully organized in the due course of

law, and its first legislative Assembly met on Jan. 16, 1855, the organization of Kansas was long delayed, and has been attended with serious difficulties and embarrassments, partly the consequence of local maladministration, and partly of the unjustifiable interference of the inhabitants of some of the States, foreign by residence, interests, and rights to the Territory.

The governor of the Territory of Kansas, commissioned as before stated, on June 29, 1854, did not reach the designated seat of his government until the 7th of the ensuing October, and even then failed to make the first step in its legal organization, that of ordering the census or enumeration of its inhabitants, until so late a day that the election of the members of the legislative Assembly did not take place until March 30, 1855, nor its meeting until July 2, 1855. So that for a year after the Territory was constituted by the act of Congress and the officers to be appointed by the federal executive had been commissioned it was without a complete government, without any legislative authority, without local law, and, of course, without the ordinary guarantees of peace and public order.

In other respects the governor, instead of exercising constant vigilance and putting forth all his energies to prevent or counteract the tendencies to illegality which are prone to exist in all imperfectly organized and newly associated communities, allowed his attention to be diverted from official obligations by other objects, and himself set an example of the violation of law in the performance of acts which rendered it my duty in the sequel to remove him from the office of chief executive magistrate of the Territory.

Before the requisite preparation was accomplished for election of a Territorial legislature, an election of delegate to Congress had been held in the Territory on Nov. 29, 1854, and the delegate took his seat in the House of Representatives without challenge. If arrangements had been perfected by the governor so that the election for members of the legislative Assembly might be held in the several precincts at the same time as for delegate to Congress, any question appertaining to the qualifications of the persons voting as people of the Territory would have passed

necessarily and at once under the supervision of Congress, as the judge of the validity of the return of the delegate, and would have been determined before conflicting passions had become inflamed by time, and before opportunity could have been afforded for systematic interference of the people of individual States.

This interference, in so far as concerns its primary causes and its immediate commencement, was one of the incidents of that pernicious agitation on the subject of the condition of the colored persons held to service in some of the States which has so long disturbed the repose of our country and excited individuals, otherwise patriotic and law-abiding, to toil with misdirected zeal in the attempt to propagate their social theories by the perversion and abuse of the powers of Congress.

The persons and the parties whom the tenor of the act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas thwarted in the endeavor to impose, through the agency of Congress, their particular views of social organization on the people of the future new States, now perceiving that the policy of leaving the inhabitants of each State to judge for themselves in this respect was ineradicably rooted in the convictions of the people of the Union, then had recourse, in the pursuit of their general object, to the extraordinary measure of propagandist colonization of the Territory of Kansas to prevent the free and natural action of its inhabitants in its internal organization, and thus to anticipate or to force the determination of that question in this inchoate State.

With such views associations were organized in some of the States, and their purposes were proclaimed through the press in language extremely irritating and offensive to those of whom the colonists were to become the neighbors. Those designs and acts had the necessary consequence to awaken emotions of intense indignation in States near to the Territory of Kansas, and especially in the adjoining State of Missouri, whose domestic peace was thus the most directly endangered; but they are far from justifying the illegal and reprehensible counter movements which ensued.

Under these inauspicious circumstances the primary elections for members of the legislative Assembly were held in most, if not all, of the precincts at the time and the places and by the persons designated and appointed by the governor according to law.

Angry accusations that illegal votes had been polled abounded on all sides, and imputations were made both of fraud and violence. But the governor, in the exercise of the power and the discharge of the duty conferred and imposed by law on him alone, officially received and considered the returns, declared a large majority of the members of the council and the house of representatives "duly elected," withheld certificates from others because of alleged illegality of votes, appointed a new election to supply the places of the persons not certified, and thus at length, in all the forms of statute, and with his own official authentication, complete legality was given to the first legislative Assembly of the Territory.

Those decisions of the returning officers and of the governors are final, except that by the parliamentary usage of the country applied to the organic law it may be conceded that each house of the Assembly must have been competent to determine in the last resort the qualifications and the election of its members. The subject was by its nature one appertaining exclusively to the jurisdiction of the local authorities of the Territory. Whatever irregularities may have occurred in the elections, it seems too late now to raise that question. At all events, it is a question as to which, neither now nor at any previous time, has the least possible legal authority been possessed by the President of the United States. For all present purposes the legislative body thus constituted and elected was the legitimate legislative assembly of the Territory.

Accordingly the governor by proclamation convened the Assembly thus elected to meet at a place called Pawnee City; the two houses met and were duly organized in the ordinary parliamentary form; each sent to and received from the governor the official communications usual on such occasions; an elaborate message opening the session was communicated by the governor, and the general business of

legislation was entered upon by the legislative Assembly.

But after a few days the Assembly resolved to adjourn to another place in the Territory. A law was accordingly passed, against the consent of the governor, but in due form otherwise, to remove the seat of government temporarily to the "Shawnee Manual Labor School" (or mission), and thither the Assembly proceeded. After this, receiving a bill for the establishment of a ferry at the town of Kickapoo, the governor refused to sign it, and by special message assigned for reason of refusal not anything objectionable in the bill itself nor any pretence of the illegality or incompetency of the Assembly as such, but only the fact that the Assembly had by its act transferred the seat of government temporarily from Pawnee City to the Shawnee Mission. For the same reason he continued to refuse to sign other bills, until, in the course of a few days, he by official message communicated to the Assembly the fact that he had received notification of the termination of his functions as governor, and that the duties of the office were legally devolved on the secretary of the Territory; thus to the last recognizing the body as a duly elected and constituted legislative Assembly.

It will be perceived that, if any constitutional defect attached to the legislative acts of the Assembly, it is not pretended to consist in irregularity of election or want of qualification of the members, but only in the change of its place of session. However trivial this objection may seem to be, it requires to be considered, because upon it is founded all that superstructure of acts, plainly against law, which now threaten the peace, not only of the Territory of Kansas, but of the Union.

Such an objection to the proceedings of the legislative Assembly was of exceptionable origin, for the reason that by the express terms of the organic law the seat of government of the Territory was "located temporarily at Fort Leavenworth"; and yet the governor himself remained there less than two months, and of his own discretion transferred the seat of government to the Shawnee Mission, where it in fact was at the time the Assembly were called to meet at Pawnee City. If the governor had any such right to change

temporarily the seat of government, still more had the legislative Assembly. The objections are of exceptionable origin, for the further reason that the place indicated by the governor, without having any exclusive claim of preference in itself, was a proposed town site only, which he and others were attempting to locate unlawfully upon land within a military reservation, and for participation in which illegal act the commandant of the post, a superior officer in the army, has been dismissed by sentence of court-martial. Nor is it easy to see why the legislative Assembly might not with propriety pass the Territorial act transferring its sittings to the Shawnee Mission. If it could not, that must be on account of some prohibitory or incompatible provision of act of Congress; but no such provision exists. The organic act, as already quoted, says "the seat of government is hereby located temporarily at Fort Leavenworth"; and it then provides that certain of the public buildings there "may be occupied and used under the direction of the governor and legislative Assembly." These expressions might possibly be construed to imply that when, in a previous section of the act, it was enacted that "the first legislative Assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the governor shall appoint," the word "place" means place at Fort Leavenworth, not place anywhere in the Territory. If so, the governor would have been the first to err in this matter, not only in himself having removed the seat of government to the Shawnee Mission, but in again removing it to Pawnee City. If there was any departure from the letter of the law, therefore, it was his in both instances. But however this may be, it is most unreasonable to suppose that by the terms of the organic act Congress intended to do impliedly what it has not done expressly—that is, to forbid to the legislative Assembly the power to choose any place it might see fit as the temporary seat of its deliberations. This is proved by the significant language of one of the subsequent acts of Congress on the subject—that of March 3, 1855—which, in making appropriation for public buildings of the Territory, enacts that the same shall not be expended "until the legislature of said

Territory shall have fixed by law the permanent seat of government." Congress in these expressions does not profess to be granting the power to fix the permanent seat of government, but recognizes the power as one already granted. But how? Undoubtedly by the comprehensive provision of the organic act itself, which declares that "the legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act." If in view of this act the legislative Assembly had the large power to fix the permanent seat of government at any place in its discretion, of course by the same enactment it had the less and the included power to fix it temporarily.

Nevertheless, the allegation that the acts of the legislative Assembly were illegal by reason of this removal of its place of session was brought forward to justify the first great movement in disregard of law within the Territory. One of the acts of the legislative Assembly provided for the election of a delegate to the present Congress, and a delegate was elected under that law. But subsequently to this a portion of the people of the Territory proceeded without authority of law to elect another delegate.

Following upon this movement was another and more important one of the same general character. Persons confessedly not constituting the body politic or all the inhabitants, but merely a party of the inhabitants, and without law, have undertaken to summon a convention for the purpose of transforming the Territory into a State, and have framed a constitution, adopted it, and under it elected a governor and other officers and a Representative to Congress. In extenuation of these illegal acts it is alleged that the States of California, Michigan, and others were self-organized, and as such were admitted into the Union without a previous enabling act of Congress. It is true that while in a majority of cases a previous act of Congress has been passed to authorize the Territory to present itself as a State, and that this is deemed the most regular course, yet such an act has not been held to be indispensable, and in some cases the Territory has proceeded without it.

and has nevertheless been admitted into the Union as a State. It lies with Congress to authorize beforehand or to confirm afterwards, in its discretion. But in no instance has a State been admitted upon the application of persons acting against authorities duly constituted by act of Congress. In every case it is the people of the Territory, not a party among them, who have the power to form a constitution and ask for admission as a State. No principle of public law, no practice or precedent under the Constitution of the United States, no rule of reason, right, or common-sense, confers any such power as that now claimed by a mere party in the Territory. In fact, what has been done is of revolutionary character. It is avowedly so in motive and in aim as respects the local law of the Territory. It will become treasonable insurrection if it reach the length of organized resistance by force to the fundamental or any other federal law and to the authority of the general government. In such an event the path of duty for the executive is plain. The Constitution requiring him to take care that the laws of the United States be faithfully executed, if they be opposed in the Territory of Kansas he may, and should, place at the disposal of the marshal any public force of the United States which happens to be within the jurisdiction, to be used as a portion of the *posse comitatus*; and if that do not suffice to maintain order, then he may call forth the militia of one or more States for that object, or employ for the same object any part of the land or naval force of the United States. So, also, if the obstruction be to the laws of the Territory, and it be duly presented to him as a case of insurrection, he may employ for its suppression the militia of any State or the land or naval force of the United States. And if the Territory be invaded by the citizens of other States, whether for the purpose of deciding elections or for any other, and the local authorities find themselves unable to repel or withstand it, they will be entitled to, and upon the fact being fully ascertained they shall most certainly receive, the aid of the general government.

But it is not the duty of the President of the United States to volunteer inter-

PIERCE, FRANKLIN

position by force to preserve the purity of elections either in a State or Territory. To do so would be subversive of public freedom. And whether a law be wise or unwise, just or unjust, is not a question for him to judge. If it be constitutional—that is, if it be the law of the land—it is his duty to cause it to be executed, or to sustain the authorities of any State or Territory in executing it in opposition to all insurrectionary movements.

Our system affords no justification of revolutionary acts, for the constitutional means of relieving the people of unjust administration and laws, by a change of public agents and by repeal, are ample, and more prompt and effective than illegal violence. These means must be scrupulously guarded, this great prerogative of popular sovereignty sacredly respected.

It is the undoubted right of the peaceable and orderly people of the Territory of Kansas to elect their own legislative body, make their own laws, and regulate their own social institutions, without foreign or domestic molestation. Interference on the one hand to procure the abolition or prohibition of slave labor in the Territory has produced mischievous interference on the other for its maintenance or introduction. One wrong begets another. Statements entirely unfounded, or grossly exaggerated, concerning events within the Territory are sedulously diffused through remote States to feed the flame of sectional animosity there, and the agitators there exert themselves indefatigably in return to encourage and stimulate strife within the Territory.

The inflammatory agitation, of which the present is but a part, has for twenty years produced nothing save unmitigated evil, North and South. But for it the character of the domestic institutions of the future new State would have been a matter of too little interest to the inhabitants of the contiguous States, personally or collectively, to produce among them any political emotion. Climate, soil, production, hopes of rapid advancement, and the pursuit of happiness on the part of the settlers themselves, with good wishes, but with no interference from without, would have quietly determined the ques-

tion which is at this time of such disturbing character.

But we are constrained to turn our attention to the circumstances of embarrassment as they now exist. It is the duty of the people of Kansas to discountenance every act or purpose of resistance to its laws. Above all, the emergency appeals to the citizens of the States, and especially of those contiguous to the Territory, neither by intervention of non-residents in elections nor by unauthorized military force to attempt to encroach upon or usurp the authority of the inhabitants of the Territory.

No citizen of our country should permit himself to forget that he is a part of its government and entitled to be heard in the determination of its policy and its measures, and that therefore the highest considerations of personal honor and patriotism require him to maintain, by whatever of power or influence he may possess, the integrity of the laws of the republic.

Entertaining these views, it will be my imperative duty to exert the whole power of the federal executive to support public order in the Territory; to vindicate its laws, whether federal or local, against all attempts of organized resistance, and so to protect its people in the establishment of their own institutions, undisturbed by encroachment from without, and in the full enjoyment of the rights of self-government assured to them by the Constitution and the organic act of Congress.

Although serious and threatening disturbances in the Territory of Kansas, announced to me by the governor in December last, were speedily quieted without the effusion of blood and in a satisfactory manner, there is, I regret to say, reason to apprehend that disorders will continue to occur there, with increasing tendency to violence, until some decisive measure be taken to dispose of the question itself which constitutes the inducement or occasion of internal agitation and of external interference.

This, it seems to me, can best be accomplished by providing that when the inhabitants of Kansas may desire it and shall be of sufficient number to constitute a State, a convention of delegates, duly

elected by the qualified voters, shall assemble to frame a constitution, and thus to prepare through regular and lawful means for its admission into the Union as a State.

I respectfully recommend the enactment of a law to that effect.

I recommend also that a special appropriation be made to defray any expense which may become requisite in the execution of the laws for the maintenance of public order in the Territory of Kansas.

Pierce, FREDERICK CLIFTON, author; born in Worcester county, Mass., July 30, 1858; received an academic education; settled in Illinois in 1880; was connected in various capacities with Chicago newspapers. His publications include *History of Grafton, Mass.*; *History of Barre, Mass.*; *History of Rockford, Ill.*; and numerous family genealogies.

Pierrepont, EDWARDS, diplomatist; born in North Haven, Conn., March 4, 1817; graduated at Yale in 1837; removed to New York in 1845; elected judge of the Superior Court of New York in 1857; appointed one of the counsel for the prosecution of John H. Surratt, indicted for complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln. General Grant appointed him United States attorney for the Southern District of New York in 1869. In 1875 he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States, which office he resigned in 1876, on his appointment as minister to Great Britain, where he remained till 1878. He died in New York City, March 6, 1892.

Pierron, JEAN. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Pierson, ABRAHAM, first president of Yale College; born in Lynn, Mass., in 1641; graduated at Harvard College in 1668; ordained a colleague of his father, at Newark, N. J., in March, 1672; and from 1694 till his death was minister of Killingworth, Conn. He was president of Yale College in 1700-7. He died in Killingworth, Conn., March 7, 1707. His father, ABRAHAM (born in Yorkshire, England, in 1608; died in Newark, N. J., Aug. 9, 1678), was one of the first settlers of Newark (1667), and was the first minister in that town. He also preached to the Long Island Indians in their own language.

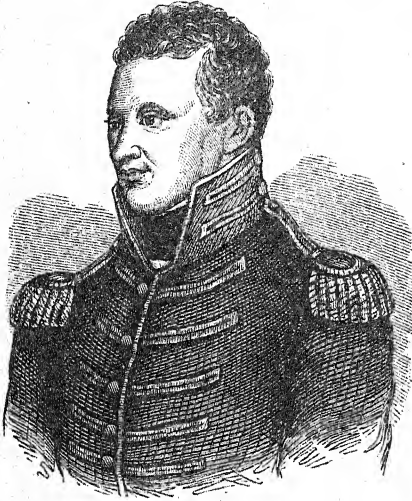
Pike, ALBERT, lawyer; born in Boston, Mass., Dec. 29, 1809. At the age of sixteen years he entered Harvard College, but, unable to support himself there, he taught school at Newburyport and Fairhaven, and in 1831 travelled (mostly on foot) to St. Louis, where he joined an expedition to New Mexico, acting as merchant's clerk and peddler in Santa Fé. Roving with trappers awhile, he became editor and proprietor of a newspaper in Arkansas in 1834, and in 1836 was admitted to the bar. He was an advocate for State supremacy; served in the war against Mexico in command of Arkansas cavalry; and in the Civil War he organized and led a body of Cherokee Indians in the battle of PEA RIDGE (q. v.). After the war he edited the *Memphis Appeal* for a while. A collection of his poems was printed in Philadelphia, in 1854. He was a Free Mason of high degree. He died in Washington, D. C., April 2, 1891.

Pike, JAMES SHEPHERD, diplomatist; born in Calais, Me., Sept. 8, 1811; received a common school education; was associate editor of the *New York Tribune* in 1850-60; exercised a strong influence in uniting the anti-slavery parties in his native State; and was minister to Holland in 1861-66. His publications include *A Prostrate State*; *The Restoration of the Currency*; *The Financial Crisis, its Evils and their Remedy*; *Horace Greeley in 1872*; *The New Puritan*; and *The First Blows of the Civil War*. He died in Calais, Me., Nov. 24, 1882.

Pike, ZEBULON MONTGOMERY, military officer; born in Lamberton, N. J., Jan. 5, 1779; was appointed a cadet in the regiment of his father (a captain in the army of the Revolution) and brevet lieutenant-colonel United States army when twenty years of age. He was made captain in 1806, and was appointed to lead an expedition in search of the sources of the Mississippi River, which performed the required duties satisfactorily in eight months and twenty days of most fatiguing explorations. In 1806-7 he was engaged in a geographical exploration of Louisiana, when he was seized by the Spaniards, taken to Santa Fé, and, after a long examination and the seizure of his papers, was escorted to Natchitoches (July 1, 1807) and dismissed. The government

PIKEVILLE—PILGRIM FATHERS

rewarded him with a major's commission (May, 1808). Passing through the various grades, he was commissioned brigadier-general March 12, 1813. Early in



ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE.

that year he had been appointed adjutant and inspector-general of the army on the northern frontier. He was killed in an attack upon York, Upper Canada, April 27, 1813.

Pikeville, BATTLE NEAR. Gen. William Nelson was in command of about 3,000 loyalists in eastern Kentucky in November, 1861. About 1,000 Confederates, under Col. J. S. Williams, were at Pikeville, the capital of Pike county, Ky. Nelson sent Colonel Sill, with Ohio and Kentucky troops, to gain the rear of Williams, while, with the remainder, he should attack his front. A battalion of Kentucky volunteers, under Col. C. A. Marshall, moved in advance of Nelson. On the 9th these were attacked by Confederates in ambush, and a battle ensued, which lasted about an hour and a half, when the Confederates fled, leaving thirty of their number dead on the field. Nelson lost six killed and twenty-four wounded. He did not pursue, as he had no cavalry. Williams fled to the mountains at Pound Gap, carrying with him a large number of cattle and other spoils.

VII.—O

Pilgrim Fathers, THE. At the middle of the sixteenth century the social condition of the people of England was very primitive, and their wants were few. The common people lived in cottages built of wooden frames filled in with clay; their houses were without wooden floors; and in many of them the fireplaces were constructed in the middle of the rooms without chimneys, a hole being left in the roof for the escape of the smoke. The windows were not glazed, and were closed against the weather, and the light was allowed to enter by means of oiled paper. Such was the plain condition of the houses of the Puritans of New England. In England in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign pallets of straw served for beds of the common people, who had coverings made of rough mats, and their pillows were logs. This was regarded as a good bed, for many slept in straw alone. Very few vegetables were then cultivated, for gardening had not yet been generally introduced from Holland, and gardens were cultivated only for the rich, and these chiefly for ornament. The common material for bread was the unbolted flour of oats, rye, and barley; and sometimes, when these were scarce (afterwards in New England), they were mixed with ground acorns. Even this black bread was sometimes denied them, and flesh was the principal diet. Their forks and ploughs were made of wood, and these, with a hoe and spade, constituted the bulk of their agricultural implements. Their spoons and platters were made chiefly of wood, and table-forks were unknown. It is said that glazed windows were so scarce, and regarded as so much of a luxury, that noblemen, when they left their country-houses to go to court, had their glazed windows packed away carefully with other precious furniture. Chimneys had been introduced into England early in the sixteenth century.

The non-conformist English refugees in Holland under the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Robinson, yearning for a secluded asylum from persecution under the English government, proposed to go to Virginia and settle there in a distinct body under the general government of that colony. They sent Robert Cushman and John Carver to England in 1617 to treat with the Lon-

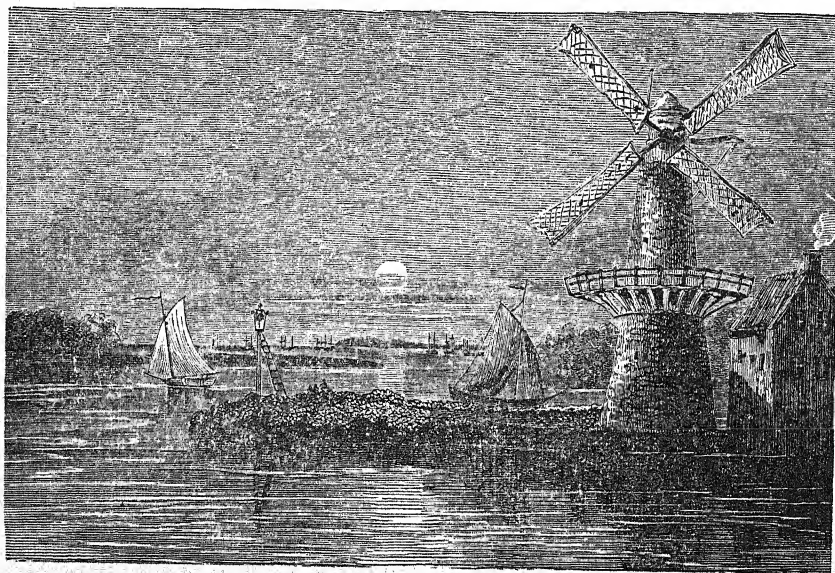
PILGRIM FATHERS, THE

den Company, and to ascertain whether the King would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. The company were anxious to have these people settle in Virginia, and offered them ample privileges, but the King would not promise not to molest them. These agents returned to Leyden. The discouraged refugees sent other agents to England in February, 1619, and finally made an arrangement with the company and with London merchants and others for their settlement in Virginia, and they at once prepared for the memorable voyage in the *Mayflower* in 1620. Several of the congregation at Leyden sold their estates and made a common bank, which, with the aid of their London partners, enabled them to purchase the *Speedwell*, a ship of 60 tons, and to hire in England the *Mayflower*, a ship of 180 tons, for the intended voyage. They left Delft Haven for England in the *Speedwell* (July, 1620), and in August sailed from Southampton, but, on account of the leakiness of the ship, were twice compelled to return to port. Dismissing this unseaworthy vessel, 101 of the number who came from Leyden sailed in the *Mayflower*, Sept. 6 (O. S.). These included the "Pilgrim Fathers," so called.

The following are the names of the forty-one persons who signed the constitution of government on board the *Mayflower*, and are known as the Pilgrim Fathers: John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, Myles Standish, John Alden, Samuel Fuller, Christopher Martin, William Mullins, William White, Richard Warren, John Howland, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilley, John Tilley, Francis Cook, Thomas Rogers, Thomas Tinker, John Ridgedale, Edward Fuller, John Turner, Francis Eaton, James Chilton, John Crackston, John Billington, Moses Fletcher, John Goodman, Degory Priest, Thomas Williams, Gilbert Winslow, Edward Margeson, Peter Brown, Richard Britteridge, George Soule, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardiner, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doty, Edward Lister. Each subscriber placed opposite his name the number of his family.

The following is the text of the agreement which was signed on the lid of Elder Brewster's chest (see BREWSTER, WILLIAM):

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are hereunto written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King



DELFT HAVEN.

PILGRIM FATHERS, THE

James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement

have long safely lain. Nearly all the company went ashore, glad to touch land after the long voyage. They first fell on their knees, and thanked God for the pres-

Edo: Winslow
Wittm Brewster
Fogn Winylow
Thomas Cuyhucen
Mathamill Weston.
Tho: Drence

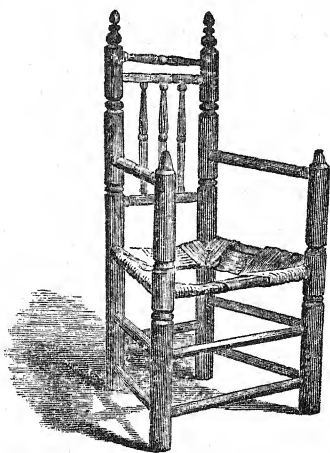
Nyles Standish
Isaac Allerton
John Bradford
Consbuck Southworth
William Bradford
Tho: Southworth

HANDWRITING OF THE PILGRIMS.

of the Christian Faith, and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitution, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November [O. S.], in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620."

The *Mayflower* first anchored in Cape Cod Bay, just within the cape, on Nov. 21 (N. S.), in what is now the harbor of Provincetown, the only windward port for many a league where the vessel could

ervation of their lives. The waters were shallow, and they had waded ashore—the men to explore the country, the women



OLD RELIC FROM THE MAYFLOWER.

to wash their clothes after the long voyage.

The spot chosen by a party of explorers

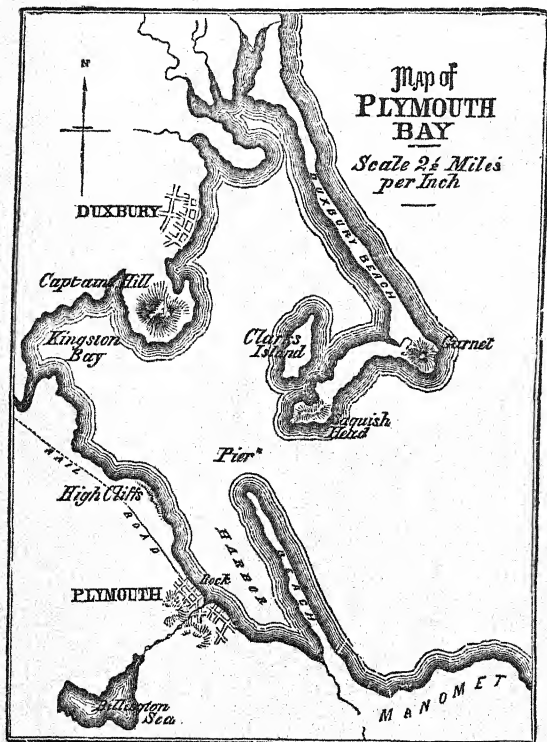
PILGRIM FATHERS, THE

for the permanent landing-place of the passengers on the *Mayflower* was selected about Dec. 20, 1620, where New Plymouth was built. From about the middle of December until the 25th the weather was stormy, and the bulk of the passengers remained on the ship, while some of the men built a rude shelter to receive them. On the 25th a greater portion of the passengers went on shore to visit the spot chosen for their residence, when, tradition

the ship were confined in foul air, with unwholesome food. Scurvy and other diseases appeared among them, and when, late in March, the last passenger landed from the *Mayflower*, nearly one-half the colonists were dead.

The lands of the Plymouth Colony were held in common by the "Pilgrims" and their partners, the London merchants. In 1627 the "Pilgrims" sent Isaac Allerton to England to negotiate for the purchase

of the shares of the London adventurers, with their stock, merchandise, lands, and chattels. He did so for \$9,000, payable in nine years in equal annual instalments. Some of the principal persons of the colony became bound for the rest, and a partnership was formed, into which was admitted the head of every family, and every young man of age and prudence. It was agreed that every single free-man should have one share; and every father of a family have leave to purchase one share for himself, one for his wife, and one for every child living with him; that every one should pay his part of the public debt according to the number of his shares. To every share twenty acres of arable land were assigned by lot; to every six shares, one cow and two goats, and swine in the same proportion. This agreement was made in full court, Jan. 3, 1628. The joint-stock or community system was then abandoned, a division of the movable prop-



says, Mary Chilton and John Alden, both young persons, first sprang upon Plymouth Rock from the boat that conveyed them.

Most of the women and children remained on board the *Mayflower* until suitable log huts were erected for their reception, and it was March 21, 1621, before they were all landed. Those on shore were exposed to the rigors of winter weather and insufficient food, though the winter was a comparatively mild one. Those on

erty was made, and twenty acres of land nearest to the town were assigned in fee to each colonist. See PLYMOUTH, New.

Gov. WILLIAM BRADFORD (*q. v.*) wrote a *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, of which the following is an extract:

The Pilgrims' Arrival at Cape Cod.—Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had



PILGRIM FATHERS—PILLOW

brought them over ye vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadful was ye same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weather-beaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwrecked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt cuntry know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & wildd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pishah, to vew from this wildernes a more goodly cuntry to feed their hops; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and ye whole cuntry, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them; ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them

from all ye civill parts of ye world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr. & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilddernes; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therefore praise ye Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of ye Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from ye hand of ye oppressour. When they wandered in ye deserte wilddernes out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their soule was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before ye Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderful works before ye sons of men.*

Pillow, Fort, a defensive work erected by the Confederates on the Mississippi River at Chickasaw Bluff, above Memphis, Tenn. It was occupied by a National force on June 5, 1862. In 1864 it was garrisoned by about 550 men, including 260 colored soldiers, under the command of Maj. L. F. Booth. Forrest approached the fort on the morning of

PILLOW—PINCKNEY

April 13, drove in the pickets, and began an assault. A sharp battle ensued. About nine o'clock Major Booth was killed, and the command devolved on Major Bradford. The whole force was then called within the fort, and the fight was maintained until past noon. Meanwhile the gunboat *New Era*, of the Mississippi squadron, lying near, had taken part in the defence of the fort, but the height of the bank prevented her doing much execution. Forrest sent a flag to demand an instant surrender. While negotiations were going on Forrest sent large numbers of his troops to favorable positions for attack, which could not have been gained while the garrison was free to fight. By this trick he gained a great advantage. Bradford refused to surrender, and Forrest gave a signal, when his men sprang from their hiding-places, which they had gained by treachery, and, with a cry of "No quarter!" pounced upon the fort at different points, and in a few moments were in possession of it.

Generals Forrest and Chalmers entered the fort simultaneously from opposite sides. The surprised and overwhelmed garrison threw down their arms. Some of them attempted to escape down the steep bank of the river or to find concealment in the bushes. The conquerors followed and butchered the defenceless men, who begged for quarter. Within the fort like scenes were exhibited. Soldiers and civilians—men, women, and children, white and black—were indiscriminately slaughtered. The massacre continued until night, and was renewed in the morning. Fully 300 were murdered in cold blood. Major Bradford, who was a native of a slave-labor State, was a special object of Forrest's hatred. He regarded him as "a traitor to the South." While on his way towards Jackson, Tenn., as a prisoner of war, the day after the Confederates left Fort Pillow, the major was taken from the line of march and deliberately murdered. So testified one of Forrest's cavalry before a congressional committee. Forrest had determined to strike terror in the minds of colored troops and their leaders. This seemed to be his chosen method. Maj. Charles W. Gibson, of Forrest's command, said to the late Benson J. Lossing, "Forrest's motto was, *War means fight, and*

fight means kill—we want but few prisoners."

Pillow, GIDEON JOHNSON, military officer; born in Williams county, Tenn., June 8, 1806; graduated at the University of Nashville; studied law, and rose to the front rank in his profession. At the head of a brigade of Tennessee volunteers he joined General Scott at Vera Cruz in 1847, and performed gallant service throughout the war against Mexico. Scott made serious charges against him, but a court of inquiry acquitted him and left his fame untarnished. In 1861 he was commissioned a major-general of Tennessee militia, and also a brigadier-general in the Confederate army; but his military career was cut short early in 1862 by his conduct at Fort Donelson. He died in Lee county, Ark., Oct. 6, 1878. See **DONELSON, FORT**.

Pinckney, CHARLES, statesman; born in Charleston, S. C., in 1758; was made prisoner at the capture of Charleston (1780), and sent to St. Augustine; was a member of Congress from 1784 to 1787; and a member of the convention that framed the national Constitution in the latter year. He was governor of South Carolina (1789-92, 1796-98, and 1806-8); United States Senator from 1798 to 1801, and minister to Spain from 1802 to 1805, when he negotiated a release from that power of all claims to the territory purchased by the United States from France. In Congress, from 1819 to 1821, he was an opponent of the Missouri Compromise. He died in Charleston, S. C., Oct. 29, 1824. See **LOUISIANA**.

Pinckney, CHARLES COTESWORTH, statesman; born in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 25, 1746; son of Chief-Justice Charles Pinckney; educated in England; read law in London; passed nine months in a military academy in France, and returning in 1769 began the practice of law. He was a member of the first Provincial Congress of South Carolina, and was made colonel of a regiment. After the defence of Fort Sullivan he joined the army in the North, and was aide to Washington in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He was engaged in the unsuccessful expedition into Florida in 1778, and the next year presided over the State Senate of South Carolina. On the surren-

PINCKNEY—PINE BLUFF

der of Charleston (May, 1780), he was made a prisoner, and suffered cruel treatment until exchanged early in 1782. He was made brigadier-general in November, 1783, and in 1787 was a member of the convention that framed the national Constitution. In July, 1796, he was appointed minister to the French Republic, but the French Directory, failing to bribe him into a compliance with their demands, ordered him to leave the country, when he withdrew to Amsterdam in February, 1797. While abroad he uttered the phrase, "Millions for defence; not one cent for tribute!" General Washington created him a major-general on his return home. In 1800 he was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States; and in 1804 and 1808 for the Presidency, each time as a Federalist. He died in Charleston, S. C., Aug. 16, 1825.

Pinckney, THOMAS, diplomatist; born in Charleston, S. C., Oct. 23, 1750; educated in England, and was admitted to the bar in 1770. He joined the army in 1775; became a major and aide to General Lincoln, and afterwards to Count d'Estaing in the siege of Savannah. He was distinguished in the battle at Stono Fer-

sent as minister to Great Britain, and in 1794 to Spain, where he negotiated the treaty of St. Ildefonso, which secured

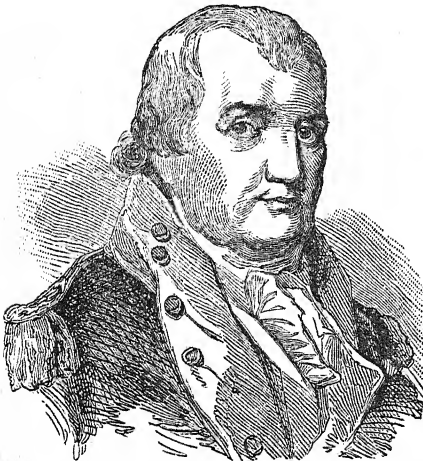


THOMAS PINCKNEY.

to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi River. In 1799 he was a member of Congress, and in March, 1812, President Madison appointed him commander of the Sixth Military District. His last military service was under General Jackson at the last decisive battle with the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend. He died in Charleston, S. C., Nov. 2, 1828.

Pine, ROBERT EDGE, painter; born in London, England, in 1730 or 1742; gained considerable reputation in England before he came to America at the close of the Revolution. In Philadelphia he exhibited the first cast of the *Venus de' Medici* ever seen in America. He was befriended by Francis Hopkinson, and painted from life, at Mount Vernon, a portrait of Washington. He also painted portraits of other worthies of the period of the Revolution. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 19, 1788.

Pine Bluff, BATTLE AT. Fifty miles below Little Rock, on the south side of the Arkansas River, is Pine Bluff, the county seat of Jefferson county, Ark. In October, 1863, it was occupied by Col. Powell Clayton, with about 350 men and four guns. Marmaduke attempted to capture it with over 2,000 men and twelve



CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

ry, and was aide to General Gates in the battle near Camden, where he was wounded and made prisoner. In 1792 he was

PINE-TREE FLAG—PINZON

guns. He advanced upon the post in three columns. Clayton had just been reinforced by Indiana cavalry, making the number of his fighting men about 600. About 200 negroes had built barricades of cotton-bales in the streets. The attack was made (Oct. 25) by Marmaduke, and was kept up for about five hours. The Confederates were repulsed with a loss of 183 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; the Nationals lost 57, of whom 17 were killed. The town was badly shattered, and the court-house and many dwellings were laid in ashes.

Pine-tree Flag, a flag with a pine-tree in a white centre, used by New England at the commencement of the Revolution.

Pine-tree Money. The earliest rude coinage of sixpence and shillings was made in Massachusetts. The pieces bore on one side a representation of a pine-tree.

Pinkney, WILLIAM, statesman; born in Annapolis, Md., March 17, 1764. His father, an Englishman, was a loyalist in the Revolution, but the son espoused its principles. He studied law with Judge Chase, and was admitted to practice in

that ratified the national Constitution. After serving a term in the Maryland legislature, he was elected to a seat in Congress, but declined the honor on account of the state of his private affairs. In 1796 he was appointed one of the commissioners in London under Jay's treaty, and obtained for the State of Maryland a claim on the Bank of England for \$800,000. Pinkney was made attorney-general of his State in 1805, and the next year he was sent to England as commissioner to treat with the British government in conjunction with James Monroe. He was minister there from 1807 to 1811, and in the autumn of the latter year was chosen to his State Senate from Baltimore. From December, 1811, until 1814, he was United States Attorney-General. In the latter year he entered the military service to repel a British invasion of his State, and was severely wounded in the battle of Bladensburg. Again in Congress (1815-16), he took a leading part. In 1816 he went to Naples as special minister there, and became minister at St. Petersburg, whence he returned home in 1818. From 1820 until his death he held a seat in the United States Senate. In that body he opposed the admission of Missouri into the Union under the terms of the compromise. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 25, 1822.

Pinzon, MARTIN ALONZO, navigator; born in Palos de Moguer, Spain, in 1441; accompanied Columbus on his first voyage across the Atlantic. He commanded the *Pinta*, one of the three vessels of the squadron of Columbus. When he heard of the wreck of the vessel in which Columbus sailed, instead of going to his relief, he sailed for Spain. Columbus, having lost all respect for Pinzon, immediately followed him in the *Nina*. He saw the *Pinta*, but the two vessels soon parted company. When the *Pinta* reached Bayonne, Pinzon, believing the *Nina* had gone to the bottom of the sea, sent a letter to the Spanish monarchs recounting his adventures and discoveries. Meanwhile the *Nina* had reached the mouth of the Tagus, and Columbus sent a courier to the Court of Spain to announce his great discoveries. Then he put to sea, and soon afterwards entered the port of Palos. The same evening the *Pinta* entered that harbor.



WILLIAM PINKNEY.

1786, in which he acquired great reputation for his impassioned oratory. He was a delegate in the Maryland convention

PINZON—PIRATES

Pinzon hastened into seclusion, filled with mortification and fear. Then came a letter from the monarchs, in answer to his, filled with reproaches for attempting to defraud the admiral of his just fame. Pinzon died of mortified pride a few days after reading the royal epistle, in 1493.

Pinzon, VINCENT YANEZ, navigator; born in Palos de Moguer, Spain, about 1640; brother of Martin Alonzo Pinzon; commanded the *Nina* in the first voyage of Columbus (1492); in 1499 led an expedition composed of four caravels, which sailed from Palos in December, and first saw the continent of South America at Cape Augustine, Brazil. Sailing northward, he discovered and named the River Amazon. He died at his birthplace about 1524.

Piqua, COUNCIL AT. Late in 1750 the Ohio Land Company sent Christopher Gist to explore the Ohio region as far as the falls at Louisville. He arrived at the Scioto Valley early in 1751, and was kindly received by the great sachem of the Miami Confederacy, rivals of the Six Nations, with whom they were at peace. Agents of Pennsylvania and Virginia were there, intending to make a treaty of friendship and alliance. The council was held at Piqua, far up the Scioto Valley. It was then a town of 400 families, the largest in the Ohio region. On Feb. 21 the treaty was concluded, and just as it was signed some Ottawas came with presents from the governor of Canada. They were admitted to the council, and expressed a desire for a renewal of friendship with the French. A sachem arose, and, setting up the colors of the English and the French, denounced the latter as enemies of the Miamis. Having delivered his speech, he strode out of the council. The colors of the French were taken down and their ambassadors were dismissed. On March 1 Gist took his leave, bearing this message to the English: "Our friendship shall stand like the loftiest mountain." In the spring the French and Indians from Sandusky struck the Miamis a stunning blow. Piqua was destroyed, and the great chief of the Miami Confederacy was taken captive, sacrificed, and eaten by the savage allies of the French.

Piquet, FRANCIS. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Pirates. For a long time merchants and ship-masters suffered from the depredations of pirates on the southern coasts of what are now the United States and in the West Indies. In 1718 King George I. ordered a naval force to suppress them. At the same time he issued a proclamation promising pardon to all pirates who should surrender in the space of twelve months. Capt. Woods Rogers took the island of New Providence, the chief rendezvous of the pirates, in the name of the crown of England. All the pirates, excepting about ninety who escaped in a sloop, took advantage of the King's proclamation. Rogers was made governor of the island, and built forts. From that time the West Indies were fairly protected from the pirates. They yet infested the coast of the Carolinas. About thirty of them took possession of the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Governor Johnson determined to extirpate them. He sent out an armed vessel under the command of William Rhett, who captured a piratical sloop with its commander and about thirty men, and took them to Charleston. Johnson soon afterwards sailed after and captured another armed sloop. All the pirates excepting two were killed, and those two were hanged. Those first taken into Charleston were also hanged, excepting one man.

Privateersmen cruising under the Spanish-American flags degenerated into downright pirates. In 1819 Commodore Perry was sent to the West Indies in the frigate *John Adams* to cruise against the pirates who swarmed there; but before he had accomplished much he was smitten by yellow fever, and died just as his ship was entering the port of Trinidad. Many convictions and executions for piracy had taken place; but as there had been many escapes through loop-holes in the law, the act of Congress on that subject was revised and strengthened.

On June 28, 1861, the steamer *St. Nicholas*, Captain Kirwan, left Baltimore with forty or fifty passengers, including about twenty who passed for mechanics. There were a few women among them—one who professed to be a young Frenchwoman. When, on the following morning, the steamer was near Point Lookout, the Frenchwoman was suddenly transformed

into a stout young man, and the twenty mechanics into well-armed Marylanders, who demanded the surrender of the *St. Nicholas*. Kirwan had no means for resistance, and yielded. The passengers were landed on the Virginia shore, and the captain and crew kept as prisoners. Then 150 armed accomplices of the pirates went on board the steamer, which was destined for the Confederate navy. She cruised down the Chesapeake, captured three brigs, and, with her prizes, went up the Rappahannock River to Fredericksburg, where they were entertained at a public dinner by the citizens. A few days afterwards some of Kenly's Baltimore police were on the steamer *Mary Washington*, going home from a post on the Chesapeake. On board were Captain Kirwan and his crew; also Thomas and his associates, who had captured the *St. Nicholas*, evidently intending to repeat their operation on the *Mary Washington*. The captain was directed to land at Fort McHenry. Thomas drew his revolver, and calling his fellow-pirates around him, he threatened to throw the officers overboard and seize the vessel. The pirates were overcome by numbers. General Banks sent a squad of men on board to seize Thomas and his confederates. The former was found concealed in a closet in the ladies' cabin of the boat. He was taken out, and with his accomplices lodged in Fort McHenry.

Pitcairn, JOHN, military officer; born in Fifeshire, Scotland, about 1740; was made major in the British army in 1771. Leading troops to seize stores at Concord, he engaged in the fight at Lexington, and was shot dead on entering the redoubt on Bunker (Breed's) Hill, June 17, 1775.

Pitcher, MOLLY. In the BATTLE OF MONMOUTH (q. v.) a shot from the British artillery instantly killed an American gunner while working his piece. His wife, Mary, a young Irishwoman twenty-two years of age, had been fetching water to him from a spring near by. When he fell there appeared no one competent to fill his place, and the piece was ordered to be removed. Mary heard the order, and, dropping her bucket and seizing a rammer, vowed that she would fill her husband's place at the gun and avenge his death. She did so with skill and courage. The

next morning she was presented to Washington by General Greene, who was so pleased with her bravery that he gave her a commission as sergeant and had her name placed on the pay-list for life. The fame of "Sergeant Mary," or Molly Pitcher, as she was more generally known, spread throughout the army.

Pitt, FORT (Pittsburgh), the most important military post in the American colonies west of the Alleghanies. The garrison had launch-boats to bear the Englishmen to the country of the Illinois. For some time the bitter foes of the English—the Mingoes and Delawares—had been seen hovering around the post. On May 27, 1763, they exchanged a large quantity of skins with the English traders for powder and lead, and then suddenly disappeared. Towards midnight the Delaware chiefs warned the garrison to fly, offering to keep the property safe; but the garrison preferred to remain in their strong fort, and the Indians withdrew and threatened Fort Ligonier. See PONTIAC; DUQUESNE.

Pitt, WILLIAM, the "Great Commoner"; born in Westminster, England, Nov. 15, 1708; entered Parliament in 1735, where he was the most formidable opponent of Robert Walpole. He held the office of vice-treasurer of Ireland (1746), and soon afterwards was made paymaster of the army and one of the privy council. In 1755 he was dismissed from office, but in 1757 was made secretary of state, and soon infused his own energy into every part of the public service, placing England in the front rank of nations. By his energy in pressing the war in America (see FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR) he added Canada to the British Empire and decided for all time the future of the Mississippi Valley. All through the progress of the disputes between Great Britain and its American colonies he advocated a conciliatory and righteous policy towards the Americans. In 1766 he was called to the head of affairs again; was created Earl of Chatham; but quitted office forever in 1768. In the House of Lords he opposed coercive measures towards the Americans, in speeches remarkable for their vigor and eloquence. He was opposed to the political independence of the Americans, for he deprecated a dismem-

PITT, WILLIAM

berment of the empire, and, while opposing a motion to that effect, in an earnest speech in the House of Lords (April, 1778), he swooned, and was carried to his home so much exhausted that he never rallied. He had risen from a sick-bed to take his place in Parliament on that occasion, and the excitement overcame him. He died in Hayes, Kent, May 11, 1778.

When he became the first minister of the realm, he saw, with enlightened vision, the justice and the policy of treating the American colonies with generosity and confidence. This treatment gained their affections, and, under his guidance, they gave such generous support to the government in the war with the French and Indians that the conquest of Canada was achieved, and the French dominion in America was destroyed. The project of an American Stamp Act was pressed (1757), which Pitt disdained to favor. He and Temple were both driven from office in April, 1757, leaving the government in the hands of incompetent and unscrupulous men. The country turned to Pitt, as the only man who could save the nation from ruin. Like a giant, he directed the affairs of the nation with so much wisdom that in two short years England was placed at the head of nationalities in power and glory.

When Pitt resigned the seals of office (1761) the King offered to confer a title upon him. He accepted for his wife the honorary title of Baroness of Chatham, with a pension for her, her husband, and their eldest son, of \$15,000 a year. In 1766 he was created Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham, and was then called to the head of public affairs.

In January, 1766, Pitt appeared in his place in the House of Commons, and declared that "the King had no right to levy a tax on the colonies," and said they had invariably, by their representatives in their several assemblies, exercised the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. "They would have been slaves," he said, "if they had not. . . . The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent." This avowal of the great commoner made a profound impression on the House. He

made a powerful speech against the Stamp Act, to which the new ministry were compelled to give heed. Franklin was summoned to the bar of the House to testify.



WILLIAM PITT.

He gave reasons why the Stamp Act could not be enforced in America, and a bill for its repeal was carried (March 18, 1766), by a large majority.

In January, 1775, Pitt introduced Dr. Franklin on the floor of the House of Lords, when the former made an eloquent plea for justice towards the Americans. This was in support of a measure which he proposed.

Pitt early in the year 1775 proposed an address to the King advising the recall of the troops from Boston. It was rejected. In February, 1775, Pitt brought forward a bill which required a full acknowledgment on the part of the colonists of the supremacy and superintending power of Parliament, but provided that no tax should ever be levied on the Americans except by consent of the colonial assemblies. It also contained a provision for a congress of the colonies to make the required acknowledgment; and to vote, at the same time, a free grant to the King of a certain perpetual revenue, to be placed at the disposal of Parliament. It was rejected at the first reading.

PITT—PITTSBURGH

In token of their gratitude to Pitt for a holy war. I affirm that it is a most ac- his successful efforts in procuring a repeal cused war, barbarous, cruel, and unnat- of the Stamp Act, in 1776 the Americans ural; conceived in injustice, it was ordered two statues of their friend to be brought forth and nurtured in folly; its erected, in memory of his services to footsteps are marked with slaughter and America, one in New York and the other devastation, while it meditates destruc- in Charleston. tion to the miserable people who are the devoted objects of the resentments which

Pitt, WILLIAM, statesman; born in Hayes, England, May 28, 1759; son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; became a member of the House of Commons in 1781 when the Tory ministry was tottering under the disasters in America. In a party to arrange the peace treaty with an address before that body he said: "A the United States. He died in Putney, noble lord has called the American war England, Jan. 23, 1806.

PITTSBURGH

Pittsburgh, a city, port of entry, and county seat of Allegheny county, Pa.; formerly known as the "Iron City," from the character of its main industries, and the "Smoky City," from its use of soft coal; now most widely known as the "Steel City"; on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, which here unite and form the Ohio, and on a number of important railroads, including the Pennsylvania system, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie; the Wabash; and the Bessemer & Lake Erie. Population (1900), 321,616; 1905 (estimated), 365,000.

Public Interests.—The city in 1906 had an area of 28¼ square miles, and for administrative purposes was divided into 41 wards. There were 730 miles of streets, 365 miles of sewers, a water-works system that cost \$8,000,000 and had 400 miles of mains, to which is being added a filtration plant at an estimated cost of \$7,000,000; a police department of 516 men that cost annually \$611,650; and a fire department of 433 men that cost \$576,138. The assessed property valuations (1904) were: Real estate, \$470,969,360; personal, \$2,269,695—total, \$473,239,055; tax rate, \$13 per \$1,000; and net public debt, \$13,750,000; and the annual cost of maintaining the city government was about \$6,805,651.

The Greater Pittsburgh.—On April 20, 1905, Governor Pennypacker signed a legislative bill providing for the consolidation of the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City under the name of the former. Afterwards the State Supreme Court, on a

bill in equity, declared the act to be unconstitutional under the prohibitions of special legislation. On January 15, 1906, the legislature met in extraordinary session to consider ten measures submitted by the governor, one of them being a Greater Pittsburgh bill, framed with special reference to the Supreme Court's objections to the former bill. On Feb. 7, 1906, it became a law. The two cities have long had an incalculable community of interests—in fact, have been a single municipality in almost all relations excepting those legally circumscribed.

Combining the foregoing statistics of Pittsburgh with similar ones of Allegheny City, a comprehensive view will be had of the strictly municipal interests of the Greater Pittsburgh: Total area, 36 square miles; number of wards, 55; miles of streets, 980; miles of sewers, 476; miles of water-mains, 565; cost of water-works system, \$11,500,000, exclusive of the cost of Pittsburgh's uncompleted filtration plant; police department, men, 656, annual cost, \$783,850; fire department, men, 549, annual cost, \$737,428; assessed property valuations, real estate, \$565,662,227; personal, \$2,757,695; total, \$567,367,380; net public debt, in round numbers, \$19,000,000. The tax rate in Allegheny in 1905 for city and school purposes was \$15.80 per \$1,000. According to the United States census of 1900 the two cities had a combined population of 451,512, which it is officially estimated, has increased to about 600,000. This would make the

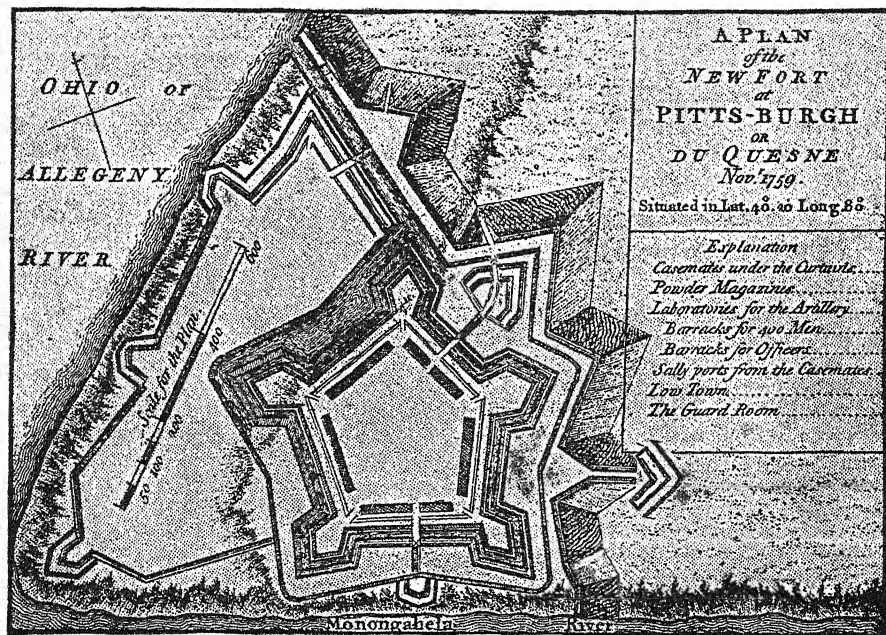
PITTSBURGH

Greater Pittsburgh the fifth city in the United States in population on the 1905 estimates. Further statements in this article refer to the individual city of Pittsburgh, except where otherwise indicated.

Industrial Affairs.—According to the last Federal census, Pittsburgh had 1,938 manufacturing and mechanical industries that were operated on a total capital of \$193,162,900; employed 69,977 wage-earners; paid for wages, \$36,684,563, and for materials used in manufacturing, \$116,-

value of the manufactured products of the two cities \$257,398,218. The leading industries were relatively the same as those of Pittsburgh, with the addition of slaughtering and meat-packing, which had a product valued at \$3,996,807. All these figures in both cities have been materially increased during the past six years.

Pittsburgh's basic industry to-day is steel, ranging from ore direct from the mines to finished products in almost countless variety, and graded from the



NEW FORT AT PITTSBURGH.

(From a set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys, 1763, published in London.)

833,174; and had a combined product valued at \$203,261,251. The principal industries, with the value of output, were: Iron and steel, \$90,798,561; foundry and machine-shop products, \$15,545,561; electrical apparatus and supplies, \$14,013,450; architectural and ornamental iron-work, \$6,111,943; malt liquors, \$3,586,393; and glass, \$2,778,847. Allegheny City had 893 manufacturing industries, \$50,122,503 capital, and 20,804 wage-earners; paid \$10,352,502 for wages and \$29,478,781 for materials; and had products valued at \$54,136,967—making the

smallest, simplest article to the giant constructions involving the highest mechanical skill. Here are the greatest steel-works in the country, if not in the world, with their affiliated blast-furnaces, rolling-mills, and other technical departments, all continually expanding, crowding, and overflowing into the suburbs, till this single industry has come to cover a very large territory of which the city is the brain centre. Other fields in which Pittsburgh occupies a commanding situation are the petroleum and natural-gas industries, the manufacture of fire-proof

PITTSBURGH

buildings and materials, plate, table, domestic, and ornamental glass, pottery, manufactures of copper, cork, white and red lead, and the pickling and preserving of fruits and vegetables.

Commerce.—In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, Pittsburgh was credited with having imported foreign merchandise to the value of \$1,750,000. The receipts of the Custom House were \$684,386.86. The volume of business of the city is indicated by the receipts of the Pittsburgh Post Office, which were \$1,622,343.13 for the year ending June 30, 1905. No statistics of Pittsburgh's direct or indirect exports are available, for its foreign shipments are, from geographical necessity, made through convenient seaports that receive the credit for this trade. The great trunk lines of railroad that pass through the city, the smaller ones that have terminals here, and the exceptional facilities afforded by the Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio rivers, give a wealth of shipping opportunities remarkable for an inland centre, and that will be still more noteworthy when the \$33,000,000 ship-canal to connect the city with Lake Erie is completed. In round numbers the railroads carried into and out of Pittsburgh about 90,000,000 tons of freight in 1905, and freighting-boats about 12,000,000 tons more. In 1902 the receipts and shipments of the great ports of Antwerp, Hamburg, Hong-kong, Liverpool, London, and New York aggregated 95,418,590 tons, while those of Pittsburgh alone amounted to 86,636,680 tons.

Banking.—At the close of 1903 there were ninety-five banking institutions, with a combined capital of \$53,190,220; surplus, \$69,471,849; deposits, \$261,165,537; and resources, \$414,253,161. On January 1, 1906 (many banks and trust companies having meanwhile consolidated, and new ones having been established), there were 96 banking institutions of all kinds in Pittsburgh, with total resources of \$491,490,861. There were at that date 32 National banks, 25 State banks, and 39 trust companies. During 1905 the exchanges of the Pittsburgh clearing-house amounted to \$2,996,473,438.57.

Education.—The first incorporated institution of learning west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio was char-

tered as the Pittsburgh Academy in 1787. This became the Western University of Pennsylvania in 1808. The Carnegie technical schools are in course of erection. The public-school system of Pittsburgh accommodates 52,730 pupils, with 1,197 teachers, and cost for maintenance in 1905, \$2,006,483.25; that of Allegheny City has 15,685 pupils and 454 teachers, and cost in the year 1905 \$805,758.33; together there are 68,415 pupils and 1,651 teachers, and an expenditure in 1905 of \$2,812,241.58. Pittsburgh has three high-school buildings and a fourth projected; Allegheny City has one; both cities give special attention to industrial training, domestic science, and kindergarten work.

Pennsylvania College for Women, the College of the Holy Ghost (R. C.), Bishop Bowman Institute (Meth.), a kindergarten training-school, several business colleges, and a system of Roman Catholic parochial schools are located in Pittsburgh; the Western University of Pennsylvania has departments in both cities, and the theological seminaries of the Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, and Reformed Presbyterian Churches are in Allegheny City. An Academy of Science and Art was founded in Pittsburgh in 1890, and subsequently its members united with those of the Engineers' Society of Western Pennsylvania, the Botanical Society, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the Architects' Society, the Amateur Photographers' Association, and the Art Society in leasing the Thaw mansion for a general headquarters. These organizations remained here till the completion of the Carnegie Institute, founded in 1896, when they removed thither, the Young Women's Christian Association taking their former quarters.

Both cities are amply supplied with public, school, collegiate, professional, and special libraries, and each has a free public library provided by Andrew Carnegie, that of Pittsburgh comprising a main library, combined with a museum, music-hall, and art-gallery, embraced in the Carnegie Institute, and six branch libraries in different parts of the city, with a circulating branch in the principal business section. The completed Institute building will cost nearly \$7,000,000. One of the branch libraries cost \$100,000. The

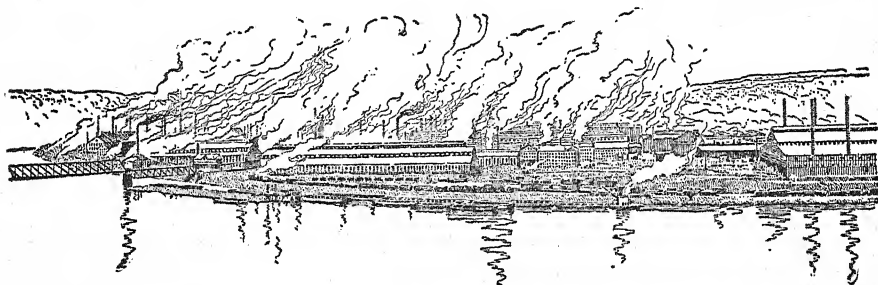
PITTSBURGH

University Extension Society of Pittsburgh is an organization that is exerting a most beneficial influence in both cities through its system of public lectures.

Churches and Charities.—Pittsburgh has upward of 200 churches, and Allegheny City over 80. The most noteworthy in the former are the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Paul, Trinity, and St. Peter's and Ascension (P. E.), First and Third Presbyterian, First Baptist, United Evangelical, and English Evangelical; and in the latter, St. Peter's (R. C.), Trinity (Evan. Luth.), North Avenue, Christ Church, Calvary (M. E.), Second United Presbyterian, and Sandusky Street Baptist. There are Young Men's and Young Women's Christian associations, both flourishing.

Building of twenty-two stories; and Allegheny City has a City Hall, the Allegheny Observatory, and the Western State Penitentiary, also Soldiers', Washington, Humboldt, Armstrong, and Hampton Battery monuments. In their vicinity is the interesting Davis Island movable dam to facilitate navigation.

Pittsburgh has the large Schenley Park, at the entrance to which is the group of buildings presented to the city by Andrew Carnegie. This park contains one of the largest and finest conservatories in the world, the gift of Henry Phipps, Jr. Highland Park is a beautiful spot in the East End, with two pillars of highly artistic design at its entrance. Allegheny City has a public park system of 100



ONE OF THE MODERN STEEL-PLANTS. THE HOMESTEAD WORKS.

Among the benevolent institutions of Pittsburgh are the Western Pennsylvania, Municipal, Homœopathic, Mercy, St. Francis, Passavant's, South Side, St. Margaret Memorial, and East End Charity hospitals, Episcopal Church Home, Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Home for Incurables, and Western State Institution for the Blind. Allegheny City has the Allegheny General, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, and St. John's hospitals, Allegheny Orphan Asylum, and Home of the Friendless, and others.

Notable Buildings.—Besides the buildings already mentioned Pittsburgh has a handsome Municipal Hall, County Court House, United States Post Office and Custom House, United States Arsenal, and Masonic Temple, the Farmer's Bank Building twenty-four stories high, the Frick

acres containing several small lakes, numerous fountains, and the Humboldt Monument, in the heart of the city, and the Riverview Park in its suburbs.

History.—This entire region is rich in historical lore. On Aug. 3, 1749, CELESTON DE BIENVILLE (*q. v.*), under orders from the governor-general of New France to take possession of the country, deposited a dated lead plate at the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburgh now stands. Washington visited the locality on Nov. 24, 1753, and with military prescience pronounced it extremely well situated for a fort, as it had absolute command of both rivers. In the following year the erection of a stockade was begun by Captain Trent, but before it was finished it was occupied by Ensign Ward and a garrison of forty men, who were forced in the same

PITTSBURGH—PLATT

year to surrender it to the French under Captain Couteaucour. The latter brought with him 60 bateaux, 300 canoes, 18 pieces of cannon, and 1,000 men, and immediately began the erection of a strong military post, which he named Fort Duquesne (*q. v.*). On Nov. 24, 1758, the French burned and vacated the fort, and on the following day the British took possession under General Forbes. The erection of Fort Pitt on the site of Fort Duquesne was begun by General Stanwix in September, 1759, and was completed in the following spring.

The year 1764 was an important one in the history of the young town that had grown up about the fort. Colonel Bouquet erected a redoubt between Penn Street and Duquesne Way; Col. John Campbell laid out four squares of village lots between Water and Second and Ferry and Market streets; and Col. George Morgan erected the first shingle-roofed house, a two-story, double-hewn log, on the corner of Water and Ferry streets. On May 19, 1769, the survey of the "Manor of Pittsburgh" was completed, showing an area of 5,766 acres. Under orders from General Gage, the British abandoned Fort Pitt in October, 1772, and the post remained in a quiescent state till Sept. 11, 1775, when it was occupied by a body of Virginia troops under Capt. John Neville.

In 1784 the first sale of lots was made by John Penn, Jr., to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard, comprising about three acres lying between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny River, and in the same year the laying out of the town was completed by Thomas Vickroy. John Scull and Joseph Hall issued the first number of the *Pittsburgh Gazette* on July 29, 1786, and a post route was established between Washington and Pittsburgh in September following. Allegheny City was laid out in 1789. The iron and steel industry had its birth in 1792, when a small blast-furnace was erected on what is now Shady Point, but the enterprise was far ahead of the times, and was abandoned after a precarious existence of three years.

Pittsburgh was incorporated as a borough on April 22, 1794. That year was quite an exciting one locally. The first line of keel boats was established be-

tween Cincinnati and Pittsburgh; whiskey insurgents assembled at Braddock's to attack Pittsburgh. An army of 1,500 men under General Lee was sent to suppress the insurgents. The manufacture of glass was begun in 1795; the *President Adams*, the first sea-going vessel built on the Ohio, was launched at Pittsburgh, May 10, 1798; the first paper-mill was built the same year; two more ships were launched in 1801; a branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania was established, and the first iron-foundry erected in 1804.

Later events include the building of the first steamboat in 1811; the first rolling-mill in 1812; a steel-furnace in 1813; the United States Arsenal in 1814; incorporation as a city March 18, 1816; first manufacture of blister steel in 1833; destruction of 982 buildings by fire on April 10, 1845; beginning of manufacture of crucible cast steel in 1859; consolidation of eleven boroughs with the city in 1872; strike on Pennsylvania Railroad in 1877; burning of the Exposition buildings in 1883 and again in 1900; introduction of natural gas as fuel in 1884. There were a number of costly fires in recent years, but none involving public buildings. The other important events are, in the main, a record of commercial and industrial progress and consolidations, the chief being the merger of the Carnegie Steel Company in the United States Steel Corporation.

Pittsburg Landing. See SHILOH.

Pizarro, FRANCISCO, military officer; born in Estremadura, Spain, in 1476. He conquered Peru in 1532. A Spanish faction led by the son of Almagro attacked Pizarro and killed him, June 26, 1541.

Platt, ORVILLE HITCHCOCK, legislator; born in Washington, Conn., July 19, 1827; admitted to the bar in 1849; elected State Senator in 1861; member of the State Assembly in 1864; U. S. Senator in 1879-1905. He was the author of the Platt amendment. He died in Washington, Conn., April 21, 1905. See CUBA.

Platt, THOMAS COLLIER, legislator; born in Owego, N. Y., July 15, 1833; elected Representative in Congress in 1873; United States Senator, Jan. 18, 1881; resigned May 16, 1881, with ROSCOE CONKLING (*q. v.*); became president of the United States Express Company, and

PLATT—PLATTSBURG

president of New York Quarantine Commissioners in 1880; re-elected to the United States Senate in 1896 and 1903.

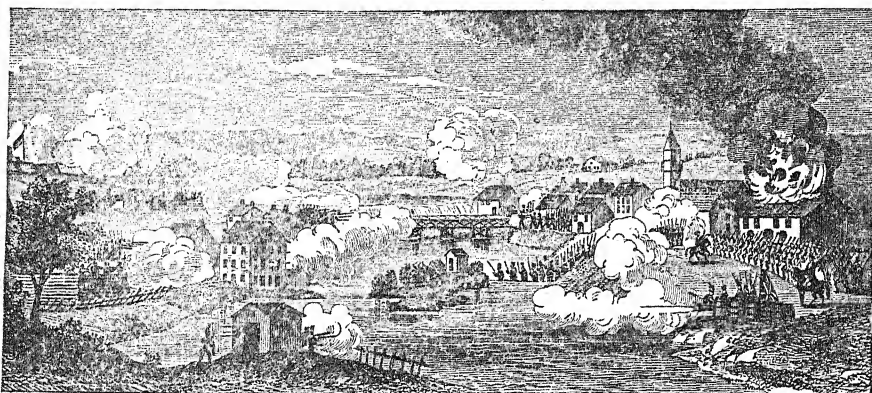
Platt, ZEPHANIAH, legislator; born in Dutchess county, N. Y., in 1740; preached law; delegate from New York to the Continental Congress, 1784-86; judge of the circuit court for many years; founder of Plattsburg, N. Y., where he died Sept. 12, 1807.

Platt Amendment. See CUBA.

Plattsburg, BATTLES AT. When General Izard marched from Champlain for Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., with 4,000 men in August, 1814, he left 1,500 soldiers there, under the command of Gen. Alexander Macomb. During the spring and

with about 14,000 men, assisted by General de Rottenburg as his second, and at the same time the British flotilla, under Captain Pringle, came out of the Sorel River, the outlet of Lake Champlain. Prevost announced his intention to seize and hold northern New York as far down as Ticonderoga, and he called upon the inhabitants to cast off their allegiance and furnish him with supplies.

In the mean time Macomb, with untiring energy, prepared for a defence of the threatened region. He had completed redoubts and block-houses at Plattsburg, to prevent the invaders crossing the Saranac River. The militia were under the command of Gen. Benjamin Mooers. He had



BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG (From an old print).

summer of that year both parties had been busy in the preparation of war-vessels for Lake Champlain, and the command of the American squadron there was held by Capt. Thomas Macdonough. Released from duty in Europe by the downfall of Napoleon, a number of Wellington's troops had arrived in Canada. There were about 15,000 British troops (chiefly these veterans) at Montreal at the close of August, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada and general-in-chief of the forces there, proceeded to invade New York. Izard had made a requisition for militia and light dragoons, and at the beginning of September Macomb found himself at the head of about 3,500 men. These he gathered at Plattsburg, to repel an expected invasion. Prevost advanced from the St. Lawrence

been very active in gathering them, and when Prevost advanced he was at the head of about 5,000 men. Prevost arrived at Champlain on Sept. 3, and two days afterwards pushed to a point within 8 miles of Plattsburg. At the same time Macomb divided his troops into detachments, to complete fortifications already begun. Small forces were sent northward, to watch the movements of the British. On the 6th Prevost moved upon Plattsburg with his whole force, in two columns, the right crossing on to the Beekmantown road. Informed of this, Macomb sent Maj. John E. Wool (who volunteered for the purpose), with some regulars, to support the militia under Mooers, who was out in that direction, and to oppose the advance of the foe. His force was 280

PLATTSBURG, BATTLES AT

strong. At Beekmantown he encountered Prevost's advanced guard. The militia broke, and fled towards Plattsburg, but the regulars stood firm. He fought the invaders, inch by inch, all the way to Plattsburg. His and other detachments

had approached Cumberland Head. His flag-ship was the *Confiance*, thirty-eight guns, and with it were one brig, two sloops-of-war, and twelve gun-boats. Macdonough's squadron lay in Plattsburg Bay, and consisted of the *Sara-*

toga, twenty-six guns (his flag-ship), with one brig, two schooners, and ten gun-boats, or galleys.

The British came around Cumberland Head, with a fair wind, on the morning of the 11th, and at the same time the British land forces were moving for a combined attack upon the Americans by land and water. Macdonough had skilfully prepared his vessels for action, and when all was in readiness he knelt on the deck of the *Saratoga*, and offered up a fervent prayer to God, imploring divine aid. His



OLD STONE MILL ON THE SARANAC.

were pushed back by the overwhelming force of the British, and retired to the south side of the Saranac, tearing up the bridges behind them, and using the timbers for breastworks. The invaders tried to force a passage across the stream, but were repulsed by a small company of volunteers in a stone mill near the site of the lower bridge, who fired sharp volleys of musketry upon them from that strong citadel. Prevost now perceived that he had serious work before him, and employed the time from the 7th to the 11th in bringing up his batteries and supply-trains, and constructing works to command those of the Americans on the south side of the Saranac. Meanwhile the naval force, under the command of Commodore

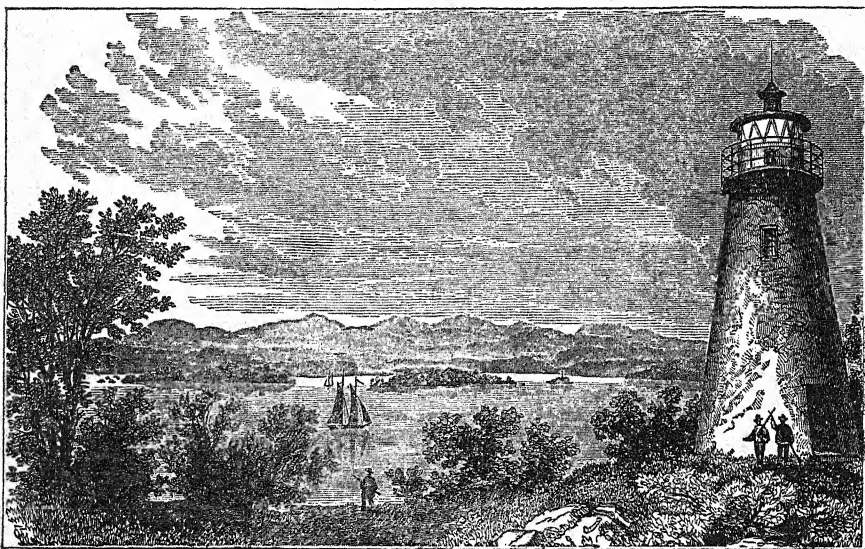
officers were around him, and very soon after he arose the guns of both squadrons opened, and a sharp naval action began. A shot from one of the British vessels demolished a hen-coop on the deck of the *Saratoga*, in which was a young game-cock. The released fowl, startled by the noise of cannon, flew upon a gun-slide, and, flapping his wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The sailors cheered, and the incident was regarded by them as ominous of victory. Their courage was strengthened. The *Confiance* and *Saratoga* fought desperately. A broadside from the former had a terrible effect upon the latter. Forty of the *Saratoga's* people were disabled. This stunning blow was felt only for a moment. The battle be-

PLATTSBURG, BATTLES AT

Came general, and lasted about two hours and twenty minutes. The vessels were all terribly shattered. "There was not a mast in either squadron," wrote Macdonough, "that could stand to make sail on." One of the officers of the *Confiance* wrote: "Our masts, yards, and sails were so shattered that one looked like so many bundles of matches and the other like so many bundles of rags." The contest was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore. It ended with victory for the Americans. The British commodore (Downie) was killed and his remains were buried at Plattsburg. The Americans lost 110 men; the British loss was over 200 men.

While this naval battle was raging, there was a sharp conflict on the land. The British troops had attempted to force their way across the Saranac at two places, but after a short and desperate struggle they were repulsed by the gallant regulars and militia led by Macomb and Mooers. Some of the British had crossed the stream near the site of the upper bridge, and the Americans were driving them back, when tidings came that the British fleet had just surrendered. The Americans gave three hearty cheers. The British took them as indications of good

news for their antagonists, and their line wavered. Soon Prevost was notified of the disaster on the water, and, naturally timid in the presence of danger, saw with alarm the rapid gathering of the neighboring militia, who menaced his flanks and rear. At twilight (Sept. 11, 1814) he ceased fighting, and prepared for flight back to Canada. At midnight, something having given him greater alarm, he retreated in such haste that he left his sick and wounded and a vast amount of stores behind. Light troops, militia, and volunteers started in pursuit, but a heavy fall of rain compelled them to give it up. Prevost halted and encamped at Champlain, and on the 24th he left the United States territory, and returned to Montreal with the main army. The loss of Prevost, after he crossed the international boundary, in killed, wounded, missing, and deserters, did not fall much short of 2,000. The loss of the Americans on the land was less than 150. The whole country rang with the praises of Macomb and Macdonough, the chief leaders in the battles at Plattsburg. In almost every village and city in the land there were bonfires and illuminations. Governor Tompkins presented Macomb with a sword in the name of the people of the State of



THEATRE OF NAVAL ENGAGEMENT, PLATTSBURG BAY (Adirondack Mountains in the distance.)

PLEASANT GROVE—PLEASANTON

New York, and De Witt Clinton, mayor of New York, presented him, in the name of the corporation, with the freedom of the city. Congress gave him the thanks of the nation, and voted him a gold medal. The State of New York gave Macdonough 2,000 acres of land. The State of Vermont purchased 200 acres on Cumberland Head, and presented them to him, the house upon it overlooking the scene of his gallant exploits. "Thus," said Macdonough to a friend, while tears filled his eyes, "from a poor lieutenant I became a rich man." Congress gave him the thanks of the nation and a gold medal.

Pleasant Grove, BATTLE AT. At Pleasant Grove, 3 miles from Sabine Crossroads, La., General Emory, advancing with his corps, halted on April 8, 1864, when the Nationals, defeated at the Crossroads, were retreating. Across the road along which the fugitives and their pursuers were advancing General Dwight formed his brigade, and on his left was another brigade, commanded by Col. Lewis Benedict. Another was held in reserve. Their ranks were opened to receive the flying columns, which passed through to the rear, the Confederates close upon their heels. In strong force they assailed Emory's troops. A severe battle ensued, which lasted an hour and a half, the Confederates making the most desperate efforts to turn the National left, firmly held by Benedict. The assailants were repulsed, and very soon the battle ceased on that part of the field. Everywhere else the Confederates were thrown back, with great slaughter. Then the Nationals retired to Pleasant Hill, 15 miles distant, followed by the Confederates. See RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

Pleasant Hill, BATTLE AT. When it was discovered that the Confederates were following the Nationals in strong force after the battle at Pleasant Grove, Banks formed a battle-line at Pleasant Hill, 15 miles east of the latter place, with Emory's division in the front, the right occupied by Dwight's brigade, another, under General Millan, in the centre, and a third, under Colonel Benedict, on the left. A New York battery was planted on a commanding hill. The army trains, guarded by Lee's cavalry, a brigade of colored troops, and Ransom's shattered columns, were sent some

distance on the road towards Grand Ecore. Towards noon (April 9), the Confederate advance appeared, and between 5 and 6 P.M. a furious battle began. The assailants fell heavily on Emory's left, held by Benedict's brigade, with crushing force, and pushed it back. At the first onset, and while trying to rally his men to charge, Benedict was slain by a bullet which passed through his head. While the left was giving way, and the Confederates had captured four guns, Emory's right stood firm until enveloped on three sides by a superior force, when it fell back a little. Then the tide was changed by a heavy countercharge by Smith's veterans, under General Mower. The right of the Confederates was driven more than a mile by this charge. Then the whole of Smith's reserves were ordered up, when the Confederates were routed and pursued until dark. General Banks reported his losses in the battles of April 7, 8, and 9, at 3,969, of whom 289 were killed and 2,150 missing, most of the latter taken prisoners. The Nationals had also lost, thus far, twenty pieces of artillery, 160 wagons, and 1,200 horses and mules. They had captured 2,300 prisoners, twenty-five cannon (chiefly by the fleet), and 3,000 bales of cotton. The Confederate losses were never reported.

Pleasanton, ALFRED, military officer; born in Washington, D. C., June 7, 1824; graduated at West Point in 1844, entering the dragoons. He served in the war against Mexico, and afterwards in California, New Mexico, and Texas. For several years he was assistant adjutant-general and adjutant-general to General Harney, and in the fall of 1861 was acting colonel of the 2d Cavalry. He was made brigadier-general of volunteers in July, 1862, and took command of Stoneman's cavalry brigade, leading the van when McClellan crossed the Potomac, in October. Pleasanton was in the battles at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, and was afterwards efficient in driving Price out of Missouri, in 1864. In March, 1865, he was brevetted major-general United States army for "meritorious services during the rebellion." He resigned his commission in 1868, and was placed on the retired list as colonel in 1888. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 17, 1897.

PLYMOUTH—PLYMOUTH COMPANY

Plymouth, CAPTURE OF. About 7,000 Confederates, under Gen. R. F. Hoke, attacked Plymouth, N. C., at the mouth of the Roanoke River, April 17, 1864. The post was fortified, and garrisoned by 2,400 men, under Gen. H. W. Wessells. Hoke was assisted by the powerful ram *Albemarle*. The town was closely besieged. A gunboat that went to the assistance of the garrison was soon disabled and captured. On April 20 the Confederates made a general assault, and the town and Fort Williams were compelled to surrender. There were 1,600 men surrendered, with twenty-five cannon, 2,000 small-arms, and valuable stores.

Plymouth Company. The domain in America assigned to this company extended from lat. 41° to 45° N. Members of the company were in the field of adventure before it was organized. Adventurers from England had been on the coast of New England, but had failed to plant a permanent settlement. The principal members of the company were Sir John Popham (then chief-justice of England, who had, with scandalous injustice, condemned Raleigh to die on the scaffold), his brother George Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John and Raleigh Gilbert (sons of Sir Humphrey Gilbert), William Parker, and Thomas Hanham. In 1606 Justice Popham sent a vessel at his own cost, commanded by Henry Challons, to make further discoveries of the north Virginia region. Challons and his crew of about thirty persons were captured by the Spaniards, and the vessel was confiscated. Soon after the departure of Challons, Thomas Hanham, afterwards one of the company, sailed in a small vessel for America, accompanied by Martin Pring, to discover a good place for a settlement; and his report was so favorable, so confirmatory of Gosnold's statements (see GOSNOLD, BARTHOLOMEW), that the above-named gentlemen and others formed an association called the Plymouth Company, and received a charter from King James late in that year.

In the spring of 1607 they sent three small vessels to the domain with 100 emigrants, and George Popham as governor of the colony. They landed, late in August, at a rather sterile place near the mouth of the Kennebec, Maine, after-

wards known as Parker's Island, where, after a sermon had been delivered, and the patent and other laws read, they dug a well, built a stone house, a few log-huts, and a stockade, which they called Fort St. George. They experienced the bitter fruit of Weymouth's kidnapping in the hostility of the natives, who refused to furnish them with maize or other food. The season was too far advanced to raise food for the colony, so, on Dec. 5, two of the ships returned to England, leaving forty-five persons, with sufficient stores, Popham being president of the colony, and Raleigh Gilbert admiral. During the severe winter their storehouse was burned by accident. The next spring a vessel arrived at Fort St. George with supplies, and with the intelligence of the death of Chief-Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, two of the most influential members of the company. Discouraged and disheartened by the severity of the winter, during which their houses were almost covered with snow, their losses by disease, and the death of their governor, Henry Popham, the colonists forsook their new abode and returned to England.

For a few years the operations of the company were confined to fishing voyages and a little traffic with the natives. Their prospects brightened by the first successful voyage of Captain Smith, but were again darkened by subsequent misfortunes. The company had indignantly dismissed Hunt from their service on hearing of his conduct, and when they found Squanto had escaped from Spain and made his way to England, they sought him out, loaded him with presents, and sent him to New England with Captain Dermer to pacify the natives. But they were still too indignant to listen, and they attacked and dangerously wounded Dermer and several of his party. The company now abandoned all thoughts of establishing colonies in New England at that time, and looked forward to receiving large profits by the fisheries and by traffic. The London Company had by its second charter obtained new territory. The Plymouth Company desired to secure greater privileges by a distinct and separate grant, by which they might have the monopoly of the fisheries on the New England coast. The London Company and private traders warmly op-

PLYMOUTH COMPANY

posed them, for they wished to keep these fisheries free; but they obtained a charter from the King, Nov. 3, 1620, known as the "Great Patent," and the popular name of the association was changed to "The Council of Plymouth."

By the new charter all North America, from lat. 40° to 48° N., excepting places possessed by "any Christian prince or people," was granted in full property, with exclusive rights of jurisdiction, settlement, and traffic, to forty wealthy and influential persons, incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the Planting, Ruling, Ordering, and Governing of New England, in America." The line between the London and Plymouth colonies was nearly coincident with that between the late slave-labor and free-labor States. But that powerful organization was not permitted to make the first permanent English settlement within its domain; it was done by a handful of feeble liberty-loving people fleeing from persecution in England. The pretences of the council to an exclusive right of fishing on the New England coast were denounced in the House of Commons (1621), soon after the granting of the charter, as a "grievance," and a committee reported that the charter was vitiated by the clause in it which forfeited the ships of intruders without the sanction of Parliament.

That body had not met for seven years, and were strongly tainted with the idea that the people had "divine rights" as well as the King, and acted accordingly. Sir Ferdinando Gorges appeared before it in defence of the charter. So also was the King there to defend his prerogative if it should be assailed. Sir Edwin Sandys, the wise statesman and friend of Virginia, opposed Gorges. Sir Edward Coke, a member of Parliament and of the privy council (who had been lord chief-justice of England), also opposed the monopolists; and then began his famous contest with King James which resulted in a notable exhibition of wrath and despotism on the part of the sovereign. Sandys pleaded for freedom in fishing and in general commerce, which was then the staple source of wealth for England. "America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of Parliament," said

George Calvert, a supporter of the monopoly. "You therefore have no right to interfere." "We make laws for Virginia," retorted another member; "a bill passed by the Commons and the Lords, if it receives the King's assent, will control the patent." Coke argued (referring to many statutes of the realm) that, as the charter was granted without regard to pre-existing rights, it was necessarily void. This attack upon his prerogative stirred the anger of the monarch, who was sitting near the speaker's chair, and he blurted out some silly words about the "divine right of kings," when the Commons, in defiance of his wrath, passed a bill giving freedom to commerce in spite of the charter.

Before the bill had passed through the form of legislation the King dissolved the Parliament, and forbade by proclamation any vessel to approach the shores of New England without the special consent of the Council of Plymouth. He also caused the imprisonment of Coke, Pym, and other leaders of the Commons, after adjournment, for their alleged factious behavior. The next Parliament proceeded to perfect what the former one had begun. Under the King's proclamation, the council sent out Francis West as admiral of New England, to impose a tribute upon fishing-vessels on the northeast coast; but the final decision of Parliament took away his occupation, and virtually destroyed the power of the council. Many of the parties withdrew their interests in the company, and those who remained, like Gorges, did little more than issue grants of domain in the northeastern parts of America.

After the accession of Charles I. (1625) there was much restiveness concerning the monopoly, even in its weakened state, and the merchants prayed for a revocation of the charter. The Commons, growing more and more democratic, regarded it as a royal instrument; churchmen looked upon it as a foe to prelacy, because Puritans were sheltered on its domain; and Charles, as bigoted a believer in the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" as his father, suspected the New England colonists were enjoying liberties inconsistent with the royal prerogative. The company prepared for its dissolution by dividing north Virginia into twelve royal prov-

PLYMOUTH DECLARATION OF RIGHTS—PLYMOUTH ROCK

inces, assigning each to persons named, and at their last meeting (April, 1635) they caused to be entered upon their minutes the following record: "We have been bereaved of friends; oppressed by losses, expenses, and troubles; assailed before the privy council again and again with groundless charges; weakened by the French and other foes without and within the realm; and what remains is only a breathless carcass. We therefore now resign the patent to the King, first reserving all grants by us made and all vested rights—a patent we have holden about fifteen years." See **PLYMOUTH, NEW.**

Plymouth Declaration of Rights. In 1636 the Plymouth Colony adopted a body of laws called "The General Fundamentals." The first article declared "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at present or to come but such as shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free liberties of the freeborn people of England." The second article read: "And for the well governing of this colony, it is also ordered that there be free elections annually of governor, deputy governor, and assistants by the vote of the freemen of this corporation." These and other fundamentals are dated 1636, and were revised in 1671. The style of enactment is: "We, the associates of the colony of New Plimouth, coming hither as freeborn subjects of the kingdom of England, endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to each, being assembled, do enact," etc. The seal adopted by the Plymouth Colony was called the "Old Colony" seal, because Plymouth Colony was established before Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Plymouth, New, universally known as the Plymouth Settlement, was founded by Pilgrims from Holland in 1620. Their first care on landing from the *Mayflower* was to build a rude fort and plant five cannon upon it which they had brought with them. Then they "fell to building houses." Distributed into nineteen families, they all worked diligently until nearly all were prostrated by sickness. There were no delicacies for the sick and very little wholesome food. The sailors of the

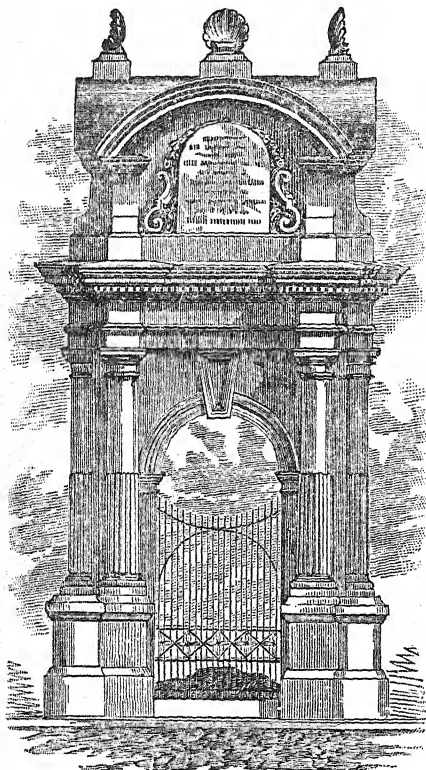
Mayflower had unkindly refused to let the passengers have a variety by sharing their own coarse food with them. At times that winter the huts at New Plymouth were half buried in snow-drifts. The Pilgrims trembled in fear of the surrounding Indians, but felt comforted by the voice of one of them as he went through the new village, crying, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!" It was Samoset, who had learned a few English words from English sailors at Mohegan. He afterwards brought to New Plymouth Squanto, whom Hunt kidnapped. Squanto had returned, and through him an acquaintance and friendship were formed with Massasoit. The town lay on a slope; and when, six years after the arrival of the *Mayflower*, it was visited by Dutch commissioners, the houses were built of hewn timber, and the whole village was surrounded by a palisade of timbers driven into the ground and pointed at the top, a mile in circuit, and at the end of the streets were three gates made of strong beams. In the centre of the village was the governor's house, before which was a square enclosure bearing four mounted swivels. Upon an eminence was a square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawed planks, stayed with oak beams, upon which were mounted six 5-pounder cannon. The lower part of this building was used for a church, where worshippers were seen with loaded muskets. See **PILGRIM FATHERS.**

Plymouth Rock. The passengers on the *Mayflower*, on account of great privations and exposure in their winter houses at New Plymouth, sickened, and a large number of them died before the warm spring weather of 1621 arrived. They were buried near the rock on which the great body of the Pilgrims landed. Lest the Indians who might come there should see their weakness by the great mortality, the graves were seeded over, and the rock remained the enduring monument and guide. Thomas Faunce, who died in 1746, was a ruling elder in the first church at New Plymouth, and knew some of the *Mayflower's* passengers, who showed him the rock on which they landed. On hearing that it was about to be covered by the erection of a wharf, the venerable man was so affected that he wept. His

POCAHONTAS

tears probably saved that rock from oblivion, a fragment of which was carefully preserved at New Plymouth. Before the Revolution the sea had washed up sand

him, one on each side of the "throne." One of these was Matoa, or Pocahontas, who subsequently made a conspicuous figure in Virginia history. When Smith was brought before Powhatan, the scene that ensued was impressive. There were at least 200 warriors present. The emperor wore a mantle of raccoon skins and a head-dress of eagle's feathers. The room was a long house, or arbor, made of boughs. The warriors stood in rows on each side in their gayest attire, and back of them as many women, with their necks painted red, their heads covered with the white down of birds, and strings of white beads falling over their bosoms. The captive was received with a shout, when the "Queen of Appomattox" brought water for him to wash his hands, and another woman a bunch of feathers to dry them with. Then he was feasted, and afterwards a solemn council was held, by which he was doomed to die. Two large stones were brought before the emperor, when Smith was dragged to them, his arms were pinioned, and his head placed upon them. Pocahontas petitioned her father to spare the captive's life, but in vain. Huge clubs were raised by strong men to beat out his brains, when Pocahontas, the



PLYMOUTH ROCK AND MONUMENT.

and buried the rock. This sand was removed, and in attempting to move the rock it split asunder. The upper half, or shell, was taken to the middle of the village. In 1834 it was removed from the town square to a position in front of Pilgrim Hall, where it was enclosed in an iron railing, lost all its historical interest, and was reduced to a vulgar stone. In September, 1880, the citizens wisely took the fragment back and reunited it to the other portion, when it resumed its original dignity and significance.

Pocahontas. When Capt. John Smith was on trial before Powhatan, two of the "king's dearest daughter," who, Smith emperor's daughters occupied seats near says in his narrative, was "sixteen or



POCAHONTAS.

POCAHONTAS



POCAHONTAS SAVING THE LIFE OF JOHN SMITH.

eighteen years" old, sprang from her father's side, clasped the prisoner's head with her arms, and laid her own head upon his.

Powhatan yielded to his daughter, and consented to spare Smith, who was released and sent with an Indian escort to Jamestown. The emperor and his people promised to be friends of the English. Two years after this event the Indians conspired to exterminate the white people. Again Pocahontas was an angel of deliverance to them. She heard of the plan, and on a dark and stormy night left her father's cabin, sped to Jamestown, informed Smith of the danger, and was back to her couch before the dawn. The English regarded the gentle Indian princess with great affection; and yet, when Smith had left the colony, and the Indians, offended, would help them to food no longer, that kind girl

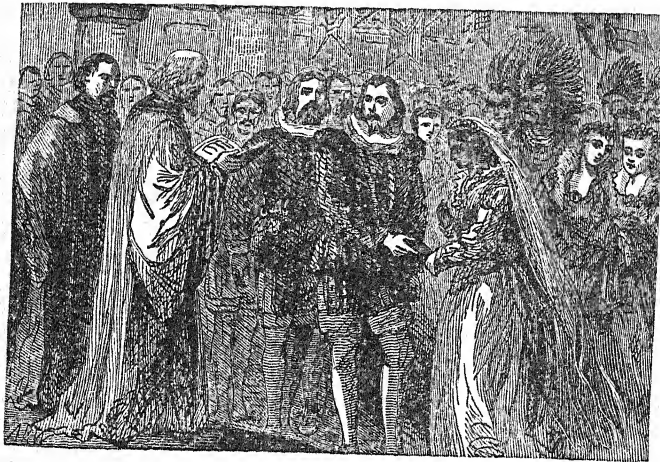
was ruthlessly torn from her kindred by a rude sea captain and kept a prisoner several months (see ARGALL, SAMUEL). That wicked act proved a blessing to the colony. While she was a captive mutual love was engendered between Pocahontas and John Rolfe, a young Englishman of good family and education. He was a Christian, she was a pagan. "Is it not my duty," he said, "to lead the blind into light?" He labored for her enlightenment and conversion, and succeeded. The young princess was baptized at a font "hollowed out like a canoe" in the little chapel at Jamestown, whose columns were rough pine-trees; its rude pews were of "sweet-smelling cedar," and the rough communion-table and pulpit of black walnut. She received the Christian name of Rebecca—the first Christian convert in Virginia.

POCAHONTAS—POE

Not long afterwards—on a charming day in April, 1613—Pocahontas, with her father's consent, stood before the chancel of the chapel with Rolfe, a young widower, her affianced, and was married to him by

The "Lady Rebecca" received great attentions at Court and from all below it. She was entertained by the Lord Bishop of London, and at Court she was treated with the respect due to the daughter of a

monarch. The silly King James was angry because one of his subjects dared marry a *lady of royal blood!* And Captain Smith, for fear of displeasing the royal bigot, would not allow her to call him "father," as she desired to do, and her loving heart was grieved. The King, in his absurd dreams of the divinity of the royal prerogative, imagined Rolfe or his descendants might claim the crown of Vir-



MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.

the Rev. Mr. Whittaker, the rector. All the people of Jamestown were pleased spectators. The chapel was trimmed with evergreens, wild flowers, and scarlet-berried holly. Pocahontas was dressed in a simple tunic of white muslin from the looms of Dacca. On her head was a long and flowing veil, and hanging loosely to her feet was a robe of rich stuff presented by the governor, Sir Thomas Dale, fancifully embroidered by herself and her maidens. A gaudy fillet encircled her head, and held the plumage of birds of gorgeous colors, while her wrists and ankles were adorned with the simple jewelry of the native workshops. When the ceremony was ended, the eucharist was administered, with bread from the wheat-fields around Jamestown and wine from the grapes of the adjacent forest. Her brothers and sisters and forest maidens were present; also the governor and council, and five Englishwomen—all that were in the colony—who afterwards returned to England. Rolfe and his spouse "lived civilly and lovingly together" until Governor Dale returned to England (1616), when they and the Englishwomen in Virginia accompanied him.

ginia on behalf of his royal wife; and he asked the privy council if the husband had not committed treason! Pocahontas remained in England about a year; and when, with her husband and son, she was about to return to Virginia, with her father's chief councillor, she was seized with small-pox at Gravesend, and died in June, 1617. Her remains lie within the parish church-yard at Gravesend. Her son, Thomas Rolfe, afterwards became a distinguished man in Virginia, and his descendants are found among the most honorable citizens of that commonwealth.

Poe, EDGAR ALLAN, poet; born in Boston, Mass., Jan. 19, 1809. His father was a lawyer, and his mother was an English actress. They both died early. The son was adopted by John Allan, a rich merchant, who had no children of his own, and Edgar was educated partly at an academy in Richmond, Va., and at the University of Virginia. In 1829 he published a volume of his poems. His foster-father procured him a cadetship at West Point. There he neglected his studies, drank to excess, and was expelled. After that young Poe's conduct seems

POINSETT—POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

to have been so obnoxious to Mr. Allan that he was left unmentioned in that gentleman's will. Thrown upon his own resources, young Poe turned to literature as a means for earning a livelihood, and was successful as a writer of both prose and poetry; but his dissipated habits kept him poor. He married a charming young girl, and removed to New York in 1837. His wife died in 1848. Poe's most remarkable literary production, *The Raven*, was published in 1845. At Baltimore in October, 1849, he was discovered in the streets insensible. He was taken to Baltimore, where he died in a hospital, Oct. 7, 1849.

Poinsett, JOEL ROBERTS, legislator; born in Charleston, S. C., March 2, 1779; educated at Timothy Dwight's school, Greenfield, Conn., at Edinburgh University, and the Woolwich Academy, England. In 1809 he was sent to the South American states by the President for the purpose of inquiring into the prospects of the Spanish colonies winning their independence. He was a member of Congress in 1821-25, and in the latter year was appointed United States minister to Mexico. President Van Buren appointed him Secretary of War in 1837. He published his notes on Mexico, made in 1822, with a historical sketch of the revolution. He died in Statesburg, S. C., Dec. 12, 1851.

Point Pleasant, BATTLE AT. Col. Andrew Lewis led the left wing of the Virginia forces in Dunmore's War in the summer and autumn of 1774. He had about 1,200 men, and, crossing the mountain-ranges, struck the Great Kanawha and followed it to the Ohio, and there encamped, Oct. 6. Expecting Dunmore with the right wing, he did not cast up intrenchments, and in this exposed situation was attacked (Oct. 10) by 1,000 chosen warriors of the Western Confederacy, led by the giant chief Cornstalk, who came from Pickaway Plains, and Logan, the Mingo chief. Fire was kept up until sunset; and during the night the Indians retreated, having lost, in killed and wounded, about 150 men. The Virginians lost about one-half their commissioned officers. Their entire loss was about seventy killed and a large number wounded.

Pokanoket Indians. See WAMPANOAG INDIANS.

Poland, LUKE POTTER, jurist; born in Westford, Vt., Nov. 1, 1815; acquired an academic education; was admitted to the bar in 1836; judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont 1848-1865, becoming chief-justice in 1860; and resigned in 1865 to become United States Senator. He was a member of Congress in 1867-75 and in 1883-85, and chairman of the Ku-Klux Klan and Credit Mobilier Investigating Committees. He died in Waterville, Vt., July 2, 1887.

Political Parties in the United States. Before the Revolution the two political parties in America were the Whigs and Tories. The latter favored royalty, and the former, including Sons of Liberty, Liberty Men, and Patriots, advocated independence. At the close of the Revolution the Whig party divided into Particularists, favoring State sovereignty and advocating confederation; and Strong Government, favoring a constitution. In 1787 the Particularists became Anti-federalists and the Strong Government party Federalists. Since this, the history of the various political parties in the United States has been as follows:

PRINCIPAL PARTIES.

Federal, 1787-1816.—Formed from the Strong Government or Constitutional party. Elected two Presidents: Washington, two terms, and Adams, one term. Advocated a tariff; internal revenue; funding the public debt; a United States bank; a militia; assumption of State debt by the government; favored England as against France; opposed a war with England and a protective tariff. Washington, John Adams, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay were among its principal supporters.

Democratic-Republican, 1793-1828.—Formed from the Anti-federal (1787-93), the Republican or Jeffersonian party (1791-93), and Democrats or sympathizers with the French Revolutionists (1791-93). Elected three Presidents: Jefferson, two terms; Madison, two terms; Monroe, two terms. Favored State rights; enlarged freedom; France as against England; war with England; internal improvement; purchase of Louisiana; pur-

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

chase of Florida; Missouri Compromise, 1820; Monroe doctrine; free-trade in 1800 and a protective tariff in 1828.

Democratic, 1828.—The Democratic-Republican party divided into four parts in the Presidential campaign of 1824 and never reappeared again in a national contest. The Democratic (and Whig) party was constructed out of its ruins. Has elected six Presidents: Jackson, two terms; Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, one term; Cleveland, two terms. Favored internal improvements; State banks; removal of deposits; sub-treasury; State rights; free-trade; tariff for revenue only; annexation of Texas; Mexican War; compromise of 1850; Monroe doctrine; Dred Scott decision; fugitive slave law; acquisition of Cuba; frugal public expense; free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Opposed agitation of the slavery question in any form or place; coercion of the seceded States; the amelioration of the condition of the freed negroes; freedmen's bureau; Chinese immigration; strong government; opposes in general the policy of the other party in power.

Whig, 1834-54.—Formed from a union of the National Republicans and disrupted Democratic-Republicans. Elected two Presidents: Harrison and Taylor. Favored non-extension of slavery; slavery agitation—i. e., right of petition and free circulation of anti-slavery documents; a United States bank; protective tariff; vigorous internal improvements; compromise of 1850. Opposed the Seminole War; annexation of Texas; Mexican War; State rights; Democratic policy towards slavery. Principal leaders of this party, Webster and Clay.

Republican, 1854.—Formed from other parties, principally from the Whig party, on the issues of the slavery question. Has elected six Presidents: Lincoln, two terms; Grant, two terms; Hayes, Garfield, and Harrison, one term; McKinley, two terms. Favored the suppression of slavery; suppression of the rebellion; all constitutional means to accomplish it, financial and otherwise; emancipation of slaves; prohibition of slavery throughout the United States; full citizenship to the emancipated slaves; Monroe doctrine; full payment of the national debt; protective

tariff; free ballot; generous pension legislation; decided increase of the navy and coast defence. Opposed the free coinage of silver. This party, while showing many able men, has never had a leader. It has maintained its national position through the principles it has advocated. Remark: Both the Democratic and Republican, as the chief parties, recognize and assume to legislate on all questions of national importance—viz., civil-service reform; woman's suffrage; free ballot; justice to the laboring classes; private interests as against monopolies; the general finances of the country; temperance, etc.

MINOR PARTIES.

Anti-federalist.—A continuation of the Particularists. See *Democratic-Republican* on page 235.

Peace Party, 1812-15.—Composed of Democratic-Republicans and Federalists, mostly in New England. Opposed the War of 1812. See HARTFORD CONVENTION.

Clintonians, 1812.—An offshoot of the Democratic-Republican party who opposed long terms of office, caucus nominations, a Virginia President, and an official regency. United with the Federalists. Nominated De Witt Clinton, of New York, for President.

People's Party, 1824.—An offshoot of the Democratic-Republicans in New York, who favored the choosing of electors by the people instead of State legislatures. Supported William H. Crawford for President.

Coalition, 1825.—So called from the union of the supporters of Clay with those of John Quincy Adams in the House, thus giving the Presidency to Adams.

Anti-masonic, 1827-34.—Consisted of those who believed the members of the Masonic fraternity held their civil obligations subordinate to their fraternal, hence unworthy to hold office. See MORGAN, WILLIAM.

National-Republican, 1828-34.—The broad-construction wing of the Democratic-Republican party. For internal improvements, protection, and a United States bank; for dividing proceeds of land sales among States. Opposed to the spoils system. United to form the Whig party, 1834. Supported John Quincy Adams, 1828, and Henry Clay, 1832.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Nullification, 1831-33.—A South Carolina party organized by Calhoun. See SOUTH CAROLINA.

Liberal Party, 1840-48.—Founded at a national convention of abolitionists at Albany, N. Y., deriving additional strength from Whigs and Democrats. For the immediate abolition of slavery, and equal rights. Against the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution. Nominated James G. Birney for President, 1839, and again in 1843. Withdrew their candidates and joined the Free-soil party in 1848.

Free-soil Party, 1848-54.—Formed from the Liberty party, Democrats, and Whigs. Chief cause of its appearance, opposition to slavery. Merged into the Republican party. Nominated Martin Van Buren for President, 1848, and John P. Hale, 1852.

American, 1852-60.—Generally known as the "Know-nothing party." Formed from members of other parties dissatisfied with the influx and power of the foreign element. Favored more stringent naturalization laws; reserved rights of States. Opposed foreign immigration; suffrage and office-holding by foreign-born citizens; efforts to reject the Bible from the public schools, etc. Nominated Millard Fillmore for President in 1856. Merged into the Constitutional Union party in 1860. See KNOW-NOTHING PARTY.

Douglas Democrats, 1860.—Northern Democrats, supporters of Stephen A. Douglas in the disruption of the Democratic party in 1860.

Breckinridge Democrats, 1860.—Southern Democrats, supporters of Breckinridge in 1860.

Constitutional Union Party, 1860.—Democrats, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of law; supporters of Bell and Everett.

Liberal Republicans, 1872.—Formed by dissatisfied Republicans, formerly mostly war Democrats. Favored greater leniency towards the Confederates. Nominated Horace Greeley for President, 1872.

"Straight-out" Democrats, 1872.—The "Tap-root" Democrats, displeased by the nomination of Greeley by the Regular Democrats, nominated Charles O'Connor for President; declined, but received about 30,000 popular votes.

Temperance, 1872.—A national combina-

tion of local temperance organizations, became

Prohibition, 1876.—For legal prohibition; female suffrage; direct Presidential vote; currency convertible into coin. Nominated James Black from Pennsylvania for President, 1872; Green Clay Smith, 1876; Neal Dow, 1880; John P. St. John, 1884; C. B. Fisk, 1888; John Bidwell, 1892; Joshua Levering, 1896; John G. Woolley, 1900.

Greenback, 1874; became *National Greenback, 1878;* became *Union Labor, 1887.*—Unlimited coinage of gold and silver; substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes; suffrage without regard to sex; legislation in the interest of the laboring classes, etc. Nominated Peter Cooper for President, 1876; James B. Weaver, 1880; Benjamin F. Butler, 1884; Alson J. Streeter, 1888. These various elements, uniting with the "Farmers' Alliance," form the

People's or Populists' Party, 1891.—A meeting was held at St. Louis, December, 1889, of the "Farmers and Laborers' Union of America," for the purpose of consolidating the various bodies of organized farmers in the United States, which had at different times and places formed since 1867, and known under the general term of "The Granger Movement." This meeting was a success, and the consolidated body was called the "Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union." Dec. 2, 1890, a national convention was held at Ocala, Fla.; thirty-five States and Territories were represented by 163 delegates; at this convention independent political action was decided upon, and a platform adopted embracing the following principles: (1) The abolition of the national banks, establishment of sub-treasuries to loan money to the people at 2 per cent., increase of circulation to \$50 per capita; (2) laws to suppress gambling in agricultural products; (3) unlimited coinage of silver; (4) laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and to permit the ownership of land in actual use only; (5) restricting tariff; (6) government to control railroads, telegraphs, etc.; (7) direct vote of the people for President, Vice-President, and United States Senators. Second convention held at Cincinnati, May 19, 1891; thirty States and Territories represented

POLK

with 1,418 delegates; at this convention the platform of Ocala, Fla., 1890, was heartily endorsed and the party given the name of "People's party." Third national meeting at St. Louis, Feb. 22, 1892. National convention for the nominating of President and Vice-President held at Omaha, July 4, 1892; James B. Weaver, of Iowa, nominated for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President. United with the Democrats in 1896 and 1900 in nominating William J. Bryan.

Socialist Labor.—First national convention held in New York City, Aug. 28, 1892, and nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for President, and Charles H. Matchett, of Brooklyn, N. Y., for Vice-President. Nominated Charles H. Matchett in 1896. Joseph F. Malloney in 1900.

National Democrats, 1896.—Formed by Democrats who opposed free silver. Nominated John N. Palmer, of Illinois, for President; Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

Silver Republican.—United with the Democratic party in nominating William J. Bryan for President.

National Party, 1896.—For prohibition and free silver. Nominated Charles E. Bentley, of Nebraska, for President; James H. Southgate, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. Name was changed to Liberty party in 1897.

Middle-of-the-road, or *Anti-fusion People's Party*, in 1900 nominated Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, for President.

Union Reform Party, nominated Seth H. Ellis, of Ohio, for President in 1900.

Social Democratic, nominated Eugene V. Debs for President in 1900.

United Christian Party, in 1900 nominated J. F. R. Leonard, of Iowa, for President.

LOCAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL NAMES.

Abolitionists.—Abolitionists.

Anti-Renters.—Anti-Rentism.

Anti-Nebraska.—Opposers of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, 1854.

Barnburners.—Barnburners.

Bucktails.—Democratic followers of Madison in 1816.

Doughfaces.—Doughfaces.

Half-breeds.—A term of contempt bestowed by the Stalwarts upon those who supported the administration of President Hayes and opposed the nomination of Grant for a third term, etc. MUGWUMPS

Hunkers.—Barnburners.

Independent Republicans.—Started in 1879 in opposition to Senator Conkling's leadership of the party. MUGWUMPS.

Ku-klux Klan.—Ku-klux Klan.

Loco-foco.—Loco-foco.

Readjusters, 1878.—A division of the Democratic party in Virginia advocating the funding of the State debt at 3 per cent.; under the leadership of General Mahone.

Silver Grays.—Silver Grays.

Stalwarts.—A branch of the Republican party, followers of Conkling, Cameron, and Logan, opposed to the reconciling course of President Hayes towards the South. Favored the nomination of Grant for a third term. Opposers of Blaine, etc.

Tammany.—Tammany.

Woman's Rights. Belva Lockwood constituted herself a candidate for President in 1876.

POLK, JAMES KNOX

Polk, JAMES KNOX, eleventh President of the United States; from 1845 to 1849; Democrat; born in Mecklenburg county, N. C., Nov. 2, 1795. His ancestral name was Pollock, and he was of Scotch-Irish descent. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1818; admitted to the bar in 1820. Three years afterwards he was a member of the legislature of Tennessee and was sent a delegate to Congress in 1825, where he was a conspicuous opponent of the administra-

tion of John Quincy Adams. He was speaker of the House of Representatives from 1835 to 1837, and in 1839, having served fourteen years in Congress, he declined a re-election. He was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1840, but was defeated. In 1844 the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore nominated him for the Presidency, chiefly because he was strongly in favor of the annexation of Texas, a favorite measure of the Southern politicians, and he was elected,

POLK, JAMES KNOX

his opponents being Henry Clay and James G. Birney (see CABINET, PRESIDENT'S). During his administration, the most important event was a war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848. The other chief events of his administration were the establishment of an independent treasury system, the enactment of a low tariff system, and the creation of the Department of the Interior. Three months after he retired from office, he was seized with illness and died in Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849.

Inaugural Address.—On March 4, 1845, President Polk delivered the following inaugural address:

Fellow-citizens, — Without solicitation on my part, I have been chosen by the free and voluntary suffrages of my countrymen to the most honorable and most responsible office on earth. I am deeply impressed with gratitude for the confidence reposed in me. Honored with this distinguished consideration at an earlier period of life than any of my predecessors, I cannot disguise the diffidence with which I am about to enter on the discharge of my official duties.

If the more aged and experienced men who have filled the office of President of the United States even in the infancy of the republic distrusted their ability to discharge the duties of that exalted station, what ought not to be the apprehensions of one so much younger and less endowed now that our domain extends from ocean to ocean, that our people have so greatly increased in numbers, and at a time when so great diversity of opinion prevails in regard to the principles and policy which should characterize the administration of our government? Well may the boldest fear and the wisest tremble when incurring responsibilities on which may depend our country's peace and prosperity, and in some degree the hopes and happiness of the whole human family.

In assuming responsibilities so vast I fervently invoke the aid of that Almighty Ruler of the Universe in whose hands are the destinies of nations and of men to guard this heaven-favored land against the mischiefs which without His guidance might arise from an unwise public policy. With a firm reliance upon the wisdom of

Omnipotence to sustain and direct me in the path which I am appointed to pursue, I stand in the presence of this assembled multitude of my countrymen to take upon myself the solemn obligation "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

A concise enumeration of the principles which will guide me in the administrative policy of the government is not only in accordance with the examples set me by all my predecessors, but is eminently befitting the occasion.

The Constitution itself, plainly written as it is, the safeguard of our federative compact, the offspring of concession and compromise, binding together in the bonds of peace and union this great and increasing family of free and independent States, will be the chart by which I shall be directed.

It will be my first care to administer the government in the true spirit of that instrument, and to assume no powers not expressly granted or clearly implied in its terms.

The government of the United States is one of delegated and limited powers, and it is by a strict adherence to the clearly granted powers and by abstaining from the exercise of doubtful or unauthorized implied powers that we have the only sure guarantee against the recurrence of those unfortunate collisions between the federal and State authorities which have occasionally so much disturbed the harmony of our system and even threatened the perpetuity of our glorious Union.

"To the States, respectively, or to the people" have been reserved "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States." Each State is a complete sovereignty within the sphere of its reserved powers. The government of the Union, acting within the sphere of its delegated authority, is also a complete sovereignty, while the general government should abstain from the exercise of authority not clearly delegated to it, the States should be equally careful that in the maintenance of their rights they do not overstep the limits of powers reserved to them. One of the most distinguished of my predecessors attached deserved importance to "the support of the State governments in all

POLK, JAMES KNOX

their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies," and to the "preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

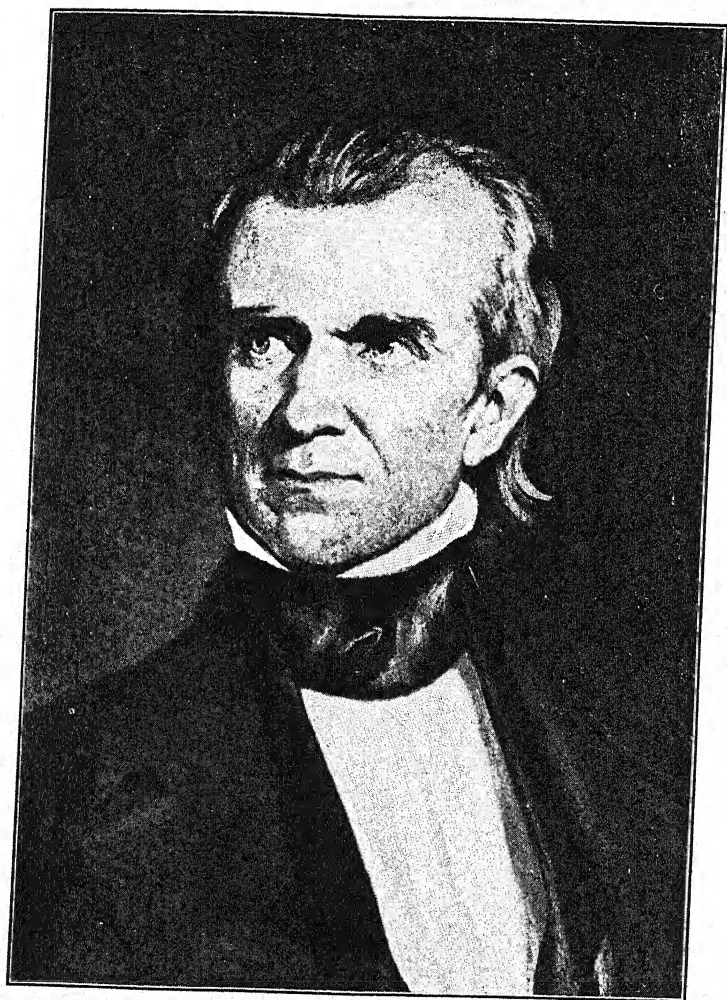
To the government of the United States has been intrusted the exclusive management of our foreign affairs. Beyond that it wields a few general enumerative powers. It does not force reform on the States. It leaves individuals, over whom it casts its protecting influence, entirely free to improve their own condition by the legitimate exercise of all their mental and physical powers. It is a common protector of each and all the States; of every man who lives upon our soil, whether of native or foreign birth; of every religious sect, in their worship of the Almighty according to the dictates of their own conscience; of every shade of opinion, and the most free inquire; of every art, trade, and occupation consistent with the laws of the States. And we rejoice in the general happiness, prosperity, and advancement of our country, which have been the offspring of freedom, and not of power.

This most admirable and wisest system of well-regulated self-government among men ever devised by human minds has been tested by its successful operation for more than half a century, and if preserved from the usurpations of the federal government on the one hand and the exercise by the States of powers not reserved to them on the other, will, I fervently hope and believe, endure for ages to come and dispense the blessings of civil and religious liberty to distant generations. To effect objects so dear to every patriot I shall devote myself with anxious solicitude. It will be my desire to guard against that most fruitful source of danger to the harmonious action of our system which consists in substituting the mere discretion and caprice of the executive or of majorities in the legislative department of the government for powers which have been withheld from the federal government by the Constitution. By the theory of our government majorities rule, but this right is not an arbitrary or unlimited one. It is a right to be exercised

in subordination to the Constitution, and in conformity to it. One great object of the Constitution was to restrain majorities from oppressing minorities or encroaching upon their just rights. Minorities have a right to appeal to the Constitution as a shield against such oppression.

That the blessings of liberty which our Constitution secures may be enjoyed alike by minorities and majorities, the executive has been wisely invested with a qualified veto upon the acts of the legislature. It is a negative power, and is conservative in its character. It arrests for the time hasty, inconsiderate, or unconstitutional legislation, invites reconsideration, and transfers questions at issue between the legislative and executive departments to the tribunal of the people. Like all other powers, it is subject to be abused. When judiciously and properly exercised, the Constitution itself may be saved from infraction, and the rights of all preserved and protected.

The inestimable value of our federal Union is felt and acknowledged by all. By this system of united and confederated States our people are permitted collectively and individually to seek their own happiness in their own way, and the consequences have been most auspicious. Since the Union was formed the number of the States has increased from thirteen to twenty-eight; two of these have taken their positions as members of the confederacy within the last week. Our population has increased from 3,000,000 to 20,000,000. New communities and States are seeking protection under its ægis, and multitudes from the Old World are flocking to our shores to participate in its blessings. Beneath its benign sway peace and prosperity prevail. Freed from the burdens and miseries of war, our trade and intercourse have extended throughout the world. Mind, no longer tasked in devising means to accomplish or resist schemes of ambition, usurpation, or conquest, is devoting itself to man's true interests in developing his faculties and powers, and the capacity of nature to minister to his enjoyments. Genius is free to announce its inventions and discoveries, and the hand is free to accomplish whatever the head conceives not incompatible with the rights of a fellow-being. All distinctions of birth or



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rank have been abolished. All citizens, whether native or adopted, are placed upon terms of precise equality; all are entitled to equal rights and equal protection. No union exists between Church and State, and perfect freedom of opinion is guaranteed to all sects and creeds.

These are some of the blessings secured to our happy land by our federal union. To perpetuate them it is our sacred duty to preserve it. Who shall assign limits to the achievements of free minds and free hands under the protection of this glorious Union? No treason to mankind since the organization of society would be equal in atrocity to that of him who would lift his hand to destroy it. He would overthrow the noblest structure of human wisdom, which protects himself and his fellow-man. He would stop the progress of free government and involve his country either in anarchy or despotism. He would extinguish the fire of liberty, which warms and animates the hearts of happy millions and invites all the nations of the earth to imitate our example. If he say that error and wrong are committed in the administration of the government, let him remember that nothing human can be perfect, and that under no other system of government revealed by heaven or devised by man has reason been allowed so free and broad a scope to combat error. Has the sword of the despots proved to be a safer or surer instrument of reform in government than enlightened reason? Does he expect to find among the ruins of this Union a happier abode for our swarming millions than they now have under it? Every lover of his country must shudder at the thought of the possibility of its dissolution, and will be ready to adopt the patriotic sentiment, "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved." To preserve it the compromises which alone enabled our fathers to form a common constitution for the government and protection of so many States and distinct communities, of such diversified habits, interests, and domestic institutions, must be sacredly and religiously observed. Any attempt to disturb or destroy these compromises, being terms of the compact of union, can lead to none other than the most ruinous and disastrous consequences.

It is a source of deep regret that in some sections of our country misguided persons have occasionally indulged in schemes and agitations whose object is the destruction of domestic institutions existing in other sections—institutions which existed at the adoption of the Constitution and were recognized and protected by it. All must see that if it were possible for them to be successful in attaining their object the dissolution of the Union and the consequent destruction of our happy form of government must speedily follow.

I am happy to believe that at every period of our existence as a nation there has existed, and continues to exist, among the great mass of our people a devotion to the Union of the States which will shield and protect it against the moral treason of any who would seriously contemplate its destruction. To secure a continuance of that devotion the compromises of the Constitution must not only be preserved, but sectional jealousies and heart-burnings must be discountenanced, and all should remember that they are members of the same political family, having a common destiny. To increase the attachment of our people to the Union, our laws should be just. Any policy which shall tend to favor monopolies or the peculiar interests of sections or classes must operate to the prejudices of the interests of their fellow-citizens, and should be avoided. If the compromises of the Constitution be preserved, if sectional jealousies and heart-burnings be discountenanced, if our laws be just and the government be practically administered strictly within the limits of power prescribed to it, we may discard all apprehensions for the safety of the Union.

With these views of the nature, character, and objects of the government, and the value of the Union, I shall steadily oppose the creation of those institutions and systems which in their nature tend to pervert it from its legitimate purposes and make it the instrument of sections, classes, and individuals. We need no national banks or other extraneous institutions planted around the government to control or strengthen it in opposition to the will of its authors. Experience has taught us how unnecessary they are as auxiliaries of

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the public authorities—how impotent for good and how powerful for mischief.

Ours was intended to be a plain and frugal government, and I shall regard it to be my duty to recommend to Congress and, as far as the executive is concerned, to enforce by all the means within my power the strictest economy in the expenditure of the public money which may be compatible with the public interests.

A national debt has become almost an institution of European monarchies. It is viewed in some of them as an essential prop to existing governments. Melancholy is the condition of that people whose government can be sustained only by a system which periodically transfers large amounts from the labor of the many to the coffers of the few. Such a system is incompatible with the ends for which our republican government was instituted. Under a wise policy the debts contracted in our Revolution and during the War of 1812 have been happily extinguished. By a judicious application of the revenues not required for other necessary purposes, it is not doubted that the debt which has grown out of the circumstances of the last few years may be speedily paid off.

I congratulate my fellow-citizens on the entire restoration of the credit of the general government of the Union, and that of many of the States. Happy would it be for the indebted States if they were freed from their liabilities, many of which were incautiously contracted. Although the government of the Union is neither in a legal nor a moral sense bound for the debts of the States, and it would be a violation of our compact of union to assume them, yet we cannot but feel a deep interest in seeing all the States meet their public liabilities and pay off their just debts at the earliest practicable period. That they will do so as soon as it can be done without imposing too heavy burdens on their citizens there is no reason to doubt. The sound moral and honorable feeling of the people of the indebted States cannot be questioned, and we are happy to perceive a settled disposition on their part, as their ability returns after a season of unexampled pecuniary embarrassment, to pay off all just demands and to acquiesce in any reasonable measures to accomplish that object.

One of the difficulties which we have had to encounter in the practical administration of the government consists in the adjustment of our revenue laws, and the levy of the taxes necessary for the support of the government. In the general proposition that no more money shall be collected than the necessities of an economical administration shall require all parties seem to acquiesce. Nor does there seem to be any material difference of opinion as to the absence of right in the government to tax one section of country, or one class of citizens, or one occupation, for the mere profit of another. "Justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country." I have heretofore declared to my fellow-citizens that "in my judgment it is the duty of the government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation." I have also declared my opinion to be "in favor of a tariff for revenue," and that "in adjusting the details of such a tariff I have sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry," and that I was "opposed to a tariff for protection merely, and not for revenue."

The power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" was an indispensable one to be conferred on the federal government, which without it would possess no means of providing for its own support. In executing this power by levying a tariff of duties for the support of the government, the raising of revenue should be the object and protection the incident. To reverse this principle and make protection the object and revenue the incident would be to inflict injustice upon all other than the protected interests. In levying duties for revenue it is doubtless proper to make such discriminations within the revenue principle as

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will afford incidental protection to our home interests. Within the revenue limit there is a discretion to discriminate; beyond that limit the rightful exercise of the power is not conceded. The incidental protection afforded to our home interests by discriminations within the revenue range it is believed will be ample. In making discriminations all our home interests should as far as practicable be equally protected. The largest portion of our people are agriculturists. Others are employed in manufactures, commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts. They are all engaged in their respective pursuits, and their joint labors constitute the national or home industry. To tax one branch of this home industry for the benefit of another would be unjust. No one of these interests can rightfully claim an advantage over the others, or to be enriched by impoverishing the others. All are equally entitled to the fostering care and protection of the government. In exercising a sound discretion in levying discriminating duties within the limit prescribed, care should be taken that it be done in a manner not to benefit the wealthy few at the expense of the toiling millions by taxing lowest the luxuries of life, or articles of superior quality and high price, which can only be consumed by the wealthy, and highest the necessities of life, or articles of coarse quality and low price, which the poor and great mass of our people must consume. The burdens of government should as far as practicable be distributed justly and equally among all classes of our population. These general views, long entertained on this subject, I have deemed it proper to reiterate. It is a subject upon which conflicting interests of sections and occupations are supposed to exist, and a spirit of mutual concession and compromise in adjusting its details should be cherished by every part of our widespread country as the only means of preserving harmony and a cheerful acquiescence of all in the operation of our revenue laws. Our patriotic citizens in every part of the Union will readily submit to the payment of such taxes as shall be needed for the support of their government, whether in peace or in war, if they are so levied as to dis-

tribute the burdens as equally as possible among them.

The republic of Texas has made known her desire to come into our Union, to form a part of our confederacy and enjoy with us the blessings of liberty secured and guaranteed by our Constitution. Texas was once a part of our country—was unwisely ceded away to a foreign power—is now independent, and possesses an undoubted right to dispose of a part or the whole of her territory and to merge her sovereignty as a separate and independent State in ours. I congratulate my country that by an act of the late Congress of the United States the assent of this government has been given to the reunion, and it only remains for the two countries to agree upon the terms to consummate an object so important to both.

I regard the question of annexation as belonging exclusively to the United States and Texas. They are independent powers competent to contract, and foreign nations have no right to interfere with them or to take exceptions to their reunion. Foreign powers do not seem to appreciate the true character of our government. Our Union is a confederation of independent States, whose policy is peace with each other and all the world. To enlarge its limits is to extend the dominions of peace over additional territories and increasing millions. The world has nothing to fear from military ambition in our government. While the chief magistrate and the popular branch of Congress are elected for short terms by the suffrages of those millions who must in their own persons bear all the burdens and miseries of war, our government cannot be otherwise than pacific. Foreign powers should therefore look on the annexation of Texas to the United States, not as the conquest of a nation seeking to extend her dominions by arms and violence, but as the peaceful acquisition of a territory once her own, by adding another member to our confederation, with the consent of that member, thereby diminishing the chances of war, and opening to them new and ever-increasing markets for their products.

To Texas the reunion is important, because the strong protecting arm of our government would be extended over her,

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and the vast resources of her fertile soil and genial climate should be speedily developed, while the safety of New Orleans and of our whole Southwestern frontier against hostile aggression, as well as the interests of the whole Union, would be promoted by it.

In the earlier stages of our national existence the opinion prevailed with some that our system of confederated States could not operate successfully over an extended territory, and serious objections have at different times been made to the enlargement of our boundaries. These objections were earnestly urged when we acquired Louisiana. Experience has shown that they were not well founded. The title of numerous Indian tribes to vast tracts of country has been extinguished; new States have been admitted into the Union; new Territories have been created and our jurisdiction and laws extended over them. As our population has expanded, the Union has been cemented and strengthened. As our boundaries have been enlarged and our agricultural population has been spread over a large surface, our federative system has acquired additional strength and security. It may well be doubted whether it would not be in greater danger of overthrow if our present population were confined to the comparatively narrow limits of the original thirteen States than it is now that they are sparsely settled over a more expanded territory. It is confidently believed that our system may be safely extended to the utmost bounds of our territorial limits, and that as it shall be extended the bonds of our Union, so far from being weakened, will become stronger.

None can fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace if Texas remains an independent State, or becomes an ally or dependency of some foreign nation more powerful than herself. Is there one among our citizens who would not prefer perpetual peace with Texas to occasional wars, which so often occur between bordering independent nations? Is there one who would not prefer free intercourse with her to high duties on all our products and manufactures which enter her ports or cross her frontiers? Is there one who would not prefer an unrestricted communication with her citizens to the fron-

tier obstructions which must occur if she remains out of the Union? Whatever is good or evil in the local institutions of Texas will remain her own whether annexed to the United States or not. None of the present States will be responsible for them any more than they are for the local institutions of each other. They have confederated together for certain specified objects. Upon the same principle that they would refuse to form a perpetual union with Texas because of her local institutions our forefathers would have been prevented from forming our present Union. Perceiving no valid objection to the measure, and many reasons for its adoption vitally affecting the peace, the safety, and the prosperity of both countries, I shall on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our Constitution, and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy, endeavor by all constitutional, honorable, and appropriate means to consummate the expressed will of the people and government of the United States by the re-annexation of Texas to our Union at the earliest practicable period.

Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain by all constitutional means the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of the Oregon is "clear and unquestionable," and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. But eighty years ago our population was confined on the west by the ridge of the Alleghanies. Within that period—within the lifetime, I might say, of some of my hearers—our people, increasing to many millions, have filled the eastern valley of the Mississippi, adventurously ascended the Missouri to its head-springs, and are already engaged in establishing the blessings of self-government in valleys of which the rivers flow to the Pacific. The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industry of our emigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately wherever they may be upon our soil. The jurisdiction of our laws and the benefits of our republican institutions should be extended over them in the distant regions which they have se-

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lected for their homes. The increasing facilities of intercourse will easily bring the States, of which the formation in that part of our territory cannot be long delayed, within the sphere of our federative Union. In the mean time, every obligation imposed by treaty or conventional stipulations should be sacredly respected.

In the management of our foreign relations it will be my aim to observe a careful respect for the rights of other nations, while our own will be the subject of constant watchfulness. Equal and exact justice should characterize all our intercourse with foreign countries. All alliances having a tendency to jeopard the welfare and honor of our country, or sacrifice any one of the national interests, will be studiously avoided, and yet no opportunity will be lost to cultivate a favorable understanding with foreign governments by which our navigation and commerce may be extended, and the ample products of our fertile soil, as well as the manufactures of our skilled artisans, find a ready market and remunerating prices in foreign countries.

In taking "care that the laws be faithfully executed," a strict performance of duty will be exacted from all public officers. From those officers, especially, who are charged with the collection and disbursement of the public revenue will prompt and rigid accountability be required. Any culpable failure or delay on their part to account for the moneys intrusted to them at the times and in the manner required by law will in every instance terminate the official connection of such defaulting officer with the government.

Although in our country the chief magistrate must almost of necessity be chosen by a party and stand pledged to its principles and measures, yet in his official action he should not be the President of a part only but of the whole people of the United States. While he executes the laws with an impartial hand, shrinks from no proper responsibility, and faithfully carries out in the executive department of the government the principles and policy of those who have chosen him, he should not be unmindful that our fellow-citizens who have differed with him in opinion are entitled to the full and free exercise of their opin-

ions and judgments, and that the rights of all are entitled to respect and regard.

Confidently relying upon the aid and assistance of the co-ordinate departments of the government in conducting our public affairs, I enter upon the discharge of the high duties which have been assigned me by the people, again humbly supplicating that Divine Being who has watched over and protected our beloved country from its infancy to the present hour to continue His gracious benedictions upon us, that we may continue to be a prosperous and happy people.

Special Message on Mexico.—On May 11, 1846, President Polk sent the following special message on the Mexican situation to the Congress:

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1846.

To the Senate and House of Representatives,—The existing state of the relations between the United States and Mexico renders it proper that I should bring the subject to the consideration of Congress. In my message at the commencement of your present session the state of these relations, the causes which led to the suspension of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries in March, 1845, and the long-continued and unredressed wrongs and injuries committed by the Mexican government on citizens of the United States in their persons and property were briefly set forth.

As the facts and opinions which were then laid before you were carefully considered, I cannot better express my present convictions of the condition of affairs up to that time than by referring you to that communication.

The strong desire to establish peace with Mexico on liberal and honorable terms, and the readiness of this government to regulate and adjust our boundary and other causes of difference with that power on such fair and equitable principles as would lead to permanent relations of the most friendly nature, induced me in September last to seek the reopening of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Every measure adopted on our part had for its object the furtherance of these desired results. In communicating to Congress a succinct statement of the injuries which we have suf-

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ferred from Mexico, and which have been accumulating during a period of more than twenty years, every expression that could tend to inflame the people of Mexico or defeat or delay a pacific result was carefully avoided. An envoy of the United States repaired to Mexico with full powers to adjust every existing difference. But though present on the Mexican soil by agreement between the two governments, invested with full powers, and bearing evidence of the most friendly dispositions, his mission has been unavailing. The Mexican government not only refused to receive him or listen to his propositions, but after a long-continued series of menaces have at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil.

It now becomes my duty to state more in detail the origin, progress, and failure of that mission. In pursuance of the instructions given in September last, an inquiry was made on Oct. 13, 1845, in the most friendly terms, through our consul in Mexico, of the minister for foreign affairs, whether the Mexican government "would receive an envoy from the United States intrusted with full powers to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments," with the assurance that "should the answer be in the affirmative such an envoy would be immediately despatched to Mexico." The Mexican minister, on Oct. 15, gave an affirmative answer to this inquiry, requesting at the same time that our naval force at Vera Cruz might be withdrawn, lest its continued presence might assume the appearance of menace and coercion pending the negotiations. This force was immediately withdrawn. On Nov. 10, 1845, Mr. John Slidell, of Louisiana, was commissioned by me as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, and was intrusted with full powers to adjust both the questions of the Texas boundary and of indemnification to our citizens. The redress of the wrongs of our citizens naturally and inseparably blended itself with the question of boundary. The settlement of the one question in any correct view of the subject involves that of the other. I could not for the moment entertain the idea that the claims of our

much-injured and long-suffering citizens, many of which had existed for more than twenty years, should be postponed or separated from the settlement of the boundary question.

Mr. Slidell arrived at Vera Cruz on Nov. 30, and was courteously received by the authorities of that city. But the government of General Herrera was then tottering to its fall. The revolutionary party had seized upon the Texas question to effect or hasten its overthrow. Its determination to restore friendly relations with the United States, and to receive our minister to negotiate for the settlement of this question was violently assailed, and was made the great theme of denunciation against it. The government of General Herrera, there is good reason to believe, was sincerely desirous to receive our minister; but it yielded to the storm raised by its enemies, and upon Dec. 21 refused to accredit Mr. Slidell upon the most frivolous pretexts. These are so fully and ably exposed in the note of Mr. Slidell of Dec. 24 last, to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, herewith transmitted, that I deem it unnecessary to enter into further detail on this portion of the subject.

Five days after the date of Mr. Slidell's note General Herrera yielded the government to General Paredes without a struggle, and on Dec. 30 resigned the Presidency. This revolution was accomplished solely by the army, the people having taken little part in the contest; and thus the supreme power in Mexico passed into the hands of a military leader.

Determined to leave no effort untried to effect an amicable adjustment with Mexico, I directed Mr. Slidell to present his credentials to the government of General Paredes and ask to be officially received by him. There would have been less ground for taking this step had General Paredes come into power by a regular constitutional succession. In that event his administration would have been considered but a mere constitutional continuance of the government of General Herrera, and the refusal of the latter to receive our minister would have been deemed conclusive unless an intimation had been given by General Paredes of his desire to reverse the decision of his prede-

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cessor. But the government of General Paredes owes its existence to a military revolution, by which the existing constitutional authorities had been subverted. The form of government was entirely changed, as well as all the high functionaries by whom it was administered.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Slidell, in obedience to my direction, addressed a note to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, under date of March 1 last, asking to be received by that government in the diplomatic character to which he had been appointed. This minister in his reply, under date of March 12, reiterated the arguments of his predecessor, and in terms that may be considered as giving all grounds of offence to the government and people of the United States denied the application of Mr. Slidell. Nothing, therefore, remained for our envoy but to demand his passports and return to his own country.

Thus the government of Mexico, though solemnly pledged by official acts in October last to receive and accredit an American envoy, violated their plighted faith and refused the offer of a peaceful adjustment of our difficulties. Not only was the offer rejected, but the indignity of its rejection was enhanced by the manifest breach of faith in refusing to admit the envoy who came because they had bound themselves to receive him. Nor can it be said that the offer was fruitless from the want of opportunity of discussing it; our envoy was present on their own soil. Nor can it be ascribed to a want of sufficient powers; our envoy had full powers to adjust every question of difference. Nor was there room for complaint that our propositions for settlement were unreasonable; permission was not even given our envoy to make any proposition whatever. Nor can it be objected that we, on our part, would not listen to any reasonable terms of their suggestion; the Mexican government refused all negotiation, and have made no proposition of any kind.

In my message at the commencement of the present session I informed you that upon the earnest appeal both of the Congress and convention of Texas I had ordered a sufficient military force to take a position "between the Nueces and the Del Norte." This had become necessary

to meet a threatened invasion of Texas by the Mexican forces, for which extensive military preparations had been made. The invasion was threatened solely because Texas had determined, in accordance with a solemn resolution of the Congress of the United States, to annex herself to our Union, and under these circumstances it was plainly our duty to extend our protection over her citizens and soil.

This force was concentrated at Corpus Christi, and remained there until after I had received such information from Mexico as rendered it probable, if not certain, that the Mexican government would refuse to receive our envoy.

Meantime Texas, by the final action of our Congress, had become an integral part of our Union. The Congress of Texas, by its act of Dec. 19, 1836, had declared the Rio del Norte to be the boundary of that republic; its jurisdiction had been extended and exercised beyond the Nueces. The country between that river and the Del Norte had been represented in the Congress and in the convention of Texas, had thus taken part in the act of annexation itself, and is now included within one of our congressional districts. Our own Congress had, moreover, with great unanimity, by the act approved Dec. 31, 1845, recognized the country beyond the Nueces as a part of our territory by including it within our own revenue system, and a revenue officer to reside within that district has been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It became, therefore, of urgent necessity to provide for the defence of that portion of our country. Accordingly, on Jan. 13 last, instructions were issued to the general in command of these troops to occupy the left bank of the Del Norte. This river, which is the southwestern boundary of the State of Texas, is an exposed frontier. From this quarter invasions were threatened; upon it and in its immediate vicinity, in the judgment of high military experience, are the proper stations for the protecting forces of the government. In addition to this important consideration, several others occurred to induce this movement. Among these are the facilities afforded by the ports at Brazos Santiago and the

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mouth of the Del Norte for the reception of supplies by seas, the stronger and more healthful military positions, the convenience for obtaining a ready and a more abundant supply of provisions, water, fuel, and forage, and the advantages which are afforded by the Del Norte in forwarding supplies to such posts as may be established in the interior and upon the Indian frontier.

The movement of the troops to the Del Norte was made by the commanding general under positive instructions to abstain from all aggressive acts towards Mexico or Mexican citizens, and to regard the relations between that republic and the United States as peaceful unless she should declare war or commit acts of hostility indicative of a state of war. He was specially directed to protect property and respect personal rights.

The army moved from Corpus Christi on March 11, and on the 28th of that month arrived on the left bank of the Del Norte opposite to Matamoras, where it encamped on a commanding position, which has since been strengthened by the erection of field-works. A depot has also been established at Point Isabel, near the Brazos Santiago, 30 miles in rear of the encampment. The selection of his position was necessarily confided to the judgment of the general in command.

The Mexican forces at Matamoras assumed a belligerent attitude, and on April 12 General Ampudia, then in command, notified General Taylor to break up his camp within twenty-four hours, and to retire beyond the Nueces River, and in the event of his failure to comply with these demands announced that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question. But no open act of hostility was committed until April 24. On that day General Arista, who had succeeded to the command of the Mexican forces, communicated to General Taylor that "he considered hostilities commenced, and should prosecute them." A party of dragoons of sixty-three men and officers were on the same day despatched from the American camp up the Rio del Norte, on its left bank, to ascertain whether the Mexican troops had crossed or were preparing to cross the river, "became engaged with a large body

of these troops, and after a short affair, in which some sixteen were killed and wounded, appear to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender."

The grievous wrongs perpetrated by Mexico upon our citizens throughout a long period of years remain unredressed, and solemn treaties pledging her public faith for this redress have been disregarded. A government either unable or unwilling to enforce the execution of such treaties fails to perform one of its plainest duties.

Our commerce with Mexico has been almost annihilated. It was formerly highly beneficial to both nations, but our merchants have been deterred from prosecuting it by the system of outrage and extortion which the Mexican authorities have pursued against them, while their appeals through their own government for indemnity have been made in vain. Our forbearance has gone to such an extreme as to be mistaken in its character. Had we acted with vigor in repelling the insults and redressing the injuries inflicted by Mexico at the commencement, we should doubtless have escaped all the difficulties in which we are now involved. Instead of this, however, we have been exerting our best efforts to propitiate her good-will. Upon the pretext that Texas, a nation as independent as herself, thought proper to unite its destinies with our own, she has affected to believe that we have severed her rightful territory, and in official proclamations and manifestoes has repeatedly threatened to make war upon us for the purpose of reconquering Texas. In the mean time we have tried every effort at reconciliation. The cup of forbearance had been exhausted even before the recent information from the frontier of the Del Norte. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war.

As war exists—and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself—we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor,

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the rights, and the interests of our country.

Anticipating the possibility of a crisis like that which has arrived, instructions were given in August last, "as a precautionary measure" against invasion or threatened invasion, authorizing General Taylor, if the emergency required, to accept volunteers, not from Texas only, but from the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and corresponding letters were addressed to the respective governors of those States. These instructions were repeated, and in January last, soon after the incorporation of "Texas into our Union of States," General Taylor was further "authorized by the President to make a requisition upon the executive of that State for such of its militia force as may be needed to repel invasion or to secure the country against apprehended invasion." On March 2 he was again reminded, "in the event of the approach of any considerable Mexican force, promptly and efficiently to use the authority with which he was clothed to call to him such auxiliary force as he might need." War actually existed, and our territory having been invaded, General Taylor, pursuant to authority vested in him by my direction, has called on the governor of Texas for four regiments of State troops, two to be mounted and two to serve on foot, and on the governor of Louisiana for four regiments of infantry to be sent to him as soon as practicable.

In further vindication of our rights and defence of our territory, I invoke the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace. To this end I recommend that authority should be given to call into the public service a large body of volunteers to serve for not less than six or twelve months, unless sooner discharged. A volunteer force is beyond question more efficient than any other description of citizen soldiers, and it is not to be doubted that a number far beyond that required would readily rush to the field upon the call of their country. I further recommend that a liberal provision be made for sus-

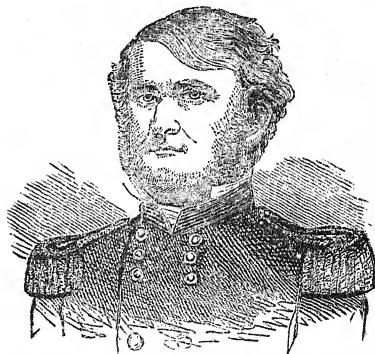
taining our entire military force and furnishing it with supplies and munitions of war.

The most energetic and prompt measures and the immediate appearance in arms of a large and overpowering force are recommended to Congress as the most certain and efficient means of bringing the existing collision with Mexico to a speedy and successful termination.

In making these recommendations, I deem it proper to declare that it is my anxious desire not only to terminate hostilities speedily, but to bring all matters in dispute between this government and Mexico to an early and amicable adjustment; and in this view I shall be prepared to renew negotiations whenever Mexico shall be ready to receive propositions or to make propositions of her own.

I transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence between our envoy to Mexico and the Mexican minister for foreign affairs, and so much of the correspondence between that envoy and the Secretary of State, and between the Secretary of War and the general in command on the Del Norte as is necessary to a full understanding of the subject.

Polk, LEONIDAS, military officer; born in Raleigh, N. C., April 10, 1806; graduated at West Point in 1827; ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church; and was



LEONIDAS POLK.

chosen bishop of the diocese of Louisiana in 1841. In 1861 he became a major-general in the Confederate army, in which capacity he was distinguished for his zeal and activity. He first appeared con-

POLLARD—PONCE

spicuous as a soldier in the occupation of Columbus, Ky., late in 1861. He commanded a division at the battle of Shiloh (April, 1862), and was in the great battle at Stone River at the close of that year, when he was lieutenant-general. He led a corps at the battle of Chickamauga (September, 1863). For disobedience of orders in this battle he was relieved of command and placed under arrest. In the winter and spring of 1864 he was in temporary charge of the Department of the Mississippi. With Johnston when opposing Sherman's march on Atlanta, he was killed by a cannon-shot, June 14, 1864, on Pine Knob, not many miles from Marietta, Ga.

Pollard, EDWARD ALBERT, journalist; born in Nelson county, Va., Feb. 27, 1828; graduated at the University of Virginia in 1849; studied law in Baltimore, Md., and was editor of the *Richmond Examiner* in 1861-67. He was a staunch advocate of the Confederacy during the Civil War, but bitterly opposed Jefferson Davis's policy; was captured near the end of the war and held a prisoner for eight months. His publications include *Letters of the Southern Spy in Washington and Elsewhere*; *Southern History of the War*; *Observations in the North*; *Eight Months in Prison and on Parole*; *The Lost Cause*; *A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*; *Lee and his Lieutenants*; *The Lost Cause Regained*; *Life of Jefferson Davis, with the Secret History of the Southern Confederacy*; *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darky Homes of the South*; and *The Virginia Tourist*. He died in Lynchburg, Va., Dec. 12, 1872.

Polygamy. See MORMONS.

Pomeroy, JOHN NORTON, lawyer; born in Rochester, N. Y., April 12, 1828; graduated at Hamilton College in 1847; admitted to the bar in 1851; became Professor of Law in the New York University in 1864-69; practised in Rochester in 1869-78; and was Professor of Law in the University of California in 1878-85. He was the author of *An Introduction to Municipal Law*; *An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States*; *Remedies and Remedial Rights according to the Reformed American Procedure*; *A Treatise on the Specific Performance of*

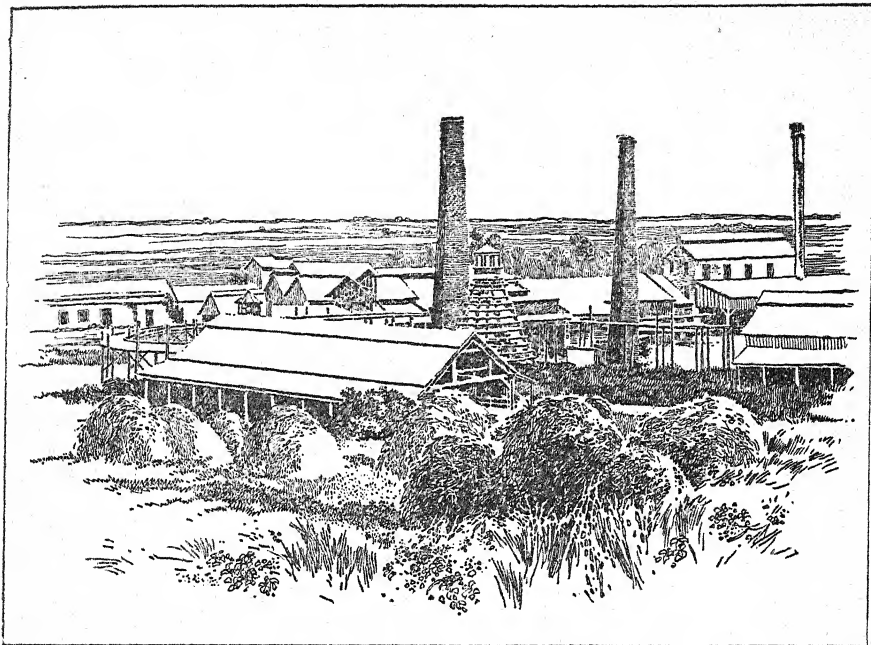
Contract; *A Treatise on Equity Jurisprudence*; and *A Treatise on Riparian Rights*. He died in San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 15, 1885.

Pomeroy, SAMUEL CLARKE, legislator; born in Southamptton, Mass., Jan. 3, 1816; educated at Amherst; elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1852; led a colony to Kansas in 1852, locating in Lawrence, but afterwards removed to Atchison. He was a member of the Free-State convention which met in Lawrence, Kan., in 1859, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1861 and 1867, but failed of re-election in 1873 on account of charges of bribery, which were afterwards examined by a committee of the State legislature, which found them not sustained. Mr. Pomeroy was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the American ticket in 1880.

Pomeroy, SETH, military officer; born in Northampton, Mass., May 20, 1706; became a gunsmith; was a captain in the provincial army of Massachusetts in 1744; and was at the capture of Louisburg in 1745. In 1775 he took command of Colonel Williams's regiment, after his death, in the battle of Lake George. In 1774-75 he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and was chosen a brigadier-general of militia in February, 1775, but fought as a private soldier at the battle of Bunker (Breed's) Hill. On his appointment as senior brigadier-general of the Continental army, some difficulty arose about rank, when he resigned and retired to his farm; but when, late in 1776, New Jersey was invaded by the British, he again took the field, and at the head of militia marched to the Hudson River, at Peekskill, where he died, Feb. 19, 1777.

Ponce, a department, district, and city on the south coast of the island of Porto Rico. The city is regularly built—the central part almost exclusively of brick houses and the suburbs of wood. It is the residence of the military commander and the seat of an official chamber of commerce. There is an appellate criminal court, besides other courts; two churches—one Protestant, said to be the only one in the Spanish West Indies—two hospitals besides the military hospitals, a home of refuge for the old and poor, a perfectly equipped fire department, a bank,

PONCE—PONCE DE LEON



SUGAR-MILL NEAR PONCE.

a theatre, three first-class hotels, and gas-works. The inhabitants are principally occupied in mercantile pursuits; but carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, tailors, shoemakers, and barbers find good employment. The chief occupations of the people are the cultivation of sugar, cocoa, tobacco, and oranges, and the breeding of cattle. Commercially, Ponce is the second city of importance on the island. A fine road leads to the port (Playa), where all the import and export trade is transacted. At Playa are the custom-house, the office of the captain of the port, and all the consular offices. The port is spacious and will hold vessels of 25 feet draft. The climate, on account of the sea-breezes during the day and land-breezes at night, is not oppressive, though warm; and, as water for all purposes, including the fire department, is amply supplied by an aqueduct, it may be said that the city of Ponce is perhaps the healthiest place in the whole island. According to the census taken by the United States military authorities in 1899, the department had a

population of 203,191; the district, 55,477; the city, 27,952; and Playa, 4,660.

Ponce de Leon, JUAN, discoverer of Florida; born in San Servas, Spain, in 1460; was a distinguished cavalier in the wars with the Moors in Granada. Accompanying Columbus on his second voyage, Ponce was made commander of a portion of Santo Domingo, and in 1509 he conquered and was made governor of Porto Rico, where he amassed a large fortune. There he was told of a fountain of youth—a fountain whose waters would restore youth to the aged. It was situated in one of the Bahama Islands, surrounded by magnificent trees, and the air was laden with the delicious perfumes of flowers; the trees bearing golden fruit that was plucked by beautiful maidens, who presented it to strangers. It was the old story of the Garden of the Hesperides, and inclination, prompted by his credulity, made Ponce go in search of the miraculous fountain, for his hair was white and his face was wrinkled with age. He sailed north from Porto Rico in March, 1513,

PONCE DE LEON—PONTIAC

and searched for the wonderful spring among the Bahama Islands, drinking and bathing in the waters of every fountain that fell in his way. But he experienced no change, saw no magnificent trees with golden fruit plucked by beautiful maidens, and, disappointed but not disheartened, he sailed towards the northwest until westerly winds came laden with the perfumes of sweet flowers. Then he landed, and in the imperial magnolia-trees, laden with fragrant blossoms, he thought he beheld the introduction to the paradise he was seeking.

It was on the morning of Easter Sunday when he landed on the site of the present St. Augustine, in Florida, and he took possession of the country in the name of the Spanish monarch. Because of its

but leaving one of his vessels to continue it, he returned to Porto Rico a wiser and an older man, but bearing the honor of discovering an important portion of the continent of America. In 1514 Ponce returned to Spain and received permission from Ferdinand to colonize the "Island of Florida," and was appointed its governor; but he did not proceed to take possession until 1521, having in the mean time conducted an unsuccessful expedition against the Caribs. On going to Florida with two ships and many followers, he met the determined hostilities of the natives, and after a sharp conflict he was driven back to his ships mortally wounded, and died in Cuba in July, 1521. Upon his tomb was placed this inscription: "In this Sepulchre rest the Bones of a Man who was Leon by Name and still more by Nature."

Poncet, JOSEPH ANTHONY. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Pond, GEORGE EDWARD, journalist; born in Boston, Mass., March 11, 1837; graduated at Harvard College in 1858; served in the National army in 1862-63; was associate editor of the *Army and Navy Journal* in 1864-68; afterwards was on the staff of the *New York Times* till 1870; editor of the *Philadelphia Record* in 1870-77; and next became connected with the *New York Sun*. He is the author of *The Shenandoah Valley in 1864*; and *Driftwood Essays in the Galaxy Magazine*.

Pontiac, Ottawa chief; born on the Ottawa River in 1720; became an early ally of the French. With a body of Ottawas he defended the French trading-post of Detroit against more northerly tribes, and it is supposed he led the Ottawas who assisted the French in defeating Braddock on the Monongahela. In 1760, after the conquest of Canada, Major Rogers was sent to take possession of the Western posts. Pontiac feigned friendship for the English for a while, but in 1763 he was the leader in a conspiracy of many tribes to drive the English from the Ohio country back beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

The French had won the affection and respect of the Indian tribes with whom they came in contact, by their kindness, sociability, and religious influence; and when the English, formidable enemies of the red men, supplanted the French in



JUAN PONCE DE LEON.

wealth of flowers, or because of the holy day when he first saw the land (Pascua de Flores), he gave the name of Florida to the great island (as he supposed) he had discovered. There he sought the fountain of youth in vain. Sailing along the coast southward, he discovered and named the Tortugas (Turtle) islands. At another group he found a single inhabitant—a wrinkled old Indian woman—not one of the beautiful maidens he expected to find. Abandoning the search himself,

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PONTIAC.

the alleged possession of the vast domain acquired by the treaty of Paris, expelled the Roman Catholic priests, and haughtily assumed to be absolute lords of the Indians' country, the latter were exasperated, and resolved to stand firmly in the way of English pretensions. "Since the French must go, no other nation should take their place." The conspiracy known as Pontiac's began with the lower nations. The Senecas, of the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawnees, had for some time urged the Northwestern Indians to take up arms against the English. They said: "The English mean to make slaves of us, by occupying so many posts in our country." The British had erected log forts here and there in the Western wilderness. "We had better attempt something now to recover our liberty, than to wait till they are better established," said the nations, and their persuasions had begun to stir up the patriotism of the Northwestern barbarians, when an Abenake prophet from eastern New Jersey appeared among them. He was a chief, and had first satisfied his own people that the Great Spirit had given him wisdom to proclaim war against the new invaders. He said the great Manitou had appeared

to him in a vision, saying, "I am the Lord of life; it is I who made all men; I wake for their safety. Therefore I give you warning, that if you suffer the Englishmen to dwell in your midst, their diseases and their poisons shall destroy you utterly, and you shall die." The chief preached a crusade against the English among the Western tribes, and so prepared the way for Pontiac to easily form his conspiracy.

After the capture of Fort Duquesne, settlers from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia went over the mountains into the Ohio region in large numbers. They were not kindly disposed towards the Indians, and French traders fanned the embers of hostility between the races. The Delawares and Shawnees, who had lately emigrated from Pennsylvania, and were on the banks of the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami, nursed hatred of the English and stirred up the Western tribes against the white people. Pontiac took the lead in a widespread conspiracy, and organized a confederacy for the purpose of driving the English back beyond the Alleghanies. The confederacy was composed of the Ottawas, Miamis, Wyandottes, Delawares, Shawnees, Ontagamies, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Mississagas, Foxes, and Winnebagoes. These had been allies of the French. The Senecas, the most westerly of the Six Nations, joined the confederacy, but the other tribes of the IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY (*q. v.*) were kept quiet by Sir William Johnson. It was arranged for a simultaneous attack to be made along the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The conspiracy was unsuspected until it was ripe and the first blow was struck, in June, 1763. English traders scattered through the frontier regions were plundered and slain. At almost the same instant they attacked all of the English outposts taken from the French, and made themselves masters of nine of them, massacring or dispersing the garrisons. Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit were saved. Colonel Bouquet saved Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg); Niagara was not attacked; and Detroit, after a long siege by Pontiac in person, was relieved by Colonel Bradstreet in 1764. The Indians were speedily subdued, but Pontiac remained hostile until his death in Cahokia, Ill., in 1769. He was an able

PONY EXPRESS—POPE

sachem and warrior, and, like King Philip, was doubtless moved by patriotic impulses; for the flow of emigration over the mountains threatened his race with displacement if not with destruction. See DETROIT.

Pony Express, an express service established in April, 1860. It was part of a mail line between New York and San Francisco by way of St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento. Between the two last-named places the distance was traversed by fleet horsemen, each of whom went 60 miles. The weight carried was not to exceed 10 pounds, and the charge was \$5 in gold for each quarter of an ounce. The riders were paid \$1,200 a month. The distance between New York and San Francisco by the aid of this express was made in fourteen days. The pony express lasted two years, being given up when the telegraph line across the continent was completed.

Poole, WILLIAM FREDERICK, librarian; born in Salem, Mass., Dec. 24, 1821; graduated at Yale College in 1849; librarian of the Boston Athenæum in 1856-69; organized the public library of Cincinnati, O., in 1869, and that of Chicago in 1874. His publications include *Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft*; *The Popham Colony*; *The Ordinance of 1787*; *Anti-slavery Opinions before 1800*; the chapter on *Witchcraft* in the *Memorial History of Boston*; *Index to Periodic Literature*; and *The Battle of Dictionaries*. He died in Evanston, Ill., March 1, 1894.

Poor, CHARLES HENRY, naval officer; born in Cambridge, Mass., June 11, 1808; joined the navy in 1825; participated with distinction in numerous important actions during the Civil War. While in command of the sloop-of-war *Saranac*, in the Pacific fleet in 1863-65, he forced the government at Aspinwall to let a United States mail-steamer proceed on her way after it had been held to pay illegal dues. He also compelled the authorities at Rio Hocha, New Granada, who had insulted the American flag to raise and salute it. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1868 and retired in 1870. He died in Washington, D. C., Nov. 5, 1882.

Poor, ENOCH, military officer; born in Andover, Mass., June 21, 1736; became a merchant in Exeter, N. H. After the fight at Lexington he was appointed colonel by the Provincial Congress, and

after the evacuation of Boston his regiment was ordered to join the troops in New York that invaded Canada. In February, 1777, he was appointed brigadier-general, and as such commanded troops in the campaign against Burgoyne, after whose surrender he joined the army under Washington in Pennsylvania. He was in the movements near Philadelphia late in the year; spent the winter amid the snows of Valley Forge, and in June, 1778, was engaged in the battle of Monmouth. He accompanied Sullivan on his expedition against the Indians in 1779. When the corps of light infantry was formed (August, 1780), Poor was given command of one of the two brigades. He was killed in a duel with a French officer near Hackensack, N. J., Sept. 8, 1780. In announcing his death, Washington said he "was an officer of distinguished merit, who, as a citizen and a soldier, had every claim to the esteem of his country."

Poor Richard, a fictitious name assumed by Benjamin Franklin. In 1732 he began the publication in Philadelphia of an almanac, with the name of Richard Saunders as author. It continued twenty-five years. Sometimes the author called himself "Poor Richard," and the publication was generally known as *Poor Richard's Almanac*. It was distinguished for its numerous maxims on temperance, frugality, order, justice, cleanliness, chastity, and the like. It has been said that its precepts are "as valuable as any that have descended from Pythagoras."

Poore, BENJAMIN PERLEY, journalist; born near Newburyport, Mass., Nov. 2, 1820; learned the printer's trade; was attaché of the American legation in Brussels in 1841-48; became a Washington newspaper correspondent in 1854, and continued as such during the remainder of his life. His publications include *Campaign Life of Gen. Zachary Taylor*; *Agricultural History of Essex County, Mass.*; *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of Abraham Lincoln*; *Federal and State Charters*; *The Political Register and Congressional Directory*; *Life of Burnside*; *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, etc. He died in Washington, D. C., May 30, 1887.

Pope, JOHN, military officer; born in Louisville, Ky., March 16, 1822; graduated

POPE—POREY

at West Point in 1842, entering the corps of topographical engineers. He served under General Taylor in the war against



JOHN POPE.

Mexico. In 1849-50 he conducted explorations in Minnesota, and from 1854 to 1859 he was exploring the Rocky Mountains. In 1856 he was made captain, and in 1860, in an address at Cincinnati on "Fortifications," he boldly denounced the policy of President Buchanan, for which offence he was court-martialled, but the matter was dropped. Captain Pope was one of the officers who escorted Mr. Lincoln to Washington (February, 1861), and in May was made brigadier-general of volunteers and appointed to a command in Missouri, where he operated successfully until the capture of Island Number Ten, in 1862. In March, 1862, he became major-general of volunteers, and in April he took command of a division of Halleck's army. Late in June he was summoned to Washington to take command of the Army of Virginia, where, for fifteen days from Aug. 18, he fought the Confederate army under Lee continuously; but finally was compelled to take refuge behind the defences of Washington. At his own request, he was relieved of the command of the Army of Virginia and assigned to that of the Northwest. In March, 1865, he was brevetted major-general; in 1882 was promoted major-general; and in 1886 was retired. He died in Sandusky, O., Sept. 23, 1892. See GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON; LOGAN, JOHN ALEXANDER; PORTER, FITZ-JOHN.

Popham, GEORGE, colonist; born in Somersetshire, England, about 1550; became a patentee of a grant in the present State of Maine; and sailed from Plymouth, England, May 31, 1607, with two ships and 100 men. Popham commanded one of the vessels and Raleigh Gilbert the other. The expedition was a failure. Popham died Feb. 5, 1608. His brother, **SIR JOHN**, who was lord chief-justice of the king's bench, and an earnest promoter of settlements in America, was born in Somersetshire, England, in 1531; became chief-justice in 1592; and died in June, 1607.

Popular Sovereignty. See SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.

Popular Vote for President. Previous to 1824 no returns were preserved of the popular vote for President, for the reason that in the earlier elections the legislatures of the different States chose the Presidential electors. Even as late as 1824 six States—viz., Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, New York, South Carolina, and Vermont, thus voted, and one State, South Carolina, so continued to vote until 1868. See PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

Population, CENTRE OF. See CENSUS; CENTRE OF POPULATION.

Populists. See PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Porcupine's Gazette. William Cobbett, British soldier; born in 1762; emigrated to America in 1792. He published a small daily paper called *Porcupine's Gazette*, which was a formidable and dreaded adversary of the "French" (or Republican) party; and the *Gazette* fought the *Aurora* with the keen and effective weapons of scathing satire. But he did not spare the other side, and often came in sharp collision with the *Minerva*, the leading Federalist paper of New York, edited by Noah Webster, afterwards the lexicographer. Cobbett assailed leading citizens in his *Gazette*, and was prosecuted for libels. He was fined \$5,000 for a libel on Dr. Rush, and this caused the death of the *Gazette*. See COBBETT, WILLIAM.

Porey, JOHN, author and traveller; educated at Cambridge. While in Italy, in 1813, he was imprisoned for debt, from which he was released by Sir Dudley Carleton who wrote to a friend: "I fear he has fallen too much in love with the pot to be

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much esteemed." At about the same time another wrote of Porey: "He must have both meat and money; for drink he will find out himself, if it be above ground, or no deeper than the cellar." Porey was made secretary of the Virginia colony in 1619, but, on account of his exactions, was recalled in 1622. Early in that year he, with some friends, penetrated the country southward beyond the Roanoke River, with a view to making a settlement (see NORTH CAROLINA). On his arrival in London, Porey joined the disaffected members of the London Company, which so excited the mind of the King against the corporation that, in 1624, he deprived them of their charter. He had been sent early in that year as one of the commissioners to inquire into the state of the Virginia colony, and while there he bribed the clerk of the council to give him a copy of their proceedings, for which offence the poor scribe was made to stand in the pillory and lose one of his ears.

Porter, ANDREW, military officer; born in Worcester, Montgomery co., Pa., Sept. 24, 1743; was made captain of marines in 1776 and ordered on board the frigate *Effingham*, but was soon transferred to the artillery service. He served with great distinction, and at the end of the war was colonel of the Pennsylvania artillery. In the battle of Germantown nearly all his company were killed or made prisoners. He was with Sullivan in his expedition in 1779, when he rendered important service by the exercise of his scientific knowledge. In 1784 he was a commissioner to run the State boundary-lines, and in 1800 was made major-general of the State militia. He was appointed surveyor-general of Pennsylvania in 1809, and on account of his age and infirmities he declined a seat in Madison's cabinet as Secretary of War. He died in Harrisburg, Pa., Nov. 16, 1813.

Porter, DAVID, naval officer; born in Boston, Mass., Feb. 1, 1780; was appointed a midshipman, April 16, 1798, and, as lieutenant on the frigate *Constellation*, fought *L'Insurgente* in February, 1799, and was promoted soon afterwards. He was wounded in an engagement with a pirate (January, 1800) off Santo Domingo, and was first lieutenant of the *Enterprise*, which captured a Tripolitan corsair. He afterwards commanded an expe-

dition that destroyed some feluccas, laden with wheat, under the batteries at Tripoli, where he was wounded. In October, 1803,



DAVID PORTER.

he was captured in the *Philadelphia* when she grounded in the harbor of Tripoli, and was a prisoner and slave for eighteen months. In 1806, in command of the *Enterprise*, he fought and severely handled twelve Spanish gunboats near Gibraltar. In 1812 he was commissioned captain and placed in command of the *Essex*, in which he made a long and successful cruise in the Pacific Ocean.

This cruise was one of the most remarkable recorded in history. He had swept around the southern cape of South America, and up its western coast, and on March 14, 1813, after being enveloped in thick fogs several days, he saw the city and harbor of Valparaiso, the chief seaport town of Chile. There he learned, for the first time, that Chile had become an independent state, and that the Spanish viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers against the American vessels in that region. Porter's appearance with a strong frigate was very opportune, for American commerce then lay at the mercy of English whale-ships armed as privateers and of Peruvian corsairs. The *Essex* was cordially welcomed by the Chilean authori-

PORTER

ties. She put to sea on the 25th; pressed up the coast; and soon overhauled a Peruvian corsair which had captured two American vessels. He took from her all the captured Americans, cast her armament overboard, and sent her into Callao, with a letter to the viceroy, in which he denounced the piratical conduct of her commander. Recapturing one of the American vessels, Porter sailed for the Galapagos Islands, the resort of English whalers. There were over twenty of them in that region, most of them armed, and bearing letters-of-marque. Porter cruised among the islands for nearly a fortnight without meeting a vessel. On April 29 he discovered two or three English whaleships. He first captured the *Montezuma*. He had made a flotilla of small boats, which he placed under the command of Lieutenant Downes. These pushed forward and captured the *Georgiana* and *Policy*. From these Porter procured ample supplies of provisions and naval stores. With the guns of the *Policy* added to those of the *Georgiana*, the latter, fitted up as a cruiser, became a worthy consort of the *Essex*. Her armament now consisted of sixteen guns, and she was placed under the command of Lieutenant Downes. Other English vessels were soon captured and fitted up as cruisers; and at the end of eight months after he sailed from the Delaware in the solitary *Essex*, Porter found himself in command of a squadron of nine armed vessels, prepared for formidable naval warfare. In July he captured the *Seringapatam*, an English vessel built for a cruiser for Sultan Tippoo Salib. She was the most formidable enemy of American ships on the Pacific.

Porter now released a large number of his prisoners on parole, and sent them to Rio Janeiro. With his squadron he then sailed for the Marquesas Islands, capturing other English vessels on the way, and late in October he anchored in the bay of Nooaheevah with his prizes. The *Essex* was the first vessel that carried the American pennant to these far-distant seas. She was more than 10,000 miles from home, with no friendly port to steer to. She had swept the Pacific of her enemies, and now lay, surrounded by her trophies, in the quiet waters of an almost unfrequented island on the mighty ocean. The

Essex had just cast anchor, when a canoe shot out from the shore containing three white men—one an Englishman who had been there twenty years. The other two were Americans—one of them Midshipman John Maury, of the navy. They informed Porter that a war was raging on the island between native tribes, and that, in order to obtain supplies, he would have to take part with the Tacehs, who dwelt in the valley that opened out upon the bay. Porter sent a message to the enemies of the Tacehs that he had a force sufficient to subdue the whole island, and that if they ventured into the valley of the Tacehs while he remained he would punish them severely. He gave them permission to bring hogs and fruit to the ship to sell, and promised them protection while trafficking. In an interview with the king of the Tacehs, Porter agreed to assist him in his wars. With muskets and a cannon, Porter's men drove the enemies of the king from hill to hill, until they made a stand, 4,000 strong, and sent stones and javelins against their assailants. The hostile tribes soon sued for peace, and on Nov. 19, Porter took possession of the island in the name of the United States. One tribe had remained hostile. This Porter subdued. On Dec. 12 he started for home in the *Essex*, taking with him the three white men. They reached Valparaiso, Feb. 3, 1814. In that harbor the *Essex* was captured by the British ship *Phœbe*, and the great conqueror on the Pacific Ocean became a prisoner.

Porter was one of the naval commissioners from 1815 to 1823, and in the latter year made a successful cruise against pirates in the Gulf of Mexico. In consequence of some irregularity, he was suspended from command for six months; and in 1826 he resigned, and entered the Mexican navy as its commander-in-chief. He was appointed United States consul at Algiers in 1829; and when that country fell into the hands of the French he was made *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople, where he afterwards, as American minister, negotiated several important treaties. He was minister there at the time of his death, March 3, 1843.

Porter, DAVID DIXON, naval officer; born in Chester, Pa., June 8, 1813; a son of David Porter; entered the navy as mid-

PORTER

shipman, Feb. 2, 1829. He was attached to the coast survey from 1836 to 1840. Then he cruised in Brazilian waters, and served in the Naval Observatory at Washington for a while. He engaged in the war against Mexico on land and on water, and in 1861 joined the Gulf Squadron, in command of the *Powhatan*. He was in the expedition up the Mississippi against New Orleans in 1862, in command of twenty-one mortar-boats and several steamers. Porter did important service on the Mississippi and Red rivers in 1863-64, and was conspicuous in the siege of Vicksburg. For the latter service he was promoted rear-admiral, July 4, 1863. In 1864 he was in command of the North Atlantic blockading squadron, and rendered efficient service in the capture of Fort Fisher in January, 1865. He was made vice-admiral in July, 1866; admiral, Oct. 17, 1870; and was superintendent of the Naval Academy from 1866 to 1870. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 13, 1891.

Porter, FITZ-JOHN, military officer; born in Portsmouth, N. H., June 13, 1822; a cousin of David Dixon Porter; graduated at West Point in 1845, entering the artillery corps. He was adjutant of that post in 1853-54, and assistant instructor of cavalry and artillery in 1854-55. In 1856 he was made assistant adjutant-general. In May, 1861, he was made brigadier-general of volunteers and chief of staff to Generals Patterson and Banks until August, when he was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, in

command of a division. In May, 1862, he took command of the 5th Army Corps; directed the siege of Yorktown, Va., and was one of McClellan's most efficient commanders during the Peninsular campaign ending with the battle of MALVERN HILL (*q. v.*). For services in that campaign he was promoted to major-general of volunteers. Temporarily attached to the Army of Virginia (Pope's), and formal charges having been made against him, he was deprived of his command. At the request of General McClellan, he was restored, and accompanied that general in the campaign in Maryland. In November he was ordered to Washington for trial by court-martial, on charges preferred by General Pope, and on Jan. 21, 1863, he was cashiered for violation of the 9th and 52d Articles of War. In 1870 he appealed to the President for a reversal of this sentence, and in 1878 a commission of inquiry was instituted to determine whether there was new evidence in his favor sufficient to warrant ordering a new trial. He was finally in 1886 restored to his rank of colonel and retired. After leaving the army he was superintendent of the building of the New Jersey Asylum for the Insane; commissioner of public works and police commissioner in New York City; and was offered, but declined, the command of the Egyptian army. He died in Morristown, N. J., May 21, 1901. See GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON; LOGAN, JOHN ALEXANDER; POPE, JOHN.

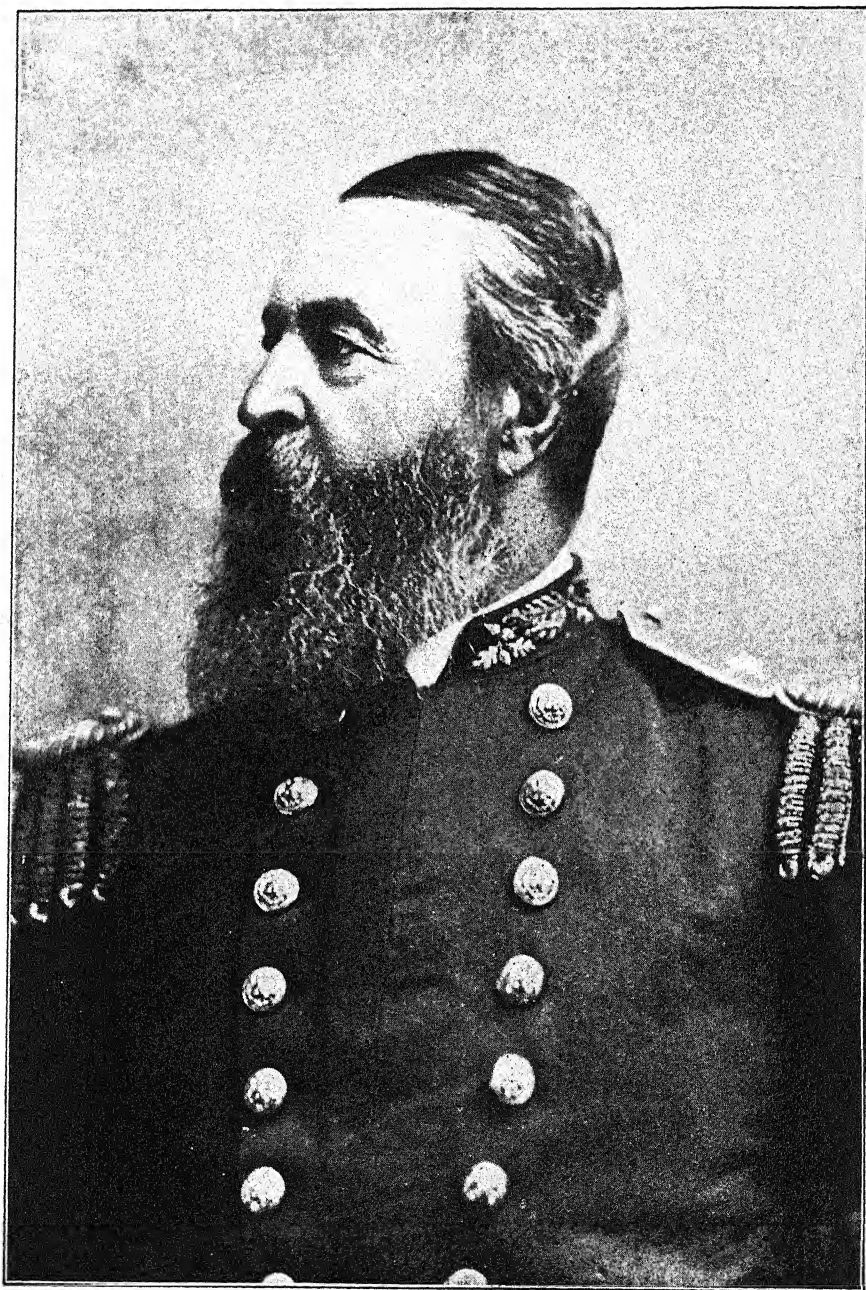
Porter, HORACE, diplomatist, born in Huntington, Pa., April 15, 1837; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1860; served with distinction through the Civil War; brevetted brigadier-general in 1865; was private secretary to President Grant in 1869-77; and became ambassador to France in 1897. He is the author of *Campaigning with Grant*.

Porter, JAMES MADISON, jurist; born in Selma, Pa., Jan. 6, 1793; served in the army during the War of 1812; afterwards studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1813. He was appointed Secretary of War by President Tyler, but the nomination was rejected by the Senate. He died in Easton, Pa., Nov. 11, 1862.

Porter, MOSES, military officer; born in Danvers, Mass., in 1755; was in the battle of Bunker (Breed's) Hill, and many of



FITZ-JOHN PORTER.



ADMIRAL DAVID D. PORTER



PORTER

the prominent battles of the Revolution, and was one of the few old officers selected for the first peace establishment. In 1791 he was promoted to captain, and served under Wayne in 1794. In March, 1812, he was colonel of light artillery, and was distinguished at the capture of Fort George, in May, 1813. He accompanied Wilkinson's army on the St. Lawrence, and in the autumn of 1814 was brevetted brigadier-general, and ordered to the defence of Norfolk, Va. He died in Cambridge, April 14, 1822.

Porter, NOAH, educator; born in Farmington, Conn., Dec. 14, 1811; graduated at Yale College in 1831; Professor of Mathematics and Moral Philosophy in Yale College in 1846-71; and president of the same in 1871-86. His publications include *Historical Discourse at Farmington*, Nov. 4, 1840; *The Educational System of the Puritans and Jesuits Compared*; *American Colleges and the American Public*, etc. He died in New Haven, Conn., March 4, 1892.

Porter, PETER BUEL, military officer; born in Salisbury, Conn., Aug. 4, 1773; studied law, and began practice at Canandaigua, N. Y., in 1795; was a member of Congress from 1809 to 1813, and again in 1815-16. He settled at Black Rock, near

for his skill and bravery, and received the thanks of Congress and a gold medal. President Madison offered him the position



PETER BUEL PORTER.

of commander-in-chief of the army in 1815, which he declined. He was secretary of state of New York (1815-16), and was Secretary of War, under President John Quincy Adams, in 1828. General Porter



GENERAL PORTER'S MEDAL.

Buffalo, where he and his brothers made large purchases of land along the Niagara River. A leader of volunteers on the Niagara frontier, he became distinguished was one of the early projectors of the Erie Canal, and one of the first board of commissioners. He died at Niagara Falls, March 20, 1844.

PORTER—PORT HUDSON

Porter, ROBERT P., journalist; born in Markham Hall, England, June 30, 1852; received a common school education, and came to the United States early in life. He became connected with the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* in 1872; was a member of the tariff commission in 1882; later established the *New York Press*; was superintendent of the eleventh census, in 1889-93; and special United States commissioner to Cuba and Porto Rico in 1898-99. He is the author of *The West in 1880*; *Life of William McKinley*; *Municipal Ownership at Home and Abroad*; and *Industrial Cuba*.

Porter, WILLIAM DAVID, naval officer; born in New Orleans, La., March 10, 1809; a son of David Porter; entered the navy in 1823. In the sloop-of-war *St. Mary*, on the Pacific Station, when the Civil War broke out, he was wrongly suspected of disloyalty. He was ordered to duty on the Mississippi River, in fitting out a gunboat fleet, and was put in command of the *Essex*, which took part in the attacks on Forts Henry and Donelson, when he was severely scalded. He fought his way past all the batteries between Cairo and New Orleans, taking part in the attack on Vicksburg. He caused the destruction of the Confederate ram *Arkansas*, near Baton Rouge, and assisted in the attack on Port Hudson. For these services he was made commodore in July, 1862. His feeble health prevented his doing much afterwards. He died in New York City, May 1, 1864.

Port Gibson, BATTLE AT. Grant crossed the Mississippi at Bruinsburg on the gunboats and transports which had run by Grand Gulf in 1863. His troops consisted chiefly of General McClernand's 13th Army Corps. These troops pushed forward and were met (May 1), 8 miles from Bruinsburg, by a Confederate force, which was pushed back to a point 4 miles from Port Gibson. There McClernand was confronted by a strong force from Vicksburg, under General Bowen, advantageously posted. The Nationals were divided for the occasion. On McClernand's right were the divisions of Generals Hovey, Carr, and Smith, and on his left that of Osterhaus. The former pressed the Confederates steadily back to Port Gibson. The troops of Osterhaus were reinforced by a

brigade of General Logan's division of the advance of McPherson's corps, and others were sent to help McClernand. Late in the afternoon the Confederates were repulsed and pursued to Port Gibson. Night ended the conflict, and under its cover the Confederates fled across a bayou, burning the bridges behind them, and retreated towards Vicksburg. The Nationals lost in this battle 840 men, of whom 130 were killed. They captured guns and flags and 580 prisoners.

Port Hudson, CAPTURE OF. Port Hudson, or Hickey's Landing, was on a high bluff on the left bank of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, at a very sharp bend in the stream. At the foot of the bluff was Hickey's Landing. The Confederates had erected a series of batteries, extending along the river from Port Hudson to Thompson's Creek above, a distance of about 3 miles. They were armed with very heavy guns. They were field batteries that might be moved to any part of the line. Immediately after Banks took command of the Department of the Gulf (Dec. 18, 1862), he determined to attempt to remove this obstruction to the navigation of the Mississippi. He sent General Grover with 10,000 men to occupy Baton Rouge, but the advance on Port Hudson was delayed, because it would require a larger force than Banks could then spare. So he operated for a while among the rich sugar and cotton regions of Louisiana, west of the river.

In March, 1863, he concentrated his forces—nearly 25,000 strong—at Baton Rouge. At the same time Commodore Farragut had gathered a small fleet at a point below Port Hudson, with a determination to run by the batteries there and recover the control of the river between that place and Vicksburg. To make this movement, Banks sent towards Port Hudson (March 13) 12,000 men, who drove in the pickets, while two gunboats and some mortar-boats bombarded the works. That night Farragut attempted to pass, but failed, and Banks returned to Baton Rouge. After more operations in Louisiana, Banks returned to the Mississippi and began the investment of Port Hudson, May 24, 1863. His troops were commanded by Generals Weitzel, Auger, Grover, Dwight, and T. W. Sherman, and the beleaguered garrison

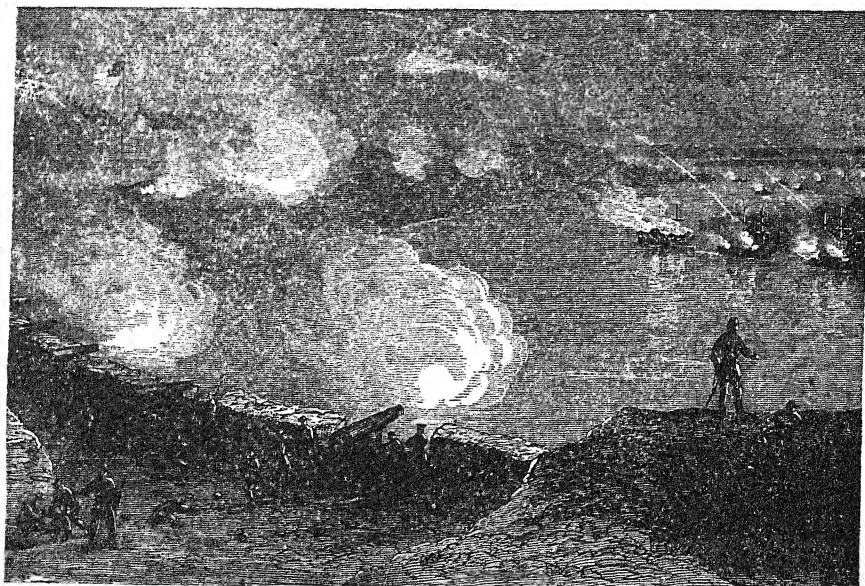
PORT HUDSON, CAPTURE OF

was under the command of Gen. Frank K. Gardner. Farragut, with his flag-ship (*Hartford*) and one or two other vessels, was now above Port Hudson, holding the river, while four other gunboats and some mortar-boats, under Commander C. H. B. Caldwell, held it below.

On May 27 Banks opened his cannon on the works in connection with those on the

in which the Nationals lost 1,842 men, of whom 293 were killed. The Confederate loss did not exceed 300 in killed and wounded.

Banks, undismayed by this disastrous failure, continued the siege. His great guns and those of Farragut hurled destructive missiles upon the works daily, wearing out the garrison by excessive watch-



FARRAGUT PASSING THE BATTERIES AT PORT HUDSON.

water, preparatory to a general assault. The attack was made at 10 A.M. by a portion of the troops, but others did not come up in time to make the assault general. A very severe battle was fought, the Nationals making desperate charges, from time to time, and gaining ground continually. In this contest was the first fair trial of the mettle of negro troops. The Confederates were driven to their fortifications, and, at sunset, they were all behind their works. Close up to them the Nationals pressed, and they and their antagonists held opposite sides of the parapet. This position the Nationals on the right continued to hold, but those on the left, exposed to a flank fire, withdrew to a belt of woods not far off. So ended the first general assault on Port Hudson.

ing and fatigue. Their provisions and medical stores were failing, and famine threatened the brave defenders of the post. It was closely hemmed in, and so, also, was the besieging force of about 12,000 men by a hostile population and concentrating Confederate cavalry in its rear, while Gen. Richard Taylor was gathering a new army in Louisiana, west of the river. A speedy reduction of the fort had become a necessity for Banks, and on June 11 another attempt was made, and failed. This was followed by an attempt to take the fort by storm on the 14th. At that time the Nationals lay mostly in two lines, forming a right angle, with a right and left but no centre. When a final disposition for assault was made, General Gardner was entreated to surrender and

PORT REPUBLIC—PORT ROYAL

stop the effusion of blood, but he refused, hoping, as did Pemberton, at Vicksburg, that Johnston would come to his relief.

The grand assault began at dawn (June 14) by Generals Grover, Weitzel, Auger, and Dwight. A desperate battle ensued, and the Nationals were repulsed at all points, losing about 700 men. Again the siege went on as usual. The fortitude of the half-starved garrison, daily enduring the affliction of missiles from the land and water, was wonderful. Gun after gun on the Confederate works was disabled, until only fifteen remained on the land side; and only twenty rounds of ammunition for small-arms were left. Famine was about to do what the National arms could not effect—compel a surrender—when the garrison was startled (July 7) by the thunder of cannon along the whole line of their assailants, and shouts from the pickets, "Vicksburg is taken!" That night Gardner sent a note to Banks, asking if the report were true, and if so, requesting a cessation of hostilities. The surrender of the post and all its men and property was completed on July 9, when 6,408 men, including 455 officers, were made prisoners of war. The little hamlet of Port Hudson was in ruins. The loss of Banks during the siege of forty-five days was about 3,000 men, and that of Gardner, exclusive of prisoners, about 800. The spoils of victory were the important post, two steamers, fifty-one pieces of artillery, 5,000 small-arms, and a large amount of fixed ammunition. Banks reported that his winnings in Louisiana up to that time were the partial repossession of large areas of territory, 10,584 prisoners, seventy-three great guns, 6,000 small-arms, three gunboats, eight transports, and a large amount of cotton and cattle. This conquest gave the final blow to the obstruction of the navigation of the Mississippi River. On July 16, 1863, the steamer *Imperial*, from St. Louis, arrived at New Orleans, the first communication of the kind between the two cities in two years. Then the waters of the Mississippi, as President Lincoln said, "went unvexed to the sea."

Port Republic, BATTLE AT. Before the battle of CROSS KEYS (*q. v.*), "Stone-wall" Jackson had crossed the Shenandoah River, and was encamped at Port Repub-

lic. The vanguard of Shields's force, under General Carroll—less than 1,000 infantry, 150 cavalry, and a battery of six guns—had arrived there almost simultaneously with Jackson. With his cavalry and five pieces of artillery, Carroll dashed into the village, drove Jackson's cavalry out of it, and took possession of the bridge that spanned the river. Had he burned that structure, he might have ruined Jackson, for he would have cut him off from Ewell at Cross Keys. But he waited for his infantry to come up, and was attacked by a superior force and driven to a point 2 miles from the town, where he was afterwards joined by Gen. E. B. Tyler and his brigade, 2,000 strong, Tyler taking command. Meanwhile, Ewell had escaped from Frémont, crossed the bridge, and reinforced Jackson. A flanking movement was now begun by the Confederates, which Tyler resisted with his whole force, about 3,000 in number. With these he drove 8,000 Confederates into the woods. At the same time an augmented force attacked Tyler's right, and a severe battle ensued. Gen. Dick Taylor's Louisiana brigade made a sudden dash through the woods and captured a National battery, when Colonel Candy, with Ohio troops, made a countercharge and recaptured it, with one of the guns of the Confederates. The artillery-horses having been killed, he could not carry off the battery; but he took back with him sixty-seven Confederates. So overwhelming was Jackson's force that Tyler was compelled to retreat, and was pursued about 5 miles, covered by Carroll's cavalry. The battle was disastrous to the Nationals, but it was recognized by both sides as one of the most brilliant of the war. In the engagement and retreat the Confederates captured 450 prisoners and 800 muskets. The National army then fell back to Harrisonburg (June 9, 1864), when Frémont went on to Mount Jackson, and Shields to Newmarket.

Port Royal, CAPTURE OF. In 1690, the Indians having taken the fort at Pemaquid, and French privateers from Acadia infesting the coasts of New England, the General Court of Massachusetts determined to seize Port Royal, N. S. A fleet of eight small vessels, bearing about 800 men, under the command of Sir Will-

PORT ROYAL FERRY—PORT ROYAL SOUND

iam Phipps, sailed for that purpose on April 28. The weak fort was surrendered without resistance, and the whole sea-coast from that town to the northeast settlements was taken possession of by Sir William.

Port Royal Ferry, BATTLE AT. After an expedition from Hampton Roads, under Admiral Dupont and Gen. T. W. Sherman, had taken possession of Port Royal Sound and the neighboring islands (Nov. 7, 1861), the only stand made by the Confederates in defence of the South Carolina coast islands was at Port Royal Ferry, on the Coosa, at the close of the year. Gen. R. S. Ripley, formerly of the National army, who had joined the Confederates, was in command of that sea-coast district, and had established a fortified post at the ferry. When the Nationals landed at Beaufort it had a garrison estimated to be 8,000 strong, under Generals Gregg and Pope. The Nationals proceeded to expel them. For this purpose a joint land and naval force, the former commanded by Brigadier-General Stevens, and the latter by Commodore C. R. P. Rogers, proceeded to attack them. Stevens had about 4,000 troops—of New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan; and the naval force consisted of four gunboats, an armed ferry-boat, and four large row-boats, each carrying a 12-pounder howitzer. The expedition moved on the evening of Dec. 31. The land and naval forces were joined 3 miles below the ferry on the morning of Jan. 1, 1862, and pressed forward to the attack. The first onset was sharp and quick. A concealed battery near the ferry, that was opened upon the Nationals was soon silenced by a close encounter, in which the 8th Michigan bore the brunt. But very little fighting occurred afterwards. The Confederates, seeing the gunboats coming forward, abandoned their works and fled, and the Pennsylvania "Round-heads" passed over the ferry and occupied them. The works were demolished, and the houses in the vicinity were burned. Stevens had nine men wounded, one mortally.

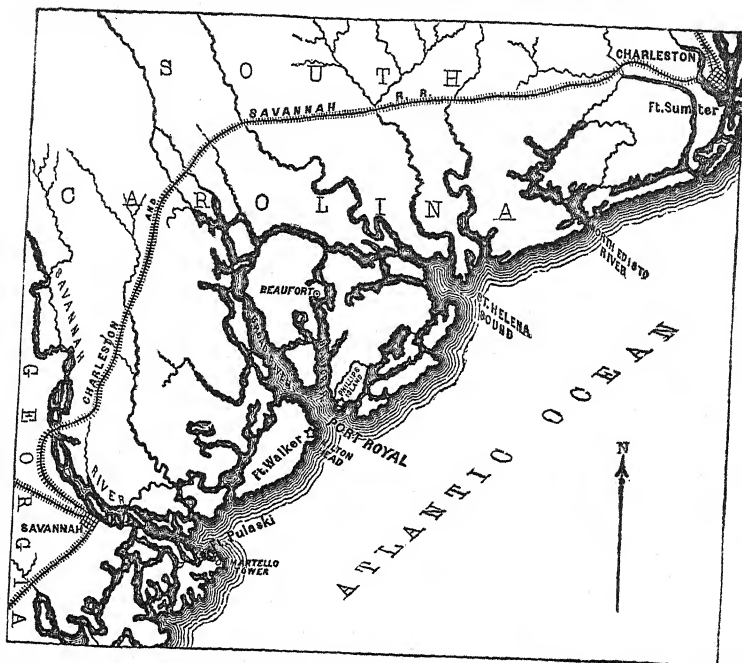
Port Royal Island, SETTLEMENT ON. In 1692 Lord Cardross (afterwards Earl of Buchan), a Scotch nobleman, led a colony from his native land, where the

Presbyterians were persecuted. Some of their agents went to England to treat with the proprietaries of Carolina for a lodgment there. It is believed that one of these agents was Lord Cardross, and that his colony were Presbyterians, who preferred exile in peace to their native land, where they were continually harassed. When Cardross arrived there were instant premonitions of trouble. In pursuance of some agreement or understanding with the proprietaries, Lord Cardross claimed for himself and associates co-ordinate authority with the governor and grand council at Charleston. This claim the provincial government disallowed, and the colony at Port Royal was compelled to acknowledge submission. Soon afterwards Lord Cardross returned home. Some time afterwards his colonists were dislodged by the Spaniards at St. Augustine (1686), who accused them of inciting the Indians to invade their territory.

In 1779, when Prevost joined Campbell at Savannah, the British commanders determined to extend a part of their forces into South Carolina. Major Gardiner was detached, with 200 men, to take possession of Port Royal Island; but soon after he landed, General Moultrie, with the same number of men (only nine of whom were regulars), attacked and drove him off the island. Two field-pieces, well served by some militia under Captains Heyward and Rutledge, were principally gainers of this advantage. A small body of horsemen, under Capt. John Barnwell, who gained the rear of the British, were also efficient in contributing to the result.

Port Royal Sound, EXPEDITION TO. On the morning of Oct. 29, 1861, a land and naval armament left Hampton Roads for a destination known only to the officers. It was composed of fifty ships-of-war and transports, commanded by Admiral S. F. Dupont, and 15,000 troops under Gen. T. W. Sherman. Dupont's flag-ship *Wabash* led the way out to sea, and each ship sailed under sealed orders, to be opened in case of the dispersion of the fleet. Off Cape Hatteras the fleet was so terribly smitten by a tempest that very soon only one vessel could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship. The sealed

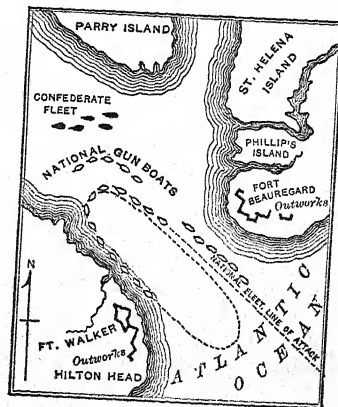
PORT ROYAL SOUND, EXPEDITION TO



MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF PORT ROYAL.

orders were opened, and each commander was ordered to rendezvous at Port Royal Sound, on the coast of South Carolina. There all but four transports that were lost were gathered on the evening of Nov. 4. No human life on the perished transports had been lost. The entrance to the sound, between Hilton Head and Phillip's Island, was guarded by the Confederates with a strong battery on each side — Forts Walker and Beauregard. Within the sound was a small Confederate flotilla, commanded by the veteran Commodore Tatnall, formerly of the United States navy. It was called the "Mosquito Fleet." The guns of the guarding forts were silenced, and on the morning of Nov. 7 Dupont's fleet passed into the sound and drove Tatnall's vessels into shallow water. The National forces took possession of Port Royal Island and the neighboring ones, and found them deserted by the planters and their families. Most of the slaves remained. They refused to follow their masters. Groups of them actually stood upon the shore with

little bundles containing all their worldly possessions, ready to go on board the ships of the invaders, who, they had been told, were coming to steal or sell the negroes in Cuba, or to kill and bury them in the sound. In the conflict with the forts at the entrance of the sound Dupont



PLAN OF BATTLE AT PORT ROYAL.

PORTO RICO

had lost eight killed and twenty-three wounded. The Confederate officers reported their loss in both forts (Walker and Beauregard) at ten killed and forty wounded. Troops having taken possession of Hilton Head also, General Sherman went vigorously to work to strengthen the position. The Nationals held the islands and controlled Port Royal Sound until the end of the war.

PORTO RICO

Porto Rico, an island in the West Indies, one of the Greater Antilles; formerly belonging to Spain, but occupied by the United States as a conquest of war in 1898. The Spanish spelling of the first word is Puerto, and this form was followed by United States authorities till an act of Congress, approved April 12, 1900, established the form Porto.

Location.—The island is the easternmost and smallest of the Greater Antilles; is within the tropics, between latitudes $17^{\circ} 50'$ and $18^{\circ} 30' N.$ and longitudes $65^{\circ} 30'$ and $67^{\circ} 15' W.$; lies east of Haiti, being separated from it by Mona Passage; is in shape rudely rectangular, its longest axis lying east and west; is a trifle over 100 miles long and about 36 miles wide; area approximately 3,600 square miles, three-fourths the size of Connecticut. The island is divided into seven departments, viz., Aguadilla, Arecibo, Bayamon, Guayama, Humacao, Mayaguez, and Ponce. At the time of the American occupation the departments were subdivided into 69 municipal districts, and these in turn into barrios, or outlying tracts. Besides the main island the United States has jurisdiction over the islands of Vieques and Celubra, lying to the eastward, and Isla Mona to the west, in the Mona Passage, together with a few other islets in their neighborhood. Since the occupation the municipalities have been reduced to 46 in number, the others having been consolidated with their larger and more prosperous neighbors.

Physical Features.—The structure of the island is simple. Passing across it from east to west, a little south of the middle of its breadth, is a broken, irregular range of hills or low mountains, which towards the eastern end trends northeastward, and terminates near the northeastern corner of the island, where it culminates in the peak of El Yunque, 3,609 feet in altitude. Elsewhere it ranges in altitude from 2,000 to

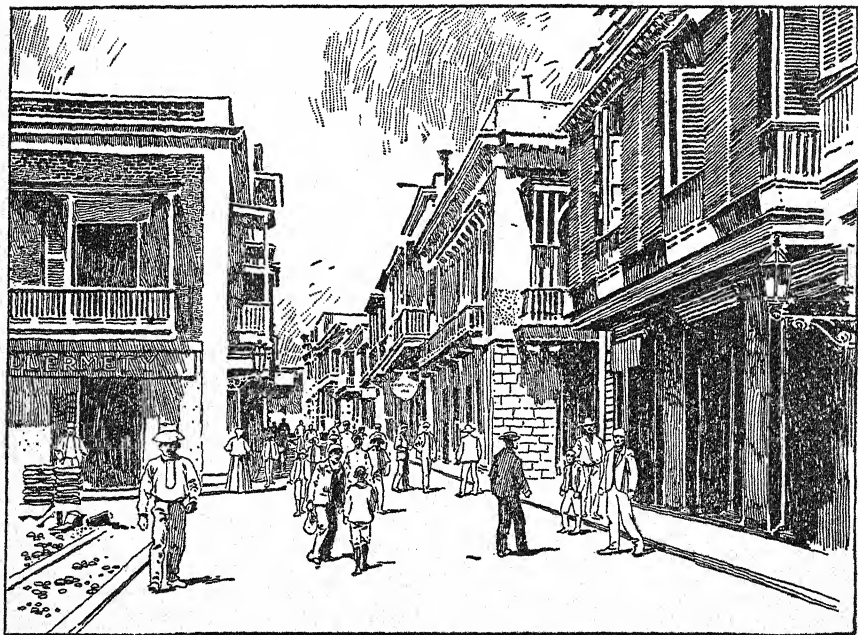
3,000 feet, with occasional summits slightly above 3,000 feet and gaps slightly below 2,000 feet. This range is known in different parts of the island by various names, Cordillera Central, Sierra de Cayey, and in the northeast Sierra de Luquilla. From its crest the land slopes northward and southward in broad undulations, deeply cut by streams, giving most of the interior of the island a steep, hilly surface, gradually becoming more nearly level, until near the coast it spreads into broad level *playas*. This range forms the water divide of the island, and from it streams flow northward and southward, those flowing north having much the longer courses and gentler slopes. None of these streams are navigable, excepting for a very few miles near their mouths, where they are in effect estuaries. The largest are the Rios, Loiza, Bayamon, Morovis, Arecibo, and Blanco, all on the north of the dividing ridge. On the south the dividing ridge descends steeply, with short spurs and a narrow coastal plain. Here the streams are short, with very steep descents. The coast is low and for the most part simple, with few good harbors, the best being that of San Juan, on the north coast. Ponce and Guanica are the only harbors on the south coast into which vessels of ordinary draft can enter, but the island of Vieques has several commodious ports where the largest ships can ride at anchor. The coast of Porto Rico, unlike that of Cuba, is not bordered by fringing reefs or islets.

Climate.—Lying in the tropics, the island is within the region of the southwest trades, which blow with great regularity. The annual temperature at San Juan, on the north coast, ranges in different years from 78° to $82^{\circ} F.$ The mean monthly temperature ranges from 75° in January to 82° in August. The maximum temperature on record is 99° , and the minimum 57° , indicating a very slight range

PORTO RICO

and a uniform climate. The only difference of temperature to be observed throughout the island is due to altitude, the highlands of the interior having a mean annual temperature as low as 72° F. Serious storms occur and occasional earthquakes, but the latter are not violent, doing but little damage. The annual rainfall at San Juan averages sixty inches, about the same as at New Orleans, and nearly two-thirds of this falls in the summer and autumn. The annual relative humidity at the capital is very high, averaging not far from eighty per cent. The annual rainfall increases eastward from San Juan, until near the northeast corner of the island it exceeds 100 inches.

are sugar, tobacco, cotton, coffee, and fruits. In the fiscal year 1902-03 the exportation of sugar was the largest on record, reaching 233,070,000 pounds, and the same may be said of molasses, the quantity being 3,537,000 gallons. The export of tobacco in leaf was valued at \$135,080; as cigars and cigarettes, \$1,755,311. An improvement in quality and increase in yield were features of the year's crop. The coffee crop was about 39,650,000 pounds, and the value of its export, \$718,531. Cotton-growing was greatly stimulated during the year. The variety is the famous and valuable Sea Island cotton, and the Department of Agriculture at Washington is liberally promoting in-



STREET SCENE IN SAN JUAN.

It increases also upon the highlands of the interior, reaching a maximum upon the dividing ridge of nearly 100 inches. The south slope of the island, on the other hand, is much drier, both rainfall and atmospheric moisture being less, so much so that in some regions irrigation is necessary for cultivation of crops.

Agriculture.—The principal productions

are sugar, tobacco, cotton, coffee, and fruits. In the fiscal year 1902-03 the exportation of sugar was the largest on record, reaching 233,070,000 pounds, and the same may be said of molasses, the quantity being 3,537,000 gallons. The export of tobacco in leaf was valued at \$135,080; as cigars and cigarettes, \$1,755,311. An improvement in quality and increase in yield were features of the year's crop. The coffee crop was about 39,650,000 pounds, and the value of its export, \$718,531. Cotton-growing was greatly stimulated during the year. The variety is the famous and valuable Sea Island cotton, and the Department of Agriculture at Washington is liberally promoting in-

PORTO RICO

1902-03, mostly from wild trees, was \$230,589, as against \$51,364 in 1901-02. Much larger attention also is being given to the growing of the pineapple.

Mineralogy.—The mineral deposits have not attracted particular attention as yet, although it is known that there are considerable deposits of iron and copper, and that gold and silver have been found in the mountains. During 1902-03 there were fifty-three claims prosecuted in the bureau of mines, and at the end of the year there were eighty mining claims in force.

Commerce.—For the first time since the American occupation the foreign trade yielded a balance in favor of the island in the year ending June 30, 1903. The total imports were \$14,179,575; total exports, \$14,866,044. The imports from the United States amounted to \$11,976,134, principally rice, cotton manufactures, provisions, iron and steel manufactures, breadstuffs, and wood and leather manufactures; and the exports to the United States, \$10,909,147, made up of sugar, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, molasses, fruits, and coffee.

Under the Spanish régime the total exports to the United States and total imports from the United States were as follows:

NON-AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.	
For 1893.....	\$853,432
" 1894.....	879,725
" 1895.....	781,751
" 1896.....	863,504
" 1897.....	794,323
Chiefly manufactures of iron, steel, and wood.	

AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.	
For 1893.....	\$1,649,356
" 1894.....	1,825,921
" 1895.....	1,038,452
" 1896.....	1,211,896
" 1897.....	1,170,527
Chiefly bread and breadstuffs.	

NON-AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.	
For 1893.....	\$15,905
" 1894.....	13,588
" 1895.....	24,341
" 1896.....	34,400
" 1897.....	86,705

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.	
For 1893.....	\$3,992,718
" 1894.....	3,122,046
" 1895.....	1,482,171
" 1896.....	2,262,253
" 1897.....	2,094,819
Chiefly sugar and molasses.	

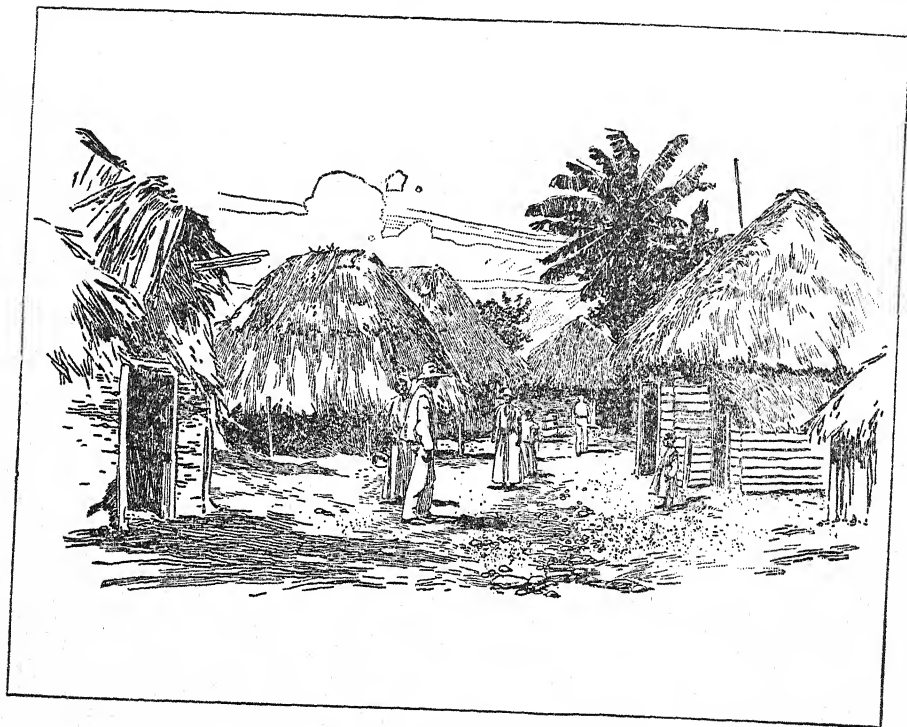
Finances.—Official reports of the Treasury Department on June 30, 1903, showed: Balance from previous year, \$1,358,468.86; receipts from customs, \$771,447.90; from internal revenue, \$1,609,433.69; from other sources, \$69,111.35; repayments and transfers, \$52,688.13; trust funds deposited, \$1,004,624.80; repayments and transfers, \$20,100.61—total receipts, \$4,885,875.34. The expenditures were: Legislative, \$116,205.13; executive, \$1,902,317.12; judicial, \$204,891.83; settlement payments of sundry claims, \$234,598.38; transfers to trust funds, \$14,598.43; advanced from trust funds to the Department of the Interior, \$429,274.03, to the Department of Education, \$94,486.96; payment of claims, \$602,856.01; transfer to insular revenues from trust funds, \$1,244.29—total expenditures, \$3,600,832.18, leaving a balance of \$1,285,043.16. Of the balance \$344,310 only was available for ordinary insular expenditures, the remainder belonging to trust funds, viz., \$887,939.28 representing the balance of the funds set aside by Congress for permanent improvements, and \$52,793.30 money due municipalities or held in trust for other purposes. The receipts for the year exceeded the expenditures by \$29,710.18.

Public Instruction.—The system of schools of the island is built upon the common public school, which takes a child at five or six years of age and carries him through eight years of school life. All the town schools are graded and in many of them eight grades are successfully maintained. The grading has been found very difficult, because many children entering school, even of sufficiently advanced age to do high-school work, had never had any educational advantages whatever and were not able to read or write. Official reports for the year ending June 30, 1903, showed: Estimated population of school age, 377,200; enrolled in the public schools, 70,216; maximum number of schools in operation, 1,014, of which 427 were graded or town schools; school buildings, 717; maximum number of teachers, 1,354; special schools, 89, including 10 kindergartens, 44 night schools, 6 industrial schools, 23 high-schools; 2 practice schools; and 4 normal schools; total expenditure for public education from all sources,

PORTO RICO

\$817,814, or \$7.99 per pupil enrolled. Of the expenditures, \$14,864 was for the education of Porto-Rican students in the United States.

Religion.—Under Spanish rule the Roman Catholic was the only recognized religion, a distance of about eighty miles, and connecting San Juan with Ponce; the road leading from Cayey, on the military road, to Guayama, on the coast, a distance of about twenty-eight miles; and the roads



A NATIVE VILLAGE, PORTO RICO.

form of religion on the island, with the exception that by a special decree the Protestant Episcopal Church had been permitted to establish itself in Ponce. The latter church has since consecrated a bishop, the Rev. James H. Van Buren, for Cuba and Porto Rico jointly. As freedom of worship is now guaranteed throughout the island, other denominations are rapidly acquiring establishments there.

Communications.—At the time of the American occupation the roads and highways, with few exceptions, were in the worst possible condition. The exceptions were the military road extending entirely from Toa Alta to Bayamon, from Bayamon to Rio Piedras, from Bayamon to Catano, and from Ponce to Guayama, the last group being only fairly good. The military road is a stone macadam, very carefully built, with a most complete system of bridges and culverts, and is considered one of the finest roads in the Western World. From the trust funds allotted for internal improvements a liberal amount was set aside for road-making and repairs in 1902-03, and at the end of that year the Ponce-Arecibo road was well advanced in construction; the Manabo-Yabucoa road was nearing completion; repairs had been made on the Camuy-Agua-

PORTO RICO

dilla and the Caguas-Humacao roads; and appropriations had been made to reconstruct the Ponce-Guayama, the Fajardo-Mameyes, the Yabucoa-Sabana Grande, and the Lares-San Sebastian roads, to build bridges across the Añasco and Portugues rivers, and to proceed with the Bayamo-Comerio road.

The experiment of the governmental ownership of telegraph lines is meeting with satisfactory results. About thirty-eight miles were added to the total length in 1902-03; the receipts of the service were \$49,114; expenditures, \$35,199; net earnings, \$13,914. On Oct. 18, 1903, the first passenger train over the line of the American railroad was run from San Juan to Ponce, excepting the incomplete section between Camuy and Aguadilla. This improvement cost over \$1,000,000, extends through the most fertile part of the island, and will be of incalculable service in promoting agriculture and internal trade. The scheme of railroad development has in view the encircling of the entire island.

Judiciary.—Prior to 1832 the laws and modes of procedure were the same as in Cuba and other Spanish colonies. The courts were limited, however, to the judges of first instance and the municipal judges. By a royal decree of June 19, 1831, a territorial *audiencia* was established in San Juan, and appeals were then made direct to the Supreme Court in Madrid. At the date of American occupation, each municipal district had a municipal judge, and there were twelve judicial districts each having a judge of first instance and instruction. There were three *audiencias*, one territorial of six judges, having its seat in San Juan, with both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and two criminal *audiencias* of three judges each, located in Ponce and Mayaguez, respectively. All judges were appointed by the captain-general. Since the American occupation many salutary and important changes have been made in the Spanish system, as established in Porto Rico, including the discontinuance of the theory of the guilt of an accused person, *ex parte* investigations, and the *incomunicado*. For these, speedy and impartial trials, by jury, or otherwise, have been substituted, while the writ of *habeas corpus* protects those who may have been unjustly confined. In Au-

gust, 1899, on the recommendation of the judicial board, Military-Governor Davis reorganized the courts, reduced the number of judicial districts from twelve to five, and gradually introduced many American rules of procedure, and the system observed generally in the courts of the United States. The organic act of the civil government established a Supreme Court of five justices having the same powers and duties as were assigned to that tribunal by the military orders. This left it a court of cassation rather than a court of appeals. The territorial assembly by act of March 12, 1903, made the Supreme Court a court of appeals and eliminated all the elements of cassation.

Population.—The people of Porto Rico are, in the main, a rural community. There are no large cities in the island, the largest two being San Juan, which, regarding the entire municipal district as a city, had a population, according to the census of 1899, of 32,048, and Ponce, which, with its port, constituted practically one city, with a population of 27,952. These are the only two cities exceeding 25,000 inhabitants. The next city in magnitude is Mayaguez, on the west coast, with a population of 15,187. The only other city exceeding 8,000 inhabitants is Arecibo, with a population of 8,008. The total urban population of the island contained in cities exceeding 8,000 inhabitants each was 83,195, or only 8.7 per cent. of the population of the island. There were in Porto Rico fifty-seven cities, each having a population of 1,000 or more. The total urban population of the island, under this definition, numbered 203,792, or 21.4 per cent. of the total number of inhabitants of the island. The number of urban inhabitants in each department of Porto Rico, with the proportion it bears to the total population of the department, is shown in the following table:

Department.	Total Population.	Urban Population (1,000+).	Percentage Urban to Total.
Aguadilla.....	99,645	15,518	15.6
Arecibo.....	162,308	21,166	13.0
Bayamon.....	160,046	46,728	29.2
Guayama.....	111,986	26,829	24.0
Humacao.....	88,501	18,219	20.6
Mayaguez.....	127,566	29,462	23.1
Ponce.....	203,191	45,869	22.6
Total.....	953,243	203,791	21.4

PORTO RICO

The People.—The people of Porto Rico have proven themselves loyal in their devotion to their new country, and have shown much solicitation to be regarded in all essentials as citizens of the United States. Immediately after the American occupation expressions were heard on every hand and from all classes of a readiness and willingness to accept American institutions to the fullest extent, as well as a desire to be relieved as quickly as possible of the oppressive laws to which they had been so long subjected by Spanish rule. Compulsory education being unknown, and thousands of parents, not having themselves received any education, seeing no need of requiring their children to attend such schools as existed in their neighborhood, an educational condition was encountered by the Americans which at first seemed exceedingly discouraging; but within a short time the people began to manifest an intense desire to have their children educated, and accordingly became enthusiastic in the beginnings of the present American public-school system. It was estimated at one time that in a population of approximately 800,000 only from ten to twenty per cent. could read and write. There is considerable wealth and certainly superior intelligence among the more favored classes, and the hospitality of the Porto-Rican is without bounds. His house is open to every proper person, and a most cordial greeting is assured. The people generally are peaceful and law-abiding. In the interior of the island there is in many places considerable poverty, especially since the hurricane of Aug. 8, 1899, and many of the homes are constructed almost altogether of palm trees with a covering of palm leaves and straw thatch. The people are very industrious and willing to work if given an opportunity; and in nearly every instance those employing them speak in terms of commendation of them as workmen.

History.—The history of Porto Rico presents but few points of interest as compared with Cuba or the other colonies of Spain in this hemisphere. The island was discovered by Columbus, Nov. 16, 1493, during his second voyage. He approached it from Santo Domingo and first sighted Cape Mala Pascua. From there he sailed along the south and east coast to Aguada, where he landed Nov. 19. He took possession of the island in the name of the reigning sovereigns of Spain and named it Juan Bautista, in honor of St. John the Baptist. Its Indian name was Borinquen. Columbus remained for several days and then returned to Santo Domingo. It does not appear that he ever visited the island again. During the next fourteen years numerous vessels stopped at the island, usually for water, but it remained unexplored and uninhabited by white men until 1508, when Nicolas de Ovando, Governor of Santo Domingo, having learned that the mountains and streams abounded in gold, sent Juan Ponce de Leon to explore the island. He embarked with a small party of Spaniards and a few Indian guides and landed near Aguadilla, the home of the principal cacique, Aqueybana, by whom he was kindly received and conducted to different parts of the island. In the course of the journey Ponce de Leon verified the reports of the Indians in regard to the presence of gold, and returned to Santo Domingo, leaving a few of his companions as guests of Aqueybana. Ovando now determined to subjugate and colonize the island, and Ponce de Leon was selected to conduct the enterprise. Before organizing the expedition, however, Ponce de Leon resolved on another friendly visit for the purpose of a more thorough reconnaissance, and accordingly returned to Porto Rico. He found that his companions had been kindly treated and that the Indians were friendly, and believing he could get possession of the island peaceably he returned to Santo Domingo to solicit the appointment of governor. He found, however, that during his absence Ovando had been superseded by Don Diego Columbus, and that Cristoval de Sotomayor, a Spanish cavalier, had been appointed governor of Porto Rico by the Crown. But Don Diego Columbus would not confirm his appointment or appoint Ponce de Leon, and sent Juan Ceron as governor and Miguel Diaz as his second. Prompted by a love of adventure and the hope of bettering their fortunes, Ponce de Leon and Sotomayor joined the expedition. In the mean time Ovando returned to Spain, where he gave such a favorable account

PORTO RICO

of the character and services of Juan Ponce de Leon in Porto Rico, that the King appointed him governor of the island and intimated plainly to Don Diego Columbus that he must not presume to displace him. Ponce de Leon took charge in 1509, and founded the town of Caparra, about three miles inland from the bay of San Juan. It was afterwards named Puerto Rico and transferred to the present site of San Juan. Subsequently the island and the city exchanged names, although by what process does not appear. The site of Caparra, the first town founded, is now known as Pueblo Viejo. Having fixed the seat of government at Caparra, Juan Ponce de Leon began the pacification and colonization of the island in the usual manner. A conspiracy among the native caciques, led by Aqueybana, the brother and successor of him who had first welcomed the Spaniards to the island, was exposed and suppressed, but not without desperate efforts on the part of the Spaniards, the death of Sotomayor, and the destruction of such Spanish settlements as then existed. It does not appear that the colonists had any serious trouble with the natives thereafter. Lying between and practically controlling the Virgin and Mona passages from the Atlantic into the Caribbean Sea, Porto Rico occupies a strategic position of much importance, which, no doubt, was recognized at an early day. Certain it is that several attempts were made to wrest the island from Spain. Thus, in 1597, Admiral George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, blockaded and captured San Juan, and took possession of the island; but, being forced by an epidemic of yellow fever to withdraw, he destroyed the city, killed a number of its inhabitants, and carried off as trophies seventy-two pieces of artillery. Two years before, the English freebooter, Drake, had sacked and burned San Juan and destroyed all the vessels found in the harbor. These disasters led to the completion of the Morro of San Juan, commenced some time before, and an increase in the garrison of the island. In September, 1625, San Juan was attacked by a Dutch fleet of seventeen vessels and a detachment of 2,500 men. They landed and besieged the city

for twenty-eight days, but were finally forced to withdraw with considerable loss. In 1626 the French attempted a landing, but were repulsed. Between this and 1797 several minor and unsuccessful attacks were made. In April of that year, a British squadron and a detachment of 6,500 soldiers, under Lord Ralph Abercrombie, attacked San Juan, but withdrew after an investment of two weeks. From this time to the date of the American occupation of the island (1898) Porto Rico was exempt from outside attack.

GOVERNORS.

Military.

Appointed.

Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, A.S.A.....	Oct. 13, 1898
Maj.-Gen. Guy V. Henry, U.S.A.....	Dec. 6, 1898
Maj.-Gen. George M. Davis, U.S.A.....	May 9, 1899

Civil.

Charles H. Allen.....	April 12, 1900
William H. Hunt.....	Aug. 30, 1901
Beekman Winthrop.....	April 23, 1904

Government.—By the act of April 12, 1900, which took effect May 1, Congress made provision for a civil government to consist of a governor and an executive council to be appointed by the President for four years, and a house of delegates of thirty-five members to be elected biennially by the qualified voters. The executive council is composed of the insular cabinet and five other persons of good repute. The cabinet includes a secretary for civil affairs, an attorney-general, a treasurer, an auditor, a commissioner of the interior, and a commissioner of education, all appointed for the term of four years. The executive council and house of delegates comprise the legislative assembly. On May 1 this government was established by the inauguration of Gov. Charles H. Allen, of Massachusetts, and is now in operation. By executive order of Sept. 21, 1899, General Davis established the qualifications of an elector as follows: He must be a *bona fide* male resident of the municipality, 21 years of age, and a tax-payer of record, or able to read and write. He must also have resided in the island for two years next preceding the date of his registration, and for the last six months of said two years within the municipality where the

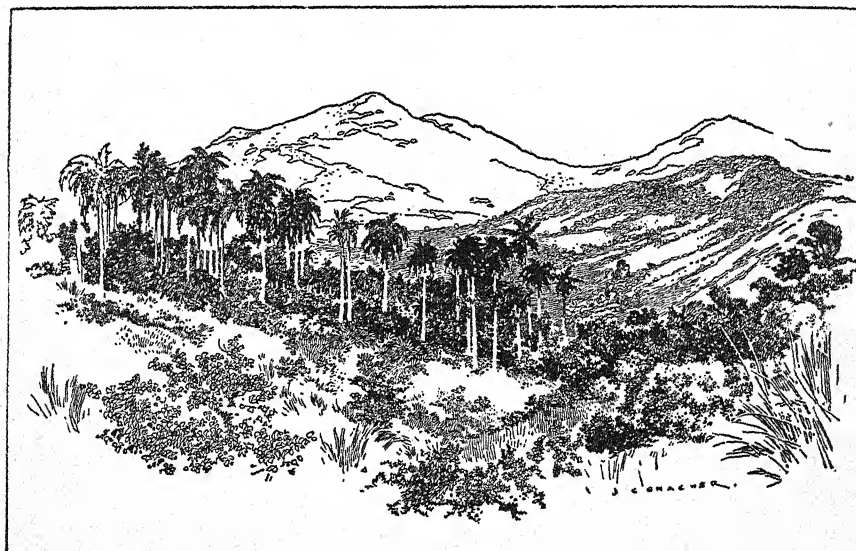
PORTO RICO

election is held. Mayors, councilmen, municipal judges, and school trustees are elected annually. On Jan. 4, 1904, the United States Supreme Court decided that citizens of Porto Rico were not aliens and that they were entitled to enter the United States without obstruction.

American Occupation.—At the outbreak of the American-Spanish War in 1898 a plan for the conquest of Porto Rico was elaborated by Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, commanding general of the army, but it was not put into execution until after the fall of Santiago had released, from duty in Cuba some of the experienced troops. An advance force of 3,415 officers and men under General Miles, in person, set out from Guantanamo Bay on July 20, and on July 25 landed at Guanico, near Ponce, meeting with the resistance only of a small block-house. Several of Admiral Sampson's ships had made a feint of at-

transports, under the protection of a small force of fighting ships, arrived off Ponce, and the city surrendered without a struggle, the Spanish officials retiring to San Juan and the people turning out to welcome the Americans. The troops were landed at Ponce on July 29, and on Aug. 2 the third and last detachment debarked at Arroyo, which had surrendered to the navy the previous day. With a force of 16,973 officers and men, General Miles started across the island, meeting with but little resistance, and being heartily welcomed by the mass of the people, who greeted the Americans as their liberators. The Spanish troops were defeated in the hills near Hormigueros, Aug. 10, and at Rio Canas, Aug. 13, and General Miles was about to advance on San Juan from several directions, when, on Aug. 14, he was notified of the armistice, and further operations at once ceased.

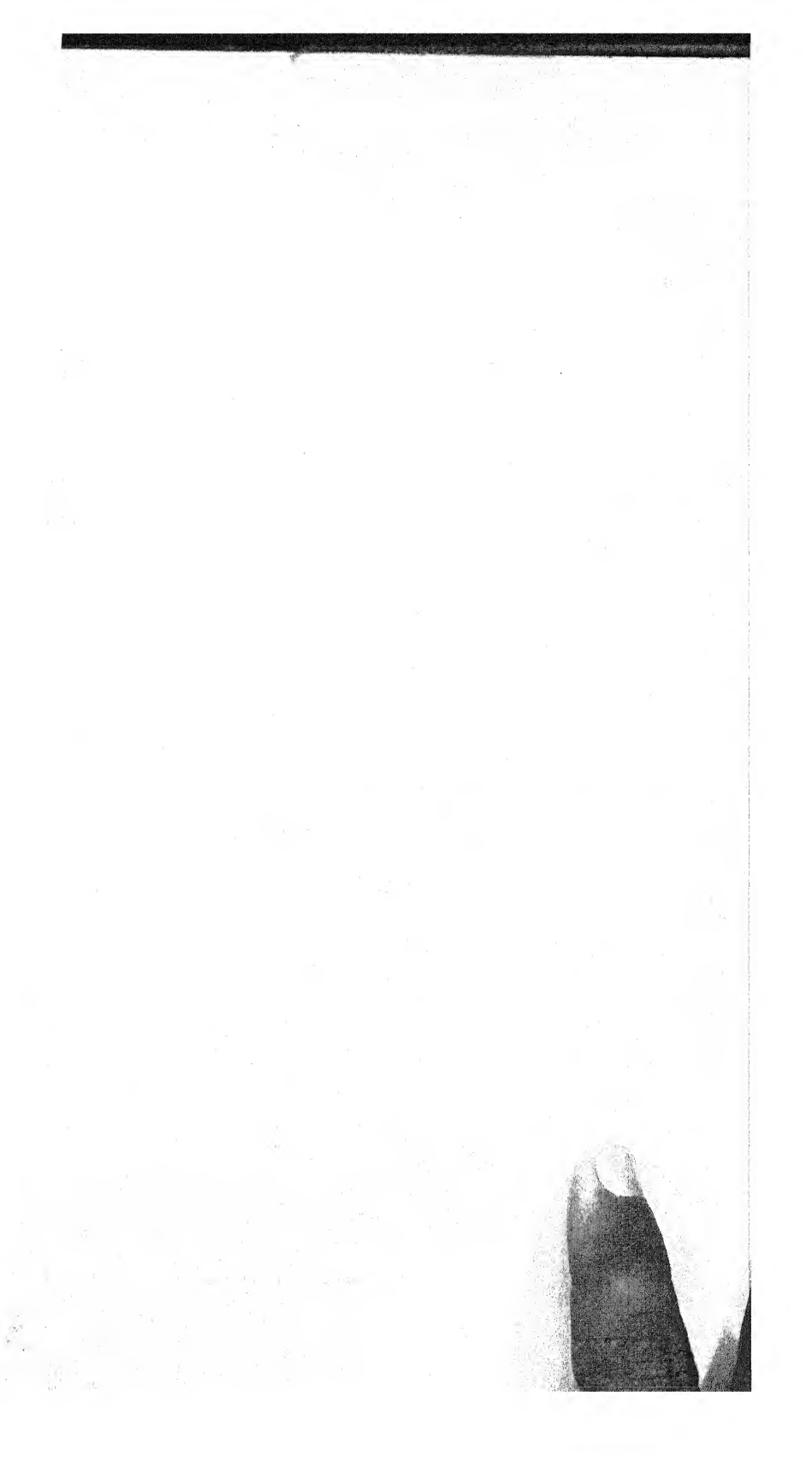
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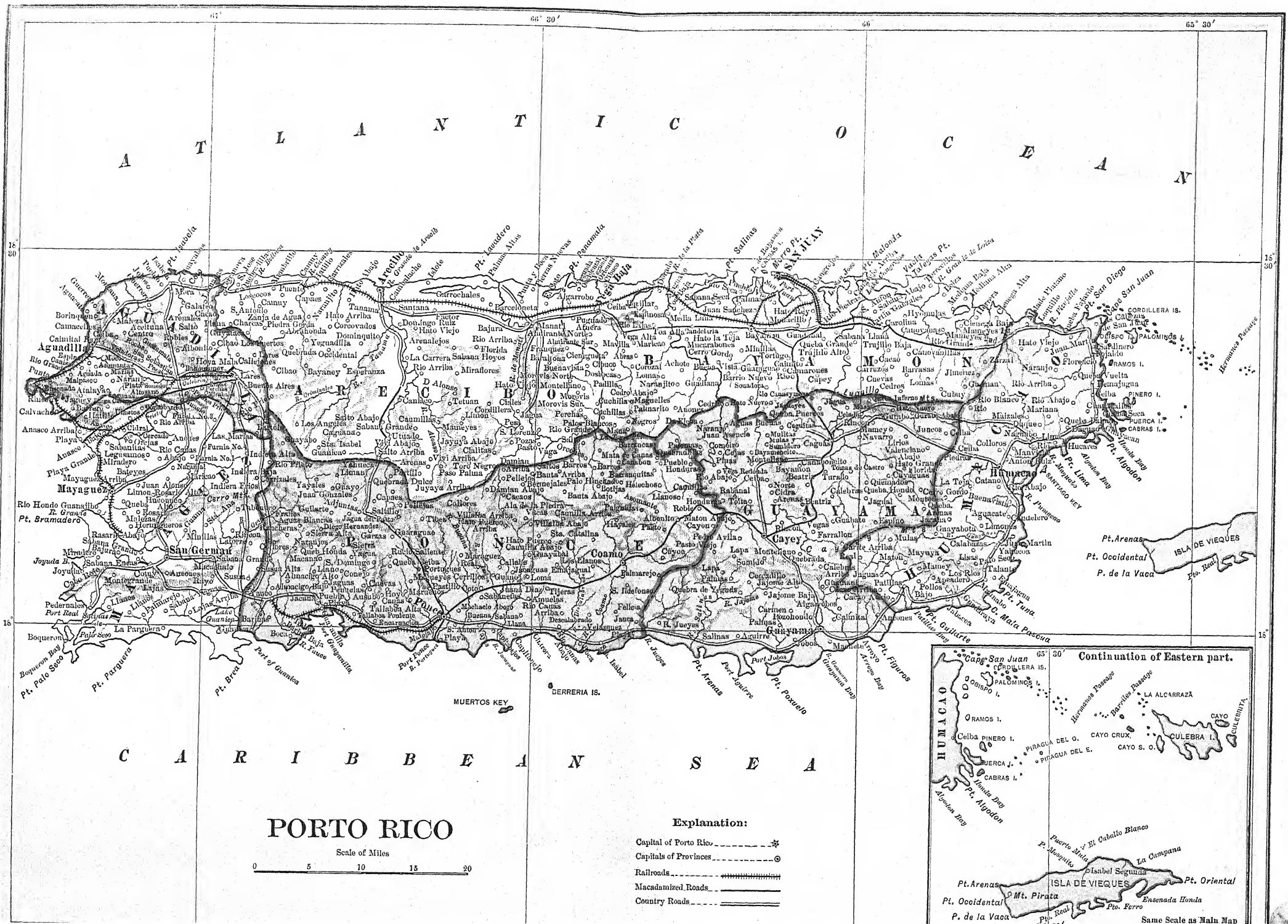


COFFEE AND TOBACCO LANDS.

tacking San Juan, leading the Spanish to withdraw their troops from the interior of the island. On July 26 the Americans advanced to Yauco, and after a short encounter seized the railroad running to Ponce. Two days later several army

peace the following commission was appointed to arrange and superintend the evacuation of the island by the Spaniards: Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, Rear-Admiral Winfield S. Schley, and Brig.-Gen. William W. Gordon; for



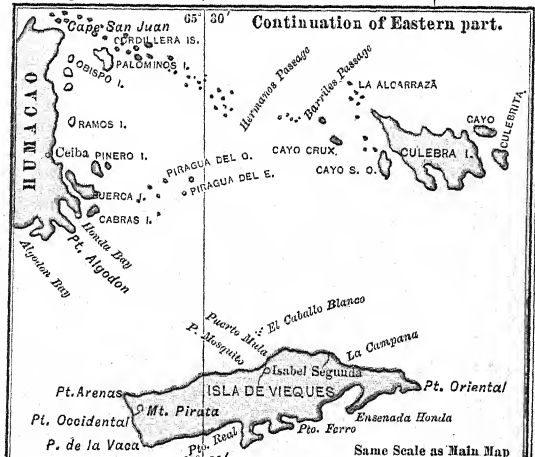


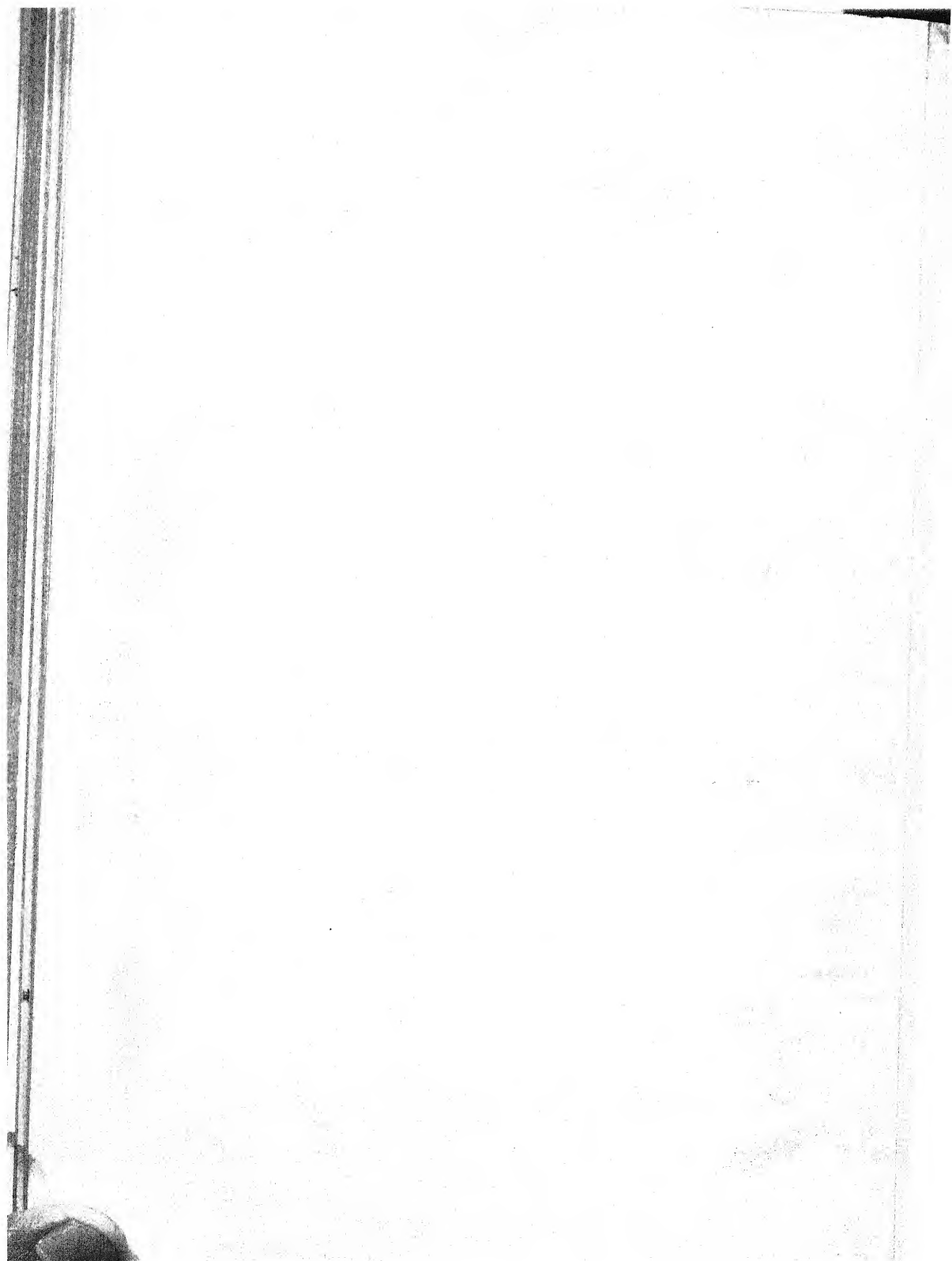
PORTO RICO

Scale of Miles
0 5 10 15 20

Explanation:

- Capital of Porto Rico
- Capitals of Provinces
- Railroads
- Macadamized Roads
- Country Roads





PORTSMOUTH—POSTAL SERVICE

Spain: Maj.-Gen. Ortego y Diaz, Com. Vallarino y Carrasco, and Judge-Advocate Sanchez del Aguila y Leon. On Oct. 18, the island was formally surrendered to the United States in the city of San Juan.

In 1899 a census of the island was taken under the direction of the United States War Department, which by departments gave the following: Aguadilla, 99,645; Arecibo, 162,308; Bayamon, 160,046; Guayamo, 111,986; Humacao, 88,501; Mayaguez, 127,566; and Ponce, 203,191—total for the island, 953,243. The population of the principal cities was: San Juan, 32,048; Ponce, 27,952; Mayaguez, 15,187; Arecibo, 8,008; Aguadilla, 6,425; Yauco, 6,108; Caguas, 5,450; Guayamo, 5,334; Manati, 4,494; and Humacao, 4,428.

On July 25, 1901, President McKinley proclaimed civil government in Porto Rico and free-trade with the United States. William H. Hunt was appointed governor, July 23, 1901, to succeed Charles H. Allen.

Portsmouth, the present county seat of Rockingham county, N. H., with a population (1900) of 9,827; was founded at Strawberry Bank, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, by Mason, who tried to be "lord of the manor"; but his people were too independent to allow special privileges to any one. An Episcopalian named Gibson was the first minister at Portsmouth, for whom a chapel was built in 1638. He was dismissed by the General Court of Massachusetts, which claimed jurisdiction over that region, and a Puritan minister—James Parker—was put in his place. See WILLIAM AND MARY, FORT.

Posey, THOMAS, military officer; born in Virginia, July 9, 1750; removed to western Virginia in 1769, and was quartermaster to Lewis's division in Dunmore's army in 1774. He raised a company in Virginia, and assisted in the defeat of Dunmore at Gwyn's Island. He joined Washington, in New Jersey, early in 1777; was transferred to Morgan's rifle regiment, and with it did valuable service on Bemis's Heights and at Saratoga. He commanded the regiment in the spring of 1778, and was finally placed in command of a battalion of Febiger's regiment, under Wayne, participating in the capture of Stony Point in July, 1779, where he was one of the first to enter the works. Colonel

Posey was at the surrender of Yorktown, and was afterwards with Wayne until the evacuation of Savannah, in 1782. In February, 1793, he was made brigadier-general; settled in Kentucky; became State Senator and lieutenant-governor; was major-general of Kentucky levies in 1809; and United States Senator in 1812-13. He succeeded Harrison as governor of Indiana Territory in March, 1813; and in 1816 was made agent for Indian affairs, which post he held at the time of his death, in Shawneetown, Ill., March 19, 1818.

Post, FREDERICK CHRISTIAN, Moravian missionary to the Delaware Indians, who succeeded in detaching the Delawares from their alliance with the French after Braddock's defeat.

Postal Service, COLONIAL. In 1639 a post-office was established in Boston at the house of Richard Fairbanks for "all letters which are brought from beyond the seas, or are to be sent thither." The Virginia Assembly passed an act in 1657 for the immediate transmission of official letters from plantation to plantation on penalty of one hogshead of tobacco for each default. The government of New York established a monthly mail to Boston in 1672, and in 1676 the colonial court of Massachusetts established a post-office in Boston, appointing John Heyward postmaster. The first parliamentary act for the establishment of a post-office in the English-American colonies was passed in April, 1692, and a royal patent was granted to Thomas Neale for the purpose. He was to transport letters and packets "at such rates as the planters should agree to give." Rates of postage were accordingly fixed and authorized, and measures were taken to establish a post-office in each town in Virginia, when Neale began his operations. Massachusetts and other colonies soon passed postal laws, and a very imperfect post-office system was established. Neale's patent expired in 1710, when Parliament extended the English postal system to the colonies. The rate on a single letter from London to New York was one shilling, and four pence additional for each 60 miles. The chief office was established in New York, to which letters were conveyed by regular packets across the Atlantic. A line of post-offices was soon after estab-

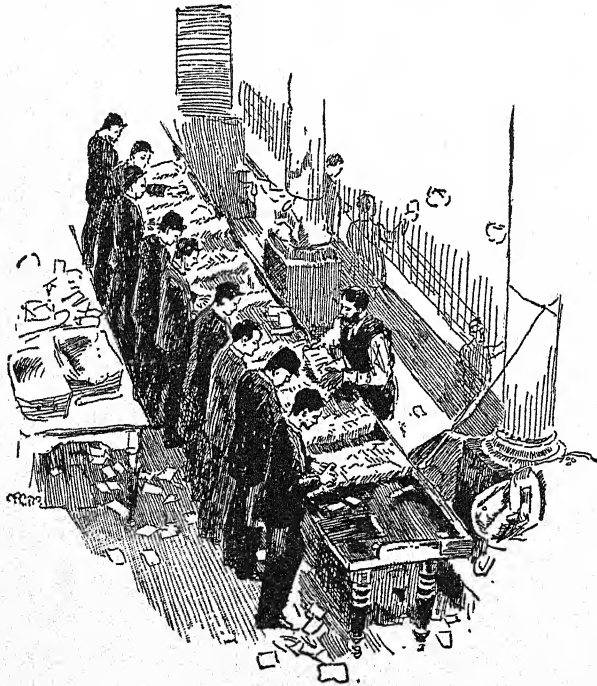
POSTAL SERVICE; COLONIAL—FEDERAL

lished on Neale's old routes, north of the present city of Portsmouth, N. H., and south to Philadelphia, and irregularly extended, a few years later, to Williamsburg, Va. The post left for the South as often as letters enough were deposited to pay the expense. Finally an irregular postal communication was established with Charleston. In 1753 Dr. Franklin was appointed deputy postmaster-general for the colonies. It was a lucrative office and he held it until 1774, when he was dismissed because of his active sympathy with the colonists in their quarrel with the ministry. For a while the colonial postal system was in confusion. William Goddard, a printer, went from colony to colony making efforts to establish a "constitutional post-office," in opposition to the "royal mail." When, in 1775, almost

Postal Service, FEDERAL. Soon after the commencement of the first session of the first national Congress, Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster-General, suggested (July 17, 1789) the importance of a reorganization of the Post-office Department. A bill for the temporary establishment of the general post-office was passed soon afterwards. The subject was brought up in Congress from time to time, until the present system in its general features was adopted in 1792. When Franklin resigned the office of Postmaster-General in 1776, the whole number of post-offices in the United States was 75; the whole number on June 30, 1903, was 74,169, classified as follows: First-class, 242; second-class, 1,107; third-class, 3,690; fourth-class, 60,130; and Presidential, 5,039. Among these were 34,547 money-order offices

issuing 45,941,681 orders. The entire receipts of the Post-office Department during the administration of Dr. Franklin—about fifteen months—were \$27,985, and the expenditures \$32,142; in 1900 the receipts of the Post-office Department for the fiscal year were \$134,224,443, and the expenditures \$138,784,487.

The rates of postage from the organization of the department until 1816 were: For a letter composed of a single piece of paper, under 40 miles, 8 cents; under 90 miles, 10 cents; under 150 miles, 12½ cents; under 300 miles, 17 cents; under 500 miles, 20 cents; and over 500 miles, 25 cents. The rates were made by law in 1816 for a single letter, not over 30 miles, 6¼ cents; over 30 and under 80 miles, 10 cents;



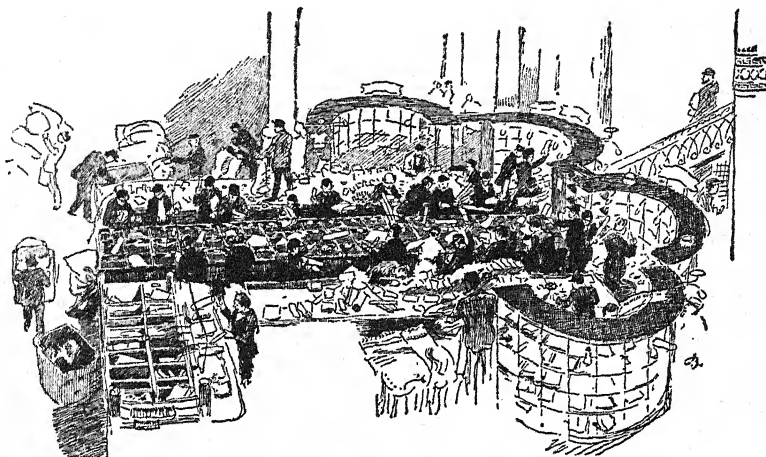
STAMPING-TABLE IN A LARGE POST-OFFICE.

every vestige of royal power was swept from the colonies, the Continental Congress appointed (July 26) Dr. Franklin Postmaster-General).

over 80 and under 150 miles, 18¾ cents; over 400 miles, 25 cents, and an additional rate for every additional piece of paper. If a letter weighed an

POSTAL SERVICE, FEDERAL

ounce, four times these rates were charged. a letter of one-half ounce in weight, under After railroad facilities were established, 3,000 miles, if prepaid, 3 cents; or if not these high rates caused many letters to be prepaid, 5 cents; over 3,000 miles, 6 or 12 carried by express between the several cents; to foreign countries not over 2,500



SORTING THE NEWSPAPER MAIL.

cities, at rates much below those of the post-office. As early as 1836, Edward Everett, in Congress, proposed measures for reducing the postage. The matter was agitated in public discussions until 1843, when the general discontent was manifested by resolutions passed by various legislatures instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to adopt measures for reduction. The Postmaster-General (Wickliffe), in an elaborate report, recommended a moderate reduction, and in 1845 the following rates were established: For a letter not exceeding one-half ounce in weight, under 300 miles, 5 cents; over 300 miles, 10 cents, and an additional rate for every additional half-ounce or fraction thereof. In the next Congress unsuccessful efforts were made to increase the rates on letters, but on newspapers and magazines they were raised, and prepayment was required. Postage on circulars was raised to 3 cents, and newspaper postage to Oregon and California, at the close of the war with Mexico, was fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents each. The letter charge to California *via* Chagres and Panama was 40 cents.

In 1851 a law was passed establishing the following rates of letter postage: For

miles, except where postal arrangements had been made, 10 cents; over 2,500 miles, 20 cents. Transient newspapers, circulars, and other printed matter, 1 cent an ounce under 500 miles, and greater distances in proportion. Books, under 32 ounces, 1 cent an ounce, if prepaid; 2 cents an ounce if not. The next year the law was modified. Letters sent over 3,000 miles and not prepaid were charged 10 cents; newspapers, etc., under 3 ounces, 1 cent. Books weighing less than 4 pounds, under 3,000 miles, 1 cent an ounce; over 3,000 miles, 2 cents. By an act of the same year (1852), stamps and stamped envelopes were ordered. By a law of March 3, 1855, the rates on single inland letters were reduced to 3 cents for all distances under 3,000 miles, and 10 cents for all over that; and all inland letter-postage was to be prepaid.

In 1863 the rate of postage was made uniform at 3 cents on all domestic letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight, and 3 cents additional for every half-ounce or fraction thereof. The rates on printed matter were also modified. In 1868 the law was so amended as to allow weekly newspapers to be sent free to regular subscribers residing in the county. By

POSTAL SERVICE—POTTAWATTOMIE INDIANS

the act of 1855, provision was made for the registration of valuable letters on the payment of a specific fee; but the government is not liable for the loss of any registered mail-matter; the system simply provides for greater certainty in transmission. In 1874 the cost of registration was reduced from 15 cents to 8 cents, in addition to the regular postage. In June, 1875, it was raised to 10 cents, but afterwards restored to 8 cents.

The money-order system was established in the United States Nov. 1, 1864, in order to promote public convenience and insure safety in the transfer by mail of small sums of money. That security is obtained by omitting from the order the name of the payee, which is added on the receipt of the order. Orders are issued for sums not exceeding \$100; larger sums by increasing the number of orders accordingly. The charge for issuing a money-order for sums not exceeding \$2 50, 3 cents; \$5, 5 cents; \$10, 8 cents; \$20, 10 cents; \$30, 12 cents; \$40, 15 cents; \$50, 18 cents; \$60, 20 cents; \$75, 25 cents; \$100, 30 cents. On June 30, 1903, there were 34,547 money-order offices.

By act of June 8, 1872, the Postmaster-General was authorized to issue postal-cards to the public at a cost of 1 cent each. The first cards were issued in May, 1873. The rates of postage established by acts prior to 1870 were as follows: Single letters (domestic), uniform for any distance, 3 cents for every half-ounce, and for each additional half-ounce, 3 cents. This applies to all *sealed* matter, whether in manuscript or printed. There are two other classes of mail-matter; one embraces all regularly supplied newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, exclusively in print, and the other embraces pamphlets, transient newspapers, magazines, and articles of merchandise, seeds, roots, scions, engravings, etc., for all of which there are graded prices. Letters not taken from a post-office, or the directions of which are not clear, are sent to the Dead-letter Office in Washington, where they are examined, and, as far as possible, they and their contents are returned to the sender. The quantity of these letters is very large. Postal arrangements have been made with foreign governments by which great facility and security are obtained in the

transmission of letters. In February, 1883, Congress, by act, fixed the postage on single letters at 2 cents after Oct. 1, 1883. Second-class matter (periodicals), is carried at the nominal rate of 1 cent per pound.

Potomac, ARMY OF. See **PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.**

Pottawattomie Indians, an Algonquian family which occupied the lower peninsula of Michigan, and spoke one of the rudest dialects of that nation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were in scattered and apparently independent bands, without the faintest sign of any civil government. Hunters and fishers, and cultivators of a little maize, they were wanderers, and were frequently engaged in wars with neighboring tribes. The Iroquois finally drove them to the shores of Green Bay, where the French Jesuits established a mission among them. They became allies of the French in the wars with the Iroquois and the English, and they gradually spread over southern Michigan and northern Illinois and Indiana. The Pottawattomies joined **PONTIAC** (*q. v.*), and were the friends of the English in the Revolutionary War, and subsequently, but joined in the treaty at Greenville in 1795. In the War of 1812 they again joined the English, under the influence of **TECUMSEH** (*q. v.*). Afterwards they made treaties with the United States for the cession of their lands, when a large tract was assigned them in Missouri, and the whole tribe, numbering about 4,000, settled there in 1838. A portion of them are Roman Catholics, and the remainder are pagans. They are divided into the St. Joseph, Wabash, and Huron bands, who are Roman Catholics, and the Prairie band, who are pagans. Missions among the latter have failed, and they have scattered, some of them having gone to Mexico. The experiment of giving a certain amount of land to each individual was undertaken with 1,400 of them in 1867, and was partially successful. In 1899 there were seventy-seven Huron Pottawattomies at the Mackinac agency in Michigan; 560 Prairie band Pottawattomies at the Pottawattomie and Great Nemaha agency in Kansas; and 756 Citizen Pottawattomies at the Sac and Fox agency in Oklahoma.

POTTER—POWELL

Potter, CHANDLER EASTMAN, author; 1866. He died in Newport, R. I., Feb. 19, 1887.

born in Concord, N. H., March 7, 1807; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1831; editor and publisher of the *Manchester Democrat* in East Concord, in 1844-48; was also connected with other periodicals. His publications include *History of Manchester, N. H.*; a new edition of Belknap's *History of New Hampshire, with Notes and a Continuation to 1860*; and contributions on the Penobscot and other Eastern Indians in Schoolcraft's *History of the Indians*. He died in Flint, Mich., Aug. 4, 1868.

Potter, ELISHA REYNOLDS, jurist; born in South Kingston, R. I., June 20, 1811; graduated at Harvard College in 1830; commissioner of Rhode Island public schools in 1849-54; subsequently became a judge of the State Supreme Court. His publications include *A Brief Account of Emissions of Paper Money made by the Colony of Rhode Island*; *Report on the Condition and Improvement of the Public Schools of Rhode Island*; *Early History of Narraganset, with an Appendix of Original Documents*; *The Bible and Prayer in Public Schools*, etc. He died in South Kingston, R. I., April 10, 1882.

Potter, ROBERT B., military officer; born in Schenectady, N. Y., July 16, 1829; son of Bishop Alonzo Potter; was a successful lawyer in New York City when the Civil War broke out. He entered the military service as major of the Shepard Rifles, and led the attack with Reno's Zouaves and the 9th New Jersey Regiment on Roanoke Island, Feb. 8, 1862. He was wounded at Newbern; behaved gallantly at the head of his regiment in battles in Virginia, and at Antietam carried the stone bridge on the National left, when he was again wounded. He was in the battle at Fredericksburg, and was made brigadier-general of volunteers in March, 1863. He commanded a division in the siege of Vicksburg, was active in the defence of Knoxville, and commanded a corps against Longstreet in Tennessee. In command of a division in the Army of the Potomac, he was distinguished throughout the Richmond campaign in 1864-65, and was shot through the body at Petersburg (April 2, 1865), but recovered. He was promoted major-general of volunteers in 1865, and was mustered out of the service in

Powderly, TERENCE VINCENT, labor leader; born in Carbondale, Pa., Jan. 22, 1849; elected mayor of Scranton in 1878; general master-workman of the Knights of Labor in 1879-93; admitted to the bar in 1894; U. S. commissioner-general of emigration in 1897; resigned, 1902.

Powell, EDWARD PAYSON, author; born in Clinton, N. Y., in 1823; graduated at Hamilton College in 1853 and at Union Theological Seminary in 1858; was first a Congregational and afterwards a Unitarian minister; and then entered journalism; was connected with the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for a number of years, and subsequently became associate editor of *The New Unity*, in Chicago. He is the author of *Our Heredity from God*; *Liberty and Life*; and *Nullification and Secession in the United States*.

Powell, JOHN WESLEY, naturalist; born in Mount Morris, N. Y., March 24, 1834; graduated at Illinois Wesleyan College; served in the 2d Illinois Artillery during the Civil War; lost his right arm at the battle of Shiloh; and was promoted major. In 1869 he explored the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, and his success in that undertaking resulted in a systematic survey by the Smithsonian Institution, and later by the Department of the Interior. He was made director of the United States bureau of ethnology in 1879, and of the United States geological survey in 1880; resigned the latter in 1894, but retained the former. His publications include *Explorations of the Colorado River*; *Report on Geology of the Uinta Mountains*; *Report on Arid Regions of United States*; *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages*; *Studies in Sociology*; *Cañons of the Colorado*; etc. He died in Haven, Maine, Sept. 23, 1902.

Powell, WILLIAM HENRY, artist; born in New York City, Feb. 14, 1823; began the study of art early in life in his native city and later studied in Europe. His historical works include *De Soto Discovering the Mississippi*; *Perry's Victory on Lake Erie*; *Siege of Vera Cruz*; *Battle of Buena Vista*; *Landing of the Pilgrims*; *Scott's Entry into the City of Mexico*; *Washington at Valley Forge*; and *Cristopher Columbus before the Court of*

POWERS—POWHATAN

Salamanca. He died in New York City, Oct. 6, 1879.

Powers, HIRAM, sculptor; born in Woodstock, Vt., July 29, 1805; went to Ohio in early life, and on the death of his father made his residence in Cincinnati, where he was employed in a reading-room, a produce-store, and with a clock-maker. He learned the art of modelling in plaster from a German, and soon made several busts of considerable merit, and was manager of the wax-work department of the museum at Cincinnati. In 1835 he went to Washington, where he successfully modelled busts of distinguished men, and with the assistance of Nicholas Longworth, of Cincinnati, he was enabled to establish himself at Florence, Italy, in 1837, where he resided until his death, June 27, 1873. There he soon rose to eminence in his profession, making an ideal statue of *Eve*

which Thorwaldsen pronounced a masterpiece. The next year he produced the exquisite figure of the *Greek Slave*, the most widely known of his works, and of which six duplicates in marble have been made, besides casts and reduced copies. He was accurate in his portraits, and the greater portion of his works consists of busts of distinguished men. He made portrait statues of Washington for the State of Louisiana, of Calhoun for South Carolina (which has been called his best work of the kind), and of Webster for Massachusetts.

Powhatan, Indian sagamore, or emperor; born about 1550; was on the Virginia peninsula between the York and James rivers when the English first settled there in 1607. His Indian name was Wah-un-so-na-cook. He lived about a mile below the foot of the falls of the James

River, Richmond, and there Captain Smith and his companions, exploring the stream, found him. By his wisdom and prowess he had raised himself to the rank of sagamore, or civil ruler, over thirty Indian tribes, and was entitled Powhatan, having a significance like that of Pharaoh, the official title of a line of kings of Egypt. His subjects numbered about 8,000, and he is known in history simply as Powhatan. When he became emperor he resided chiefly at Weroworomoco (now Shelly), on the York River, in Gloucester county, Va. He treated the English people hospitably, but his younger brother, Opechanough, King of Pamunkey, was always



POWHATAN SITTING IN STATE (From an old print).

POWHATAN—POWNALL

hostile to them. When Captain Smith was taken prisoner by him, he conducted the captain first to his own village, and then to the palace of Powhatan on the York. At the former place the Indians held incantations for three days to discover Smith's character, for they were in doubt whether he was the incarnation of the good or the evil spirit. Then they took him to Powhatan and asked him to decide the prisoner's fate. The emperor, seated upon a raised platform in a stately arbor covered with branches, and with a favorite daughter on each side of him, with solemn words adjudged Smith to death. The sympathy of one of Powhatan's daughters saved him, and through her influence friendship was maintained, with some interruptions, between the emperor and the English until Powhatan died.

In 1608 Captain Newport came to Virginia with presents for Powhatan. Among these was a basin, a ewer, some clothes, and a crown for the dusky monarch, with orders for him to be crowned. Captain Smith was then president of the colony, and he, as special ambassador of the King of England, summoned the emperor to Jamestown to undergo the ceremony of coronation. Powhatan, with dignity, refused to go, saying, "I also am a king; and if the King of England has sent me gifts, they should be brought to me; I shall not go to receive them." Newport went to Powhatan with the gifts. They were accepted; but no persuasions could induce the Indian monarch to kneel to receive the crown. Only by two Englishmen bearing down heavily upon his shoulders could he be brought to a position that might be considered as kneeling; and so he had the crown placed upon his head. The act finished, a pistol was fired, and was followed by a volley from the boats in the York River. Powhatan was startled by a fear of treachery, but when assured that all was right, he accepted this acknowledgment of his royal state, and gave a slight present to be conveyed to his brother the King of England.

Powhatan's friendship was almost destroyed when Captain Argall, a rough, half-piratical mariner, kidnapped *POCAHONTAS* (*q. v.*) to extort favors from her father. Powhatan was grieved, but remained firm. Meanwhile Pocahontas be-

came betrothed to an Englishman, and with the consent of her father was married to him. After that Powhatan was the fast friend of the settlers. He died in April, 1618, and was succeeded by Opechancanough, an enemy of the English.

Powhatan Indians, a branch of the Algonquian family, which composed a confederacy of about thirty bands, including the Accohannocks and Accomacs, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay. Their sagamore was **POWHATAN** (*q. v.*). After Powhatan's death his people made two attempts (1622, 1644) to exterminate the English, but they themselves were so weakened by the contest that the confederacy fell in pieces at the death of Opechancanough, Powhatan's brother and successor. Of all that once great confederacy in lower Virginia, not one representative, it is believed, exists on earth, nor one tongue speaks the dialect.

Pownall, THOMAS, statesman; born in Lincoln, England, in 1720; graduated at Cambridge in 1743, and was made secretary to the commissioners of trade and plantations in 1745. He came to America in 1753 as secretary to Governor Osborn, of New York, whom he succeeded as lieutenant-governor. He was a member of the Colonial Congress at Albany in 1754, and was governor of Massachusetts from 1757 to 1760. In 1760-61 he was governor of South Carolina, and returning to England was made a director-general of the office of control with the rank of colonel. Entering Parliament in 1768, he was one of the most powerful friends of the Americans in that body.

Pownall, who, as governor of Massachusetts, and a traveller, explorer, and civil officer in the central portion of the Union, had become well acquainted with the characteristics of the American people, published in England, at the beginning of 1780, a memorial to the sovereigns in Europe, in which he said the system of establishing colonies in various climates to create a monopoly of the peculiar products of their labor was at an end; that America was so far removed from the influences of Europe and its embroiled interests that it was without a real enemy, and the United States of America had taken an equal station with the nations

POWNALL—PRAIRIE GROVE

upon earth; that negotiations were of no consequence either to the right or the fact—the independence of America was “a fixed fact”; that its government, young and strong, would struggle by the vigor of its internal healing principles of life against all evils in its system and surmount them. “Its strength will grow with years,” he said, “and it will establish its constitution.” He asserted his belief that in time the West Indies must, “in the course of events, become part of the great North American dominion.” He predicted the casting off by the Spanish colonies in South America of their dependence upon Spain, which occurred in less than fifty years afterwards, because “South America,” he said, “is growing too much for Spain to manage; it is in power independent, and will be so in act as soon as any occasion shall call forth that power.” He spoke of the civilizing activity of the human race having free course in America, the people there, “standing on the high ground of improvement up to which the most enlightened parts of Europe have advanced, like eaglets, commence the first efforts of their pinions from a towering advantage.”

He lauded America as “the poor man’s country,” where labor and mental development went hand in hand—where “many a real philosopher, a politician, a warrior, emerges out of this wilderness, as the seed rises out of the ground where it hath lain buried for its season.” He referred to the freedom of the mechanic arts that would be secured by independence, where no laws lock up the artisan, and said, “The moment that the progress of civilization is ripe for it, manufactures will grow and increase with an astonishing exuberancy.” Referring to ship-building, he said: “Their commerce hath been striking deep root”; and referred to ocean and inland navigation as becoming “our vital principle of life, extended through our organized being, our nature.” “Before long,” he said, the Americans “will be trading in the South Sea, in the Spice Islands, and in China. . . . Commerce will open the door to immigration. By constant intercommunion, America will every day approach nearer and nearer to Europe. Unless the great potentates of Europe can station cherubim at every avenue with a flaming sword that

turns every way to prevent man’s quitting this Old World, multitudes of their people, many of the most useful, enterprising spirits, will emigrate to the new one. Much of the active property will go there, too.”

He alluded to the folly of the sovereigns trying to check the progress of the Americans, and said: “Those sovereigns of Europe who shall call upon their ministers to state to them things as they really do exist in nature, shall form the earliest, the more sure, and natural connection with North America, as being, what she is, an independent State. . . . The new empire of America is, like a giant, ready to run its course. The fostering care with which the rival powers of Europe will nurse it insures its establishment beyond all doubt and danger.” As early as 1760, Pownall, who had associated with liberal men while upholding the King’s prerogative, many times said that the political independence of the Americans was certain, and near at hand. On one occasion Hutchinson, who, eight years later, was in Pownall’s official seat in Massachusetts, hearing of these remarks, exclaimed, “Not for centuries!” for he knew how strong was the affection of New England for the fatherland. He did not know how strong was the desire of the people for liberty. Pownall died in Bath, England, Feb. 25, 1805.

Pownall, FORT, ERECTION OF. Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, took possession of the country around the Penobscot River in 1759, and secured it by the erection of a fort there. It was done by 400 men granted by Massachusetts for the purpose, at a cost of about \$15,000, and named Fort Pownall.

Prairie Grove, BATTLE AT. In the summer of 1862 Gen. T. C. Hindman gathered about 40,000 men, largely made up of guerilla bands, in the vicinity of the Ozark Mountains. Schofield, leaving Curtis in command of his district, marched against them late in September, 1862, with 8,000 men under Gen. J. G. Blunt. This officer attacked a portion of them at Fort Wayne, near Maysville (Oct. 22), and drove them into the Indian country. A week later a cavalry force under Gen. F. J. Herron struck another portion on the White River and drove them into the mountains. Ill-health compelled Schofield to relinquish command, which was as-

PRAIRIE GROVE—PREBLE

sumed by Blunt. Hindman now determined to strike a decisive blow for the recovery of Arkansas from National control. Late in November he had in one body about 20,000 men on the western borders of Arkansas, and on the 28th moved against Blunt. His advance, composed of Marmaduke's cavalry, was attacked and defeated by Blunt on Boston Mountains. The latter now took position at Cane Hill, where Hindman tried to crush him. Hindman crossed the Arkansas River at Van Buren (Dec. 1, 1862) with about 11,000 men, including 2,000 cavalry, and joined Marmaduke. Told of this, Blunt sent to Herron, then just over the Missouri border, for assistance.

He immediately marched into Arkansas at the rate of 20 miles a day, with guns and trains. He sent forward cavalry, but on the morning of Dec. 7 he met a part of them who had been driven back by Marmaduke's horsemen. Meanwhile, Blunt had been skirmishing with the Confederates, who had turned his left flank and were making for his trains. Both he and Herron were now in a perilous condition. Herron had arrived with his main army on Dec. 7, and marching on met the mounted guard of the Confederates at a little settlement called Prairie Grove. Divested of his cavalry, he had only about 4,000 effective men. Ignorant of the near presence of a heavy force under Hindman, he left a strong position, drove the Confederate cavalry across the river, and was there confronted by about 20,000 men, well posted on a wooded ridge.

Herron did not suspect their number, and, pushing on, was instantly driven back. He pushed a battery forward which did such execution that the Confederates supposed his force was much larger than it was. He then threw three full batteries across a creek, supported by three regiments, opened on the flank of the Confederates with a terrible storm of grape and canister, silenced their guns, and pressed up the ridge and captured a battery there. The Nationals, unable to hold it, fell back; and for a while the result was doubtful. While Herron was thus struggling, Blunt came up and

fell upon the Confederate left where troops had been massed to turn Herron's right. A severe battle ensued which continued for nearly four hours. Night ended the conflict. The Nationals slept on their arms on the battle-field. The Confederates retreated under cover of the night, marched rapidly, and escaped. The National loss was 1,148, of which 167 were killed. Blunt estimated the Confederate loss at 3,000, as his command buried about 1,000 killed on the battle-field. Hindman reported his loss at 1,317.

Pratt, DANIEL JOHNSON, educator; born in Westmoreland, N. Y., March 8, 1827; graduated at Hamilton College in 1851; became assistant secretary of the board of regents of the University of the State of New York. His publications include *Biographical Notice of Peter Wrawall*; *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York, 1623-1746*; and most of the *History of the Boundaries of the State of New York*. He died in Albany, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1884.

Prayer in Congress, FIRST. See DUCHE, JACOB.

Preble, EDWARD, naval officer; born in Portland, Me., Aug. 15, 1761. At the age of sixteen years he made a voyage to Europe in an American privateer, and in



EDWARD PREBLE.

PREBLE



MEDAL PRESENTED TO COMMODORE PREBLE.

1779, when eighteen years of age, served as midshipman in the *Protector*. He was made prisoner and was in the *JERSEY PRISON-SHIP* (g. v.) for a while. After the war he occupied himself as ship-master until 1798, when he was named one of the five lieutenants appointed by the government. In 1799 he was commissioned captain, and made a voyage to the East Indies in the *Essex* for the protection of American commerce. In 1803 he took command of the frigate *Constitution*, and in June, as commodore, was placed in command of the squadron sent against Tripoli. By a series of skilful bombardments of Tripoli he brought its ruler to terms. He was superseded by Barron, in September, 1804, and returned home, when Congress voted him the thanks of the nation and a gold medal. He died in Portland, Me., Aug. 25, 1807.

Preble, GEORGE HENRY, naval officer; born in Portland, Me., Feb. 25, 1816; nephew of Edward Preble; entered the navy as midshipman, Oct. 10, 1835; served in the Mediterranean and the West Indies; became passed midshipman in 1841; served in the Florida War, and in the *St. Louis* went round the world as acting master and acting lieutenant. He also served in the war with Mexico as executive officer of the *Petrel*. He became lieutenant early in 1848, while yet in service against Mexico; and from 1849 to 1851 he was attached to the coast sur-

vey, also in 1852-53. He was in the expedition to Japan and China (1852-56), and destroyed Chinese pirates in 1854. Afterwards he was with the South Pacific Squadron; and during the Civil War he was an active commander in the Gulf region. He was with Farragut at New Orleans in May, 1862, and in July was commissioned commander. He commanded the naval brigade at the battle of Honey Hill, S. C. In 1867 he was commissioned captain and became chief of staff of the Pacific Squadron. After some important duties at Washington, he was appointed commandant of the naval rendezvous at Boston in 1871-72. On Nov. 12, 1871, he was made commodore, and from 1873 to 1876 was commandant of the navy-yard at Philadelphia. On Sept. 30, 1876, he was made rear-admiral; commanded the South Pacific Squadron, 1877-78; was retired as rear-admiral, 1878. He died in Boston, Mass., March 1, 1885.

Preble, JEDEDIAH, military officer; born in Wells, Me., in 1707; father of Edward Preble; was a sailor in early life, and in 1746 was a captain in a provincial regiment. He was a lieutenant-colonel under General Winslow at the dispersion of the Acadians in 1755. He rose to the rank of brigadier-general in 1759, and was twelve years a Representative. In 1774 the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts made him a brigadier-general. He was a State Senator in 1780, and judge of the Supreme

PRE-EMPTION RIGHTS—PRESCOTT

Court. He died in Portland, Me., March 11, 1784.

Pre-emption Rights. In 1816 the first pre-emption bill for settlers on public lands was passed by Congress, not, however, without much opposition. This act allowed settlers on the public domain the right to purchase 320 acres.

Prentice, GEORGE DENISON, journalist; born in Preston, Conn., Dec. 18, 1802; was graduated at Brown University in 1823; admitted to the bar in 1829, but never practised; was on the staff of the *New England Weekly Review* for two years; and from 1831 till his death was editor of the *Louisville Journal* (now *Courier-Journal*). He was the author of *Life of Henry Clay* and *Poems*. He died in Louisville, Ky., Jan. 22, 1870.

Prentiss, BENJAMIN MAYBERRY, military officer; born in Belleville, Va., Nov. 23, 1819; served as captain in the Mexican War; in April, 1861, became colonel of the 7th Illinois Volunteers; in May, 1861, was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and served in Missouri until April, 1862, when he joined General Grant, and fought in the battle of Shiloh, where he was taken prisoner. Early in July, 1863, he defeated a Confederate force under Generals Holmes and Price, at Helena, Ark. He died in Bethany, Mo., Jan. 8, 1901.

Prentiss, CHARLES, author; born in Reading, Mass., Oct. 8, 1774; graduated at Harvard College in 1795; and entered journalism. His publications include *Life of Robert Treat Paine*; *Life of Gen. William Eaton*; *History of the United States*; *Trial of Calvin and Hopkins*; etc. He died in Brimfield, Mass., Oct. 20, 1820.

Prentiss, SERGEANT SMITH, lawyer; born in Portland, Me., Sept. 30, 1808; became a lawyer and practised in Vicksburg, Miss.; and was a member of Congress in 1838-39. As an orator he was acknowledged to be without an equal in the South. He died in Logwood, Miss., July 1, 1850.

Presbyterian Church in the United States, the name of that branch of the Presbyterian Church located in the Southern States. In 1858, owing to the slavery agitation, the New School Presbyterian churches of the South separated from those of the North. In 1864 this body, which was known as the United Synod, South, united with the Old School

Presbyterian Church of the South, and the name of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was adopted. The doctrine and policy of this organization are in the main similar to those of the Northern Church. The reports for 1904 were as follows: Ministers, 1,517; churches, 3,044; members, 235,142.

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the name of the Presbyterian Church operating in the Northern section of the United States. The first church was established by John Young, a Puritan minister, on Long Island in 1640; and another was organized in Hempstead in 1642. The Presbyterians are Calvinistic in doctrine and in policy; have four supervising boards, viz., the session, the presbytery, the synod, and the general assembly. This last body is the supreme judicial and legislative court of the Church. In 1741 a division occurred, owing to differences which had sprung up regarding subscription to the Confession of Faith and certain doctrines and practices. Those who held to a strict subscription were called Old Side and those who believed in a more liberal interpretation the New Side Presbyterians. In 1837 the latter body became divided into the Old School and New School assemblies, on account of differences concerning the atonement. When the Civil War broke out the Northern churches became separated from those of the South and adhered to the New School principles. Since 1869 the Northern Church has grown rapidly, even extending into the South, where it has had large additions. The reports for 1904 were as follows: Ministers, 7,445; churches, 7,620; and members, 1,044,161.

Prescott, RICHARD, military officer; born in Lancashire, England, in 1725; was sent to Canada in 1773 as brevet-colonel of the 7th Foot. On the capture of Montreal, late in 1775, Prescott, who had the local rank of brigadier-general, attempted to escape to Quebec with the British troops, but was compelled to surrender. He was exchanged the following September for General Sullivan, and was soon afterwards made colonel of his regiment. On the capture of Rhode Island, late in 1776, he was placed in command there, and made his quarters at a farm-house a short distance from Newport. His con-

PRESCOTT

duct had become very offensive to the Whigs, and to the inhabitants generally, who wished to get rid of him. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, with thirty-eight picked men, in four whale-boats, accompanied by a negro named Prince, crossed Narraganset Bay from Warwick Point at 9 P.M. on July 10, 1777, to accomplish the task. Barton divided his men into small parties, and to each assigned a special duty. Misleading the sentinel at the gate of the house, belonging to Samuel Overton, Barton entered. Prescott was sleeping in an upper room. Ascending to it, to Rhode Island, and remained in command there until it was evacuated, Oct. 25, 1779. He was made major-general in 1777, and lieutenant-general in 1782. He died in England in October, 1788.

Prescott, WILLIAM, military officer; born in Groton, Mass., Feb. 20, 1726; was a provincial colonel at the capture of Cape Breton in 1754, and was one of General Winslow's captains in Nova Scotia in 1756, when the dispersion of the Acadians took place (see ACADIA). Prescott inherited a large estate at Pepperell, and held several offices of trust there.



PRESCOTT'S HEADQUARTERS.

the negro burst in a panel of the door, through which Barton entered, seized the general, bade him be perfectly silent, and, hurrying him to one of the boats, thrust him in, and there allowed him to dress. He was taken to Warwick Point, and from thence he was sent to Washington's headquarters in New Jersey. He was finally exchanged for General Lee; went back

When the news of the fight at Lexington reached him he assembled a regiment of minute-men, of which he became colonel, and marched to Cambridge. When it was decided to fortify Bunker Hill, Prescott was chosen to conduct the enterprise. He cast up a redoubt and breastworks on Breed's Hill, and defended it bravely the next day (June 17, 1775) until his am-

PRESCOTT—PRESIDENT

munition was exhausted, when he was compelled to retreat, after a severe battle with 3,000 troops under Generals Howe and Clinton. He was among the last to quit the field. Prescott resigned his commission early in 1777, and returned home; but in the autumn of the same year he entered the Northern army under Gates as a volunteer, and was present at the capture of Burgoyne. After the war he was in the Massachusetts legislature several years. He died in Pepperell, Oct. 13, 1795.

Prescott, WILLIAM HICKLING, historian; born in Salem, Mass., May 4, 1796; grandson of Col. William Prescott; graduated at Harvard College in 1814; adopt-



W. H. Prescott

ed a literary rather than a professional career, in consequence of an injury to his eye while in college. In 1824 he commenced contributing to the *North American Review*, and in June, 1826, began his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* (3 volumes, 1838). This work placed him in the front rank of historians, and was followed by *Conquest of Mexico* (3 volumes, 1843); *Conquest of Peru* (2 volumes, 1847); and *History of Philip II. of Spain* (3 volumes, 1855-58). He intended to add

three volumes more, but he did not live to complete them. In 1856 he published Robertson's *Charles V.*, with notes and a supplement. His works have been translated into several European languages. He died in Boston, Jan. 23, 1859.

President, THE, an American frigate built in New York City in 1794; became flag-ship of the squadron commanded by Capt. John Rodgers at the beginning of the War of 1812. Minister Pinkney, at the British Court, had arranged the difficulties concerning the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard* (see CHESAPEAKE), by which full atonement by the British government was secured. A favorable arrangement with the French by the United States had caused British cruisers on the American coast to become more and more annoying to American commerce. A richly laden vessel bound to France was captured within 30 miles of New York, and early in May, 1811, a British frigate, supposed to be the *Guerrière*, stopped an American brig only 18 miles from New York. The government then resolved to send out one or two of the new frigates to protect American commerce from British cruisers. The *President*, lying at Annapolis, was ordered (May 6) to put to sea at once, under the command of Commodore Rodgers. Rodgers exchanged signals with the stranger who bore off southward. Thinking she might be the *Guerrière*, Rodgers gave chase.

Early in the evening of May 16 Rodgers was so near that he inquired, "What ship is that?" The question, repeated, came from the stranger. Rodgers immediately reiterated his question, which was answered by a shot that lodged in the mainmast of the *President*. Rodgers was about to respond in kind when a single gun from his ship was accidentally discharged. It was followed by three shots from his antagonist, and then by a broadside, with musketry. Then Rodgers, "equally determined," he said, "not to be the aggressor, or suffer the flag of my country to be insulted with impunity," gave orders for a general fire. His antagonist was silenced within six minutes, and the guns of the *President* ceased firing, when suddenly her antagonist opened fire anew. Again she was silenced, and at dawn the *President* saw her several miles to the lee-

PRESIDENT, THE

ward. He ascertained that she was his Majesty's ship *Little Belt*, Capt. A. B. Bingham, which was searching for the *Guerrière* on the American coast.

Rodgers was in the port of New York when war was declared, in command of a small squadron—the *President* (his flag-ship), forty-four guns; the *Essea*, thirty-two, Captain Porter; and the *Hornet*, eighteen, Captain Lawrence. He received orders (June 21, 1812) to sail immediately on a cruise. He had received information that a fleet of West India merchantmen had sailed for England under a convoy, and he steered for the Gulf Stream to intercept them. He had been joined by a small squadron under Commodore Decatur—the *United States* (flag-ship), forty-four guns; *Congress*, thirty-eight, Captain Smith; and *Argus*, sixteen, Lieutenant-Commander St. Clair. Meeting a vessel which had been boarded by the British ship *Belvidera*, thirty-six, Capt. R. Byron, Rodgers pressed sail, and in the course of thirty-six hours he discovered the *Belvidera*, gave chase, and overtook her off Nantucket Shoals. Rodgers pointed and discharged one of the fore-castle chase-guns of the *President*, and his shot went crashing through the stern-frame into the gun-room of his antagonist, driving her people from it. That was the "first hostile shot of the war fired afloat." A few moments afterwards one of the *President's* guns burst, killed and wounded sixteen men, blew up the fore-castle, and threw Rodgers several feet in the air. As he fell his leg was broken. Then a shot from a stern-chaser came from the *Belvidera*, killing a midshipman and one or two men. The *Belvidera* now lightened her burden by cutting away anchors and casting heavy things overboard. She gained on the *President*, and at twilight (June 23) the chase was abandoned. The *President* lost twenty-two men (sixteen by accident) killed and wounded. The *Belvidera* lost about twelve men killed and wounded.

In the summer of 1814 Commodore Decatur, who had long been blockaded in the Thames, above New London, was transferred to the *President*, forty-four guns, which Commodore Rodgers had left for the new ship *Guerrière*. In November he had

under his command at New York a squadron composed of his flag-ship; the *Hornet*, eighteen guns, Captain Biddle; the *Peacock*, eighteen, Captain Warrington, and *Tom Bowline*, store-ship. He had been watching the British who had ravaged the coasts in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. Finally he received orders to prepare for a cruise in the East Indies to spread havoc among the British shipping there. On the night of June 14, 1815, the *President* dropped down to Sandy Hook, leaving the other vessels of the squadron at anchor near Staten Island, and before morning she evaded the British blockaders and cleared the coast. Decatur kept the *President* close along the Long Island shore for a while, believing that a gale that blew on the 14th had driven the blockaders to the leeward. Then he sailed boldly out to sea, and by starlight that evening he saw a strange sail ahead, within gunshot distance. Two others soon made their appearance, and at dawn the *President* was chased by four British ships-of-war, two on her quarter and two astern. These were the *Endymion*, forty guns; *Pomone*, thirty-eight; *Tenedos*, thirty-eight, and *Majestic*, razee, which had been blown off the coast by the gale. The *President*, deeply laden with stores for a long cruise, soon found the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, rapidly overtaking her. Decatur lightened his ship to increase her speed, but to little purpose. At three o'clock in the afternoon (Sept. 16) the *Endymion* came down with a fresh breeze, which the *President* did not feel, and opened her bow guns upon the latter, which she quickly returned. At five o'clock the *Endymion* gained an advantageous position and terribly bruised the *President*, while the latter could not bring a gun to bear on her antagonist. It was evident that the *Endymion* was endeavoring to gradually bring the *President* to an unmanageable wreck, and so secure a victory. Perceiving this, Decatur resolved to run down upon the *Endymion* and seize her as a prize by a hand-to-hand fight. But the commander of the British vessel, wary and skilful, was not to be caught so, and managed his vessel so that they were brought abeam of each other, when both delivered tre-

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mendous broadsides. Every attempt of Decatur to lay the *President* alongside the *Endymion* was foiled by Captain Hope, who adroitly kept his ship a quarter of a mile from his antagonist. Decatur now determined to dismantle his antagonist. The two frigates ran side by side for two hours and a half, discharging broadsides at each other, until the *Endymion*, having had most of her sails cut from the yards, fell astern, and would have struck her colors in a few minutes. At that moment the other vessels in chase were seen by the dim starlight approaching, when the *President* kept on her course and vainly tried to escape. The pursuers closed upon her, and at eleven o'clock made a simultaneous attack. Further resistance would have been useless, and the colors of the *President* were hauled down. Decatur delivered his sword to Captain Hayes, of the *Majestic*, which was the first vessel that came alongside the *President*. Decatur lost twenty-four men killed and fifty-six wounded. The *Endymion* had eleven killed and fourteen wounded. The *Endymion*, with her prize, sailed for Bermuda, and both vessels were dismasted by a gale before reaching port. When the details of the whole battle became known, the praise of Decatur and his men was upon every lip.

Presidential Administrations. The Presidents and leading cabinet officers, with the political complexion of both the executive and legislative departments of the national government, have been as follows:

1789-93: Washington; Adams, Vice-President, Federalist; Jefferson, State; Hamilton, Treasury; Knox, War; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. Congress, Federalist; Muhlenberg and Trumbull speakers.

1793-97: Washington and Adams again; Jefferson, then Randolph, State; Hamilton, then Wolcott, Treasury; other minor changes. Congress, 1793-95, Republican House; Muhlenberg, speaker; 1795-97, Dayton, speaker.

1797-1801: Adams, Federalist; Jefferson, Vice-President, Republican; Pickering, State; Wolcott, Treasury. Congress, Federalist; Dayton and Sedgwick, speakers.

1801-5: Jefferson; Burr, Vice-Presi-

dent, Republican; Madison, State; Gallatin, Treasury. Congress, Republican; Macon, speaker.

1805-9: Jefferson; George Clinton, Vice-President, Republican; Madison, State; Gallatin, Treasury. Congress, Republican; Macon and Varnum, speakers.

1809-13: Madison; Clinton, Vice-President, Republican; Robert Smith, later Monroe, State; Gallatin, Treasury. Congress, Republican; Varnum and Clay, speakers.

1813-17: Madison; Gerry, Vice-President, Republican; Monroe, State, Gallatin, at first, Treasury. Congress, Republican; Clay, speaker.

1817-21: Monroe; Tompkins, Vice-President, Republican; J. Q. Adams, State; Crawford, Treasury; Calhoun (and others), War, Congress, Republican, Clay, speaker.

1821-25: Monroe; Tompkins, Vice-President; J. Q. Adams, State; Crawford, Treasury; Calhoun, War. Congress, Republican; P. P. Barbour and Clay, speakers.

1825-29: J. Q. Adams, National Republican; Calhoun, Vice-President, Democrat; Clay, State. Congress, 1825-27, National Republican; J. W. Taylor, speaker; 1827-29, Democratic; Stevenson, speaker.

1829-33: Jackson, Calhoun, Vice-President, Democrat; Van Buren, later Livingston, State. Congress, 1829-31, Democratic; Stevenson, speaker; 1831-33, Senate opposition, House Democratic; Stevenson, speaker.

1833-37: Jackson; Van Buren, Vice-President, Democrat; McLane, later Forsyth, State; Duane, Taney, Woodbury, Treasury. Congress, 1833-35, Senate opposition, House Democratic; Stevenson, speaker; 1835-37, Senate opposition, then Democratic, House Democratic; Polk, speaker.

1837-41: Van Buren; R. M. Johnson, Vice-President, Democrat; Forsyth, State; Woodbury, Treasury. Congress, Democratic; Polk and Hunter, speakers.

1841-45: W. H. Harrison; Tyler, Vice-President (succeeded as President April 4, 1841), Whig; Webster, afterwards Legaré, Upshur, Calhoun, State; numerous changes in the other departments. Congress, 1841-43, Whig; White, speak-

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er; 1843-45, Senate Whig, House Democratic; J. W. Jones, speaker.

1845-49; Polk; Dallas, Vice-President, Democrat; Buchanan, State; Walker, Treasury; Marcy, War; Bancroft, at first, Navy. Congress, 1845-47, Democratic; J. W. Davis, speaker; 1847-49, Senate Democratic, House Whig; R. C. Winthrop, speaker.

1849-53: Taylor; Fillmore, Vice-President (succeeded as President July 9, 1850), Whig; Clayton, Webster, Everett, State; numerous changes in other departments. Congress, Democratic; Cobb and Boyd, speakers.

1853-57: Pierce; King, Vice-President, Democrat; Marcy, State; Davis, War. Congress, 1853-55, Democratic; Boyd, speaker; 1855-57, Senate Democratic, House Anti-Nebraska; Banks, speaker.

1857-61: Buchanan; Breckinridge, Vice-President, Democrat; Cass, State; Cobb, Treasury; Floyd, War; various changes in the cabinet in 1860 and 1861. Congress, 1857-59, Democratic; Orr, speaker; 1859-61, Senate Democratic, House, Republican; Pennington, speaker.

1861-65: Lincoln; Hamlin, Vice-President, Republican; Seward, State; Chase, later Fessenden, Treasury; Cameron, later Stanton, War; Welles, Navy. Congress, Republican; Grow, speaker, 1861-63; Colfax, 1863-65.

1865-69: Lincoln; Johnson, Vice-President (succeeded as President April 15, 1865), Republican; Seward, State; McCulloch, Treasury; Stanton, until 1867, War. Congress, Republican; Colfax, speaker.

1869-73: Grant; Colfax, Vice-President, Republican; Fish, State; Boutwell, Treasury. Congress, Republican; Blaine, speaker.

1873-77: Grant; Wilson, Vice-President, Republican; Fish, State; Bristow and others, Treasury. Congress, 1873-75, Republican; Blaine, speaker; 1875-77, Senate Republican, House Democratic; Kerr, later Randall, speaker.

1877-81: Hayes; Wheeler, Vice-President, Republican; Evarts, State; Sherman, Treasury. Congress, House Democratic; Randall, speaker; Senate, 1877-79, Republican; 1879-81, Democratic.

1881-85; Garfield; Arthur, Vice-Presi-

dent (succeeded as President Sept. 19, 1881), Republican; Blaine, later Frelinghuysen, State; Windom and others, Treasury; Lincoln, War. Congress, 1881-83, Senate tie, House Republican; Keifer, speaker; 1883-85, Senate Republican, House Democratic; Carlisle, speaker.

1885-89: Cleveland; Hendricks, Vice-President, Democrat; Bayard, State; Manning, Fairchild, Treasury; Whitney, Navy. Congress, Senate Republican, House Democratic; Carlisle, speaker.

1889-93: Harrison; Morton, Vice-President, Republican; Blaine, State; Windom, at first, Treasury; Tracy, Navy. Congress, Senate Republican, House, 1889-91, Republican; Reed, speaker; 1891-93, Democratic; Crisp, speaker.

1893-97: Cleveland; Stevenson, Vice-President, Democrat; Gresham, then Olney, State; Carlisle, Treasury; Lamont, War; Olney, then Harmon, Attorney-General; Bissell, then Wilson, Postmaster-General; Herbert, Navy; Smith, Interior; Morton, Agriculture. Congress, Democratic; Crisp, speaker; 1895. House Republican; Reed, speaker.

1897-1901: McKinley; Hobart, Vice-President, Republican (died Nov. 2, 1899); Sherman, Day, and Hay, State; Gage, Treasury; Alger and Root, War; McKenna, Griggs, and Knox, Attorney-General; Gary and Smith, Postmaster-General; Long, Navy; Bliss and Hitchcock, Interior; Wilson, Agriculture. Congress, Republican; Reed and Henderson, speakers.

1901-1905: McKinley; Roosevelt, Vice-President; Republican; Hay, State; Gage and Shaw, Treasury; Root and Taft, War; Knox, Attorney-General; Smith and Payne, Postmaster-General; Long and Moody, Navy; Hitchcock, Interior; Wilson, Agriculture. Congress, Republican.

Presidential Cabinets. See CABINET, PRESIDENT'S. **PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIONS.**

Presidential Elections. Under the Constitution as originally adopted, the candidates for President and Vice-President were voted for in the electoral college of each State, without designating which the elector intended for the first and which for the second office. Lists of these were transmitted to the seat of government, and the candidate having the greatest

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

number (if a majority of the whole) became President, and the one having the next greatest number Vice-President. If the two highest candidates received an equal number of votes, the House of Representatives (as now) was to proceed immediately to choose by ballot one of them for President, voting by States, each State having one vote, and a majority of all the States being necessary to a choice. In case of a tie on the Vice-President, the Senate was to choose between the equal candidates.

The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution (declared in force Sept. 25, 1804) changed the mode of voting for the two officers, the electors being required to vote separately for President and Vice-President. They were to name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and Vice-President, signed and certified, were sent to the seat of government, directed to "the President of the Senate," whose duty it was, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, to open all the certificates, and count the votes, the person having the greatest number of votes for the respective offices (if a majority of the whole), to be declared elected.

Strictly speaking, the people do not vote for the Presidential candidates direct. The people vote for electors, the majority of whom elect the President. As a result, a candidate might have an overwhelming popular majority and yet be defeated in the electoral college.

In the elections of 1789, 1792, 1796, and 1800, each elector in the electoral college voted for two candidates for President. The candidate who received the largest electoral vote was declared President, and the candidate who received the next largest number of votes was declared Vice-President.

In 1804 the Constitution was amended (Twelfth Amendment). Beginning with the election of 1804, all the electors voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates as formerly.

The record of any popular vote for electors prior to 1824 is so meagre and imperfect that a trustworthy compilation

would be impossible. In most of the States, for more than a quarter-century following the establishment of the government, the State legislatures "appointed" the Presidential electors, and the people's choice was expressed by their votes for members of the legislature. In the tabulation of the votes 1789-1820 only the aggregate electoral votes for candidates for President and Vice-President are given. See POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

1789. George Washington, 69; John Adams, of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay, of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison, of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton, of New York, 3; Samuel Huntington, of Connecticut, 2; John Milton, of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong, of Georgia, Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair, of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1792. George Washington received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 50; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen President and John Adams Vice-President.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr, of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay, of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell, of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington, of Virginia, John Henry, of Maryland, and S. Johnson, of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen President and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.

1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of ten States; Burr received the votes of four States. There were 2 blank votes. Thomas Jefferson was chosen President and Aaron Burr Vice-President.

1804. For President, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

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1808. For President, James Madison, of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton, of New York, Republican, 6. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 47; John Langdon, of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Clinton Vice-President.

1812. For President, James Madison, Republican, 128; De Witt Clinton, of New York, Federalist, 89. For Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, 131; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President and Gerry Vice-President.

1816. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King, of New York, Federalist, 34. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Repub-

lican, 183; John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross, of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall, of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen President and Tompkins Vice-President.

1820. For President, James Monroe, of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney, of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper, of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen President and Daniel D. Tompkins Vice-President.

The popular vote for the principal Presidential candidates since 1824 was as follows:

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES.

Year of Election and Candidates for President.	States.	Political Party.	Popular Vote.	Plurality.	Electoral Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.	States.	Political Party.	Electoral Vote.
1824.									
Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn..	Dem....	155,872	50,551	99	John C. Calhoun	S. C..	Dem....	182
John Q. Adams	Mass..	Nat. R..	105,321		83	Nathan Sanford	N. Y..	Rep....	30
Henry Clay	Ky....	Rep....	46,587		37	Nathaniel Macon	N. C..	Rep....	24
William H. Crawford..	Ga....	Rep....	44,282		41	Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn..	Dem....	13
						Martin Van Buren.....	N. Y..	Rep....	9
						Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Rep....	2
1828.									
Andrew Jackson	Tenn..	Dem....	647,231	138,134	178	John C. Calhoun	S. C..	Dem....	171
John Q. Adams.....	Mass..	Nat. R..	509,097		83	Richard Rush.....	Pa....	Nat. F.	83
						William Smith.....	S. C..	Dem....	7
1832.									
Andrew Jackson	Tenn..	Dem....	687,502	157,313	219	Martin Van Buren	N. Y..	Dem....	189
Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Nat. R..	530,189		49	John Sergeant.....	Pa....	Nat....	49
John Floyd.....	Va....	Ind....	33,108		11	Henry Lee.....	Mass..	Ind....	11
William Wirt	Md....	Anti-M..			7	Amos Ellmaker.....	Pa....	Anti-M..	7
						William Wilkins.....	Pa....	Dem....	30
1836.									
Martin Van Buren	N. Y..	Dem....	761,549	24,893	170	R. M. Johnson	Ky....	Dem....	147
W. H. Harrison.....	O....	Whig....			73	Francis Granger.....	N. Y..	Whig....	77
Hugh L. White.....	Tenn..	Whig....	736,656		26	John Tyler.....	Va....	Whig....	47
Daniel Webster.....	Mass..	Whig....			14	William Smith.....	Ala....	Dem....	23
Willie P. Mangum.....	N. C..	Whig....			11				
1840.									
W. H. Harrison	O....	Whig....	1,275,017	146,315	234	John Tyler	Va....	Whig....	234
Martin Van Buren	N. Y..	Dem....	1,128,702		60	R. M. Johnson.....	Ky....	Dem....	48
James G. Birney.....	N. Y..	Lib....	7,059		....	L. W. Tazewell.....	Va....	Dem....	11
						James K. Polk.....	Tenn..	Dem....	1
1844.									
James K. Polk	Tenn..	Dem....	1,337,243	38,175	170	George M. Dallas	Pa....	Dem....	170
Henry Clay.....	Ky....	Whig....	1,299,068		105	T. Frelinghuysen.....	N. J..	Whig....	105
James G. Birney.....	N. Y..	Lib....	62,300		....	Thomas Morris.....	O....	Lib....	....
1848.									
Zachary Taylor	La....	Whig....	1,360,101	139,557	163	Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y..	Whig....	163
Lewis Cass.....	Mich..	Dem....	1,220,544		127	William O. Butler.....	Ky....	Dem....	127
Martin Van Buren.....	N. Y..	F. Soil..	291,263		....	Charles F. Adams.....	Mass..	F. Soil..	....
1852.									
Franklin Pierce	N. H..	Dem....	1,601,474	220,896	254	William R. King.....	Ala....	Dem....	254
Winfield Scott.....	N. J..	Whig....	1,380,576		42	William A. Graham.....	N. C..	Whig....	42
John P. Hale.....	N. H..	F. D....	156,149		....	George W. Julian.....	Ind....	F. D....	....
Daniel Webster	Mass..	Whig....	1,670		....			
1856.									
James Buchanan	Pa....	Dem....	1,838,169	496,905	174	J. C. Breckinridge	Ky....	Dem....	174
John C. Fremont.....	Cal....	Rep....	1,341,264		114	William L. Dayton.....	N. J..	Rep....	114
Millard Fillmore.....	N. Y..	Amer....	874,538		8	A. J. Donelson.....	Tenn..	Amer....	8
1860.									
Abraham Lincoln	Ill....	Rep....	1,866,352	491,195	180	Franklin Hamlin.....	Me....	Rep....	180
Stephen A. Douglas.....	Ill....	Dem....	1,375,157		12	H. V. Johnson.....	Ga....	Dem....	12
J. C. Breckinridge.....	Ky....	Dem....	845,763		72	Joseph Lane.....	Or....	Dem....	72
John Bell.....	Tenn..	Union..	589,581		39	Edward Everett.....	Mass..	Union..	39

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES—Continued.

Year of Election and Candidates for President.	States.	Political Party.	Popular Vote.	Plurality.	Elector- al Vote.	Candidates for Vice-President.	States.	Political Party.	Elector- al Vote.
1804.									
Abraham Lincoln	Ill.	Rep.	2,216,067	407,342	212	Andrew Johnson	Tenn.	Rep.	212
George B. McClellan	N. J.	Dem.	1,808,725	.....	21	George H. Pendleton	O.	Dem.	21
1808.									
Ulysses S. Grant	Ill.	Rep.	3,015,071	305,456	214	Schuyler Colfax	Ind.	Rep.	214
Horatio Seymour	N. Y.	Dem.	2,709,615	.....	80	F. P. Blair, Jr.	Mo.	Dem.	80
1872.									
Ulysses S. Grant	Ill.	Rep.	3,597,076	762,991	286	Henry Wilson	Mass.	Rep.	286
Horace Greeley	N. Y.	D. & L.	2,834,079	.....	...	B. Gratz Brown	Mo.	D. L.	47
Charles O'Connor	N. Y.	Dem.	29,408	.....	...	John Q. Adams	Mass.	Dem.	...
James Black	Pa.	Temp.	5,608	.....	...	John Russell	Mich.	Temp.	...
Thomas A. Hendricks	Ind.	Dem.	.....	.....	42	George W. Julian	Ind.	Lib.	5
B. Gratz Brown	Mo.	Dem.	.....	.....	18	A. H. Colquitt	Ga.	Dem.	5
Charles J. Jenkins	Mo.	Dem.	.....	.....	2	John M. Palmer	Ill.	Dem.	3
David Davis	Ill.	Ind.	.....	.....	1	T. E. Bramlette	Ky.	Dem.	3
						W. S. Groesbeck	O.	Dem.	1
						Willis B. Machen	Ky.	Dem.	1
						N. P. Banks	Mass.	Lib.	1
1876.									
Samuel J. Tilden	N. Y.	Dem.	4,284,885	250,935	184	T. A. Hendricks	Ind.	Dem.	184
Rutherford B. Hayes	O.	Rep.	4,033,950	.....	185	William A. Wheeler	N. Y.	Rep.	185
Peter Cooper	N. Y.	Gre'n'b.	81,740	.....	...	Samuel F. Cary	O.	Gre'n'b.	...
Green Clay Smith	Ky.	Pro.	9,522	.....	...	Gideon T. Stewart	O.	Pro.	...
James B. Walker	Ill.	Amer.	2,636	.....	...	D. Kirkpatrick	N. Y.	Amer.	...
1880.									
James A. Garfield	O.	Rep.	4,449,053	7,018	214	Chester A. Arthur	N. Y.	Rep.	214
W. S. Hancock	Pa.	Dem.	4,442,035	.....	155	William H. English	Ind.	Dem.	155
James B. Weaver	Iowa.	Gre'n'b.	307,306	.....	...	B. J. Chambers	Tex.	Gre'n'b.	...
Neal Dow	Me.	Pro.	10,305	.....	...	H. A. Thompson	O.	Pro.	...
John W. Phelps	Vt.	Amer.	707	.....	...	S. C. Pomeroy	Kan.	Amer.	...
1884.									
Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Dem.	4,911,017	62,683	219	T. A. Hendricks	Ind.	Dem.	219
James G. Blaine	Me.	Rep.	4,848,334	.....	182	John A. Logan	Ill.	Dem.	182
John P. St. John	Kan.	Pro.	151,809	.....	...	William Daniel	Md.	Pro.	...
Benjamin F. Butler	Mass.	Peop.	133,825	.....	...	A. M. West	Miss.	Peop.	...
P. D. Wigginton	Cal.	Amer.	.....	.....	...	
1888.									
Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Dem.	5,538,233	98,017	168	Allen G. Thurman	O.	Dem.	168
Benjamin Harrison	Ind.	Rep.	5,440,216	.....	233	Levi P. Morton	N. Y.	Rep.	233
Clinton B. Fisk	N. J.	Pro.	249,907	.....	...	John A. Brooks	Mo.	Pro.	...
Alson J. Streeter	Ill.	U. L.	148,105	.....	...	C. E. Cunningham	Ark.	U'd L.	...
R. H. Cowdry	Ill.	U'd L.	2,808	.....	...	W. H. T. Wakefield	Kan.	U'd L.	...
James L. Curtis	N. Y.	Amer.	1,591	.....	...	James B. Greer	Tenn.	Amer.	...
1892.									
Grover Cleveland	N. Y.	Dem.	5,556,918	380,810	277	Adlai E. Stevenson	Ill.	Dem.	277
Benjamin Harrison	Ind.	Rep.	5,176,108	.....	145	Whitelaw Reid	N. Y.	Rep.	145
James B. Weaver	Iowa.	Peop.	1,041,028	.....	22	James G. Field	Va.	Peop.	22
John Bidwell	Cal.	Pro.	264,133	.....	...	James B. Crandall	Tex.	Pro.	...
Simon Wing	Mass.	Soc. L.	21,164	.....	...	Charles H. Matchett	N. Y.	Soc. L.	...
1896.									
William McKinley	O.	Rep.	7,104,779	601,854	271	Garret A. Hobart	N. J.	Rep.	271
William J. Bryan	Neb.	Dem.	.....	.....	176	Arthur Sewall	Me.	Dem.	176
William J. Bryan	Neb.	Peop.	6,502,925	.....	...	Thomas E. Watson	Ga.	Peop.	...
Joshua Levering	Md.	Pro.	132,007	.....	...	Hale Johnson	Ill.	Pro.	...
John M. Palmer	Ill.	N. Dem.	133,148	.....	...	Simon B. Buckner	Ky.	N. Dem.	...
Charles H. Matchett	N. Y.	Soc. L.	36,274	.....	...	Matthew Maguire	N. J.	Soc. L.	...
Charles E. Bentley	Neb.	Nat.	13,969	.....	...	James H. Southgate	N. C.	Nat.	...
1900.									
William McKinley	O.	Rep.	7,206,677	832,280	292	Theodore Roosevelt	N. Y.	Rep.	292
William J. Bryan	Neb.	Dem. P.	6,374,397	.....	155	Adlai E. Stevenson	Ill.	Dem. P.	155
John G. Woolley	Ill.	Pro.	208,555	.....	...	Henry B. Metcalf	O.	Pro.	...
Wharton Barker	Pa.	M. P.	50,337	.....	...	Ignatius Donnelly	Minn.	M. P.	...
Eugene V. Debs	Ind.	Soc. D.	84,003	.....	...	Job Harriman	Cal.	Soc. D.	...
Joseph F. Malloney	Mass.	Soc. L.	39,537	.....	...	Valentine Rammel	Pa.	Soc. L.	...
J. F. R. Leonard	Iowa.	C. C.	1,060	.....	...	John G. Woolley	Ill.	U. C.	...
Seth H. Ellis	O.	C. R.	5,698	.....	...	Samuel T. Nicholas	Pa.	U. R.	...
1904.									
Theodore Roosevelt	N. Y.	Rep.	7,620,332	2,541,291	336	Charles W. Fairbanks	Ind.	Rep.	336
Alton B. Parker	N. Y.	Dem.	5,079,041	.....	140	Henry G. Davis	W. Va.	Dem.	140
Eugene V. Debs	Ind.	Soc. D.	402,159	.....	...	Benjamin Hanford	N. Y.	Soc. D.	...
Silas C. Swallow	Pa.	Pro.	258,847	.....	...	George W. Carroll	Tex.	Pro.	...
Thomas E. Watson	Ga.	Pop.	113,258	.....	...	Thomas H. Tibbles	Neb.	Pop.	...
Charles H. Corregan	N. Y.	Soc. L.	33,612	.....	...	William W. Cox	Ill.	Soc. L.	...

PRESIDENTIAL MARCH—PRESTON

Presidential March. President Washington and his family attended the little theatre in John Street, New York, occasionally, by particular desire of the manager. On these occasions the play-bills would be headed "By Particular Desire," and the house would be crowded with as many to see Washington as the play. On one of these occasions, on the entering of the President, he was greeted with a new air by the orchestra, composed by a German musician named Fayles (1789), which was called *The President's March*, in contradistinction to *The March of the Revolution*, then very popular. Ever afterwards this air was played by the orchestra when the President entered the theatre. But the public would call for *The March of the Revolution* as soon as *The President's March* was ended. The latter air is now known as *Hail, Columbia!*

Presidential Succession. The method of temporarily filling the office of President in case of the death or inability of both President and Vice-President, adopted by Congress in 1792, was not without its objectionable features, and the necessity of some kind of change in the law was very generally acknowledged. It was not until the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress (1885-87), however, that such change was effected. The Presidential succession was fixed by that body as follows: In case of the removal, death, resignation, or inability of both President and Vice-President, then the Secretary of State shall act as President until the disability of the President or Vice-President be removed, or a President elected. If there be no Secretary of State, then the Secretary of the Treasury shall act as President. And the succession passes in like manner to the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior, in the order here given. The acting President, upon taking office, convenes Congress in extraordinary session, if it is not then sitting, giving twenty days' notice. This act applies only to cabinet officers who shall have been appointed by the advice and consent of the Senate, and are eligible under the Constitution to the Presidency.

Presidential Title. On the day when Washington arrived in New York as Presi-

dent-elect (April 23, 1789) the Senate appointed a committee to confer with such committee as the House might appoint as to what titles, if any, it would be proper to annex to the office of President and Vice-President. The joint committee reported that it would not be proper to use any other than that "expressed in the Constitution"—"plain" President and Vice-President. The Senate was not satisfied, and referred the subject to a new committee, who reported in favor of adopting the style of "his Highness the President of the United States, and Protector of their Liberties." A long and animated debate ensued in the House, when a proposition was made to appoint a new committee to confer with that of the Senate. The House finally appointed a committee. To this the Senate responded, but no report was ever made. The House had already carried their views into practice by addressing Washington, in reply to his first message, as "President of the United States." The Senate saw fit to follow the example. Before long it became common to prefix the title "his Excellency."

Presque Isle, Fort, was the chief point of communication between Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) and Fort Niagara. It was on the site of Erie, Pa., and in June, 1763, was garrisoned by twenty-four men. On the 20th it was attacked by Indians, and, after defending it two days, the commander, paralyzed by terror, surrendered the post. Several of the garrison were murdered, and the commander and a few others were carried to Detroit. Here was erected one of the chain of French forts in the wilderness which excited the alarm and jealousy of the English colonists in America and the government at home. It was intended by the French as an important entrepôt of supplies for the interior forts.

Press, FREEDOM OF THE. See LOVEJOY, ELIJAH PARISH; ZENGER, J. P.

Preston, WILLIAM, military officer; born near Louisville, Ky., Oct. 16, 1806; served, in the war against Mexico, as lieutenant-colonel of Kentucky volunteers, and afterwards was in his State legislature. In 1851 he was elected to Congress, and in March, 1859, President Buchanan appointed him minister to Spain. When the Civil War broke out he resigned his office, and

PRESTON—PRICE

hastened home. At the Secession Convention at Russellville, he was appointed a commissioner to visit Richmond, and negotiate for the admission of Kentucky into the Confederacy, and accepted the commission of brigadier-general in the Confederate army. He was aide to his brother-in-law, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, at the battle of Shiloh, and served under Bragg in his invasion of Kentucky. After the war he was again elected to the legislature. He died in Lexington, Ky., Sept. 21, 1887.

Preston, WILLIAM BALLARD, statesman; born in Smithfield, Va., Nov. 25, 1805; graduated at the University of Virginia; elected to the Virginia House of Delegates, to the State Senate, and to Congress in 1846; and was appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Taylor. He opposed the secession of Virginia, but accepted the action of the State and was elected a member of the Confederate Senate. He died in Smithfield, Va., Nov. 16, 1862.

Prévalaye, PIERRE DIMAS, MARQUIS DE, naval officer; born near Brest, France, in 1745; joined the navy in 1760; participated in the American Revolutionary War; served under d'Estaing at Newport in 1778; had charge of the batteries in the siege of Savannah in October, 1779, was with De Grasse at Yorktown; and was promoted rear-admiral in 1815. His publications include *Memoir on the Campaign of Boston in 1778*; *Memoir of the Naval and Army Operations of Count d'Estaing During the American War*, etc. He died near Brest, July 28, 1816.

Prevost, AUGUSTINE, British officer; born in Geneva, Switzerland, about 1725; served as captain under Wolfe at Quebec; distinguished himself in Georgia, especially in his defence of Savannah, in 1779, for which he was promoted to major-general. He died in Barnett, England, May 5, 1786.

Prevost, SIR GEORGE, military officer; born in New York City, May 19, 1767; son of Augustine Prevost; entered the British army in youth, and served with distinction in the military operations in the West Indies, especially at St. Lucia. In January, 1805, he was made a major-general, and in November a baronet. He was second in command at the capture of Mar-

tinique (1808), and the same year he became governor of Nova Scotia. He was made lieutenant-general in 1811, and in June of that year he succeeded Sir James Craig as governor of Canada, which office he retained until his return to England, in 1814. He ably defended Canada in the War of 1812-15. With a large force of Wellington's veterans, he invaded New York in September, 1814, and was defeated in battle at Plattsburg on the 11th.

The cause of the sudden panic of the British troops at Plattsburg, and their precipitous flight on the night of the battle there (see **PLATTSBURG, BATTLES AT**), was inexplicable. The Rev. Eleazar Williams declared that it was the result of a clever trick arranged by him (Williams), as commander of a secret corps of observation, or "spies," as they were called in the Western army. Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, restrained the militia of his State from leaving it. A few days before the battle an officer (Colonel Fassett) from that State assured Macomb that the militia would cross the lake in spite of the governor. After the officer left, Williams suggested to Macomb that a letter from Fassett, declaring that a heavy body of militia were about to cross the lake, sent so as to fall into the hands of the British general, would have a salutary effect. Macomb directed Williams to carry out the plan. He went over to Burlington, and received from Fassett a letter to Macomb, in which he said Chittenden was marching with 10,000 men from St. Albans, that 5,000 men were marching from St. Lawrence county, and that 4,000 from Washington county were in motion. This letter Williams placed in the hands of a shrewd Irishwoman at Cumberland Head, who took it to Prevost just after the battle at Plattsburg had ended. Prevost, who was naturally timid, was greatly alarmed by the "intercepted" letter, and at a little past midnight his whole army were flying in haste towards the Canada frontier. He died in London, England, Jan. 5, 1816.

Price, RICHARD, clergyman; born in Tynton, Glamorganshire, Wales, Feb. 23, 1723; was a dissenting minister, connected with churches at Stoke-Newington and Hackney, as pastor and preacher, from

PRICE—PRINCE

1743 until a short time before his death. He wrote much on morals, politics, and political and social economy. His *Appeal on the Subject of the National Debt* is said to have been the foundation of Pitt's sinking-fund scheme. In 1776 he published *Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*. It was a powerful plea for justice and right, and 60,000 copies were distributed. The corporation of London gave him a vote of thanks and the freedom of the city; and in 1778 the American Congress invited him to become a citizen of the United States, and to aid them in the management of their finances, promising him a liberal remuneration. In 1783 Yale College conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D., and in 1784 he published *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. His philosophical writings procured for him a fellowship in the Royal Society in 1764. He died in London, England, March 19, 1791.

Price, STERLING, military officer; born in Prince Edward county, Va., Sept. 11,



STERLING PRICE.

1809; was a member of Congress from Missouri (where he settled in 1830) in 1845; colonel of Missouri cavalry in the war against Mexico; and was made a brigadier-general and military governor of Chihuahua in 1847. He was governor of Missouri from 1853 to 1857, and president of the State convention in February, 1861. He was made major-general of the Missouri militia in May, and served the

Confederacy throughout the Civil War. At the close of the war he went to Mexico, but returned to Missouri in 1866, and died in St. Louis, Sept. 29, 1867.

Prideaux, JOHN, military officer; born in Devonshire, England, in 1718; a son of Sir John Prideaux; entered the army, and was appointed captain in 1745, colonel in 1758, and brigadier-general in 1759. Intrusted with the duty of reducing Fort Niagara, he led a strong force against it, and during a siege he was instantly killed by the bursting of a cannon, July 19, 1759.

Prime, WILLIAM COWPER, author; born in Cambridge, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1825; graduated at Princeton in 1843; admitted to the New York bar in 1846; became editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce* in 1861; first vice-president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1874. He is the author of *The Owl Creek Letters*; *The Old House by the River*; *Later Years*; *Boat Life*; *Tent Life*; *Coins, Medals, and Seals*; *I Go a-Fishing*; *Along New England Roads*; *Among the Northern Hills*, etc.

Prince, LE BARON BRADFORD, author; born in Flushing, L. I., July 3, 1840; graduated at Columbia Law School in 1866; was a member of the New York Assembly in 1871-75; and of the New York Senate in 1876-77; chief-justice of New Mexico in 1878-82, and governor of that Territory in 1889-93. He is the author of *Agricultural History of Queens County*; *E. Pluribus Unum, or American Nationality*; *A Nation, or a League*; *General Laws of New Mexico*; and *The American Church and its Name*.

Prince, THOMAS, clergyman; born in Sandwich, Mass., May 15, 1687; graduated at Harvard College in 1707, and, going to England in 1709, preached there until 1717, when he returned to America, and was ordained minister of the Old South Church, Boston (1718), as colleague of Dr. Sewall. In 1703 he began a collection of private and public papers relating to the civil and religious history of New England, and continued these labors for fifty years. These he published under the title of *The Chronological History of England* (1736 and 1756). The history was brought down only to 1633, as he spent so much time on the intro-

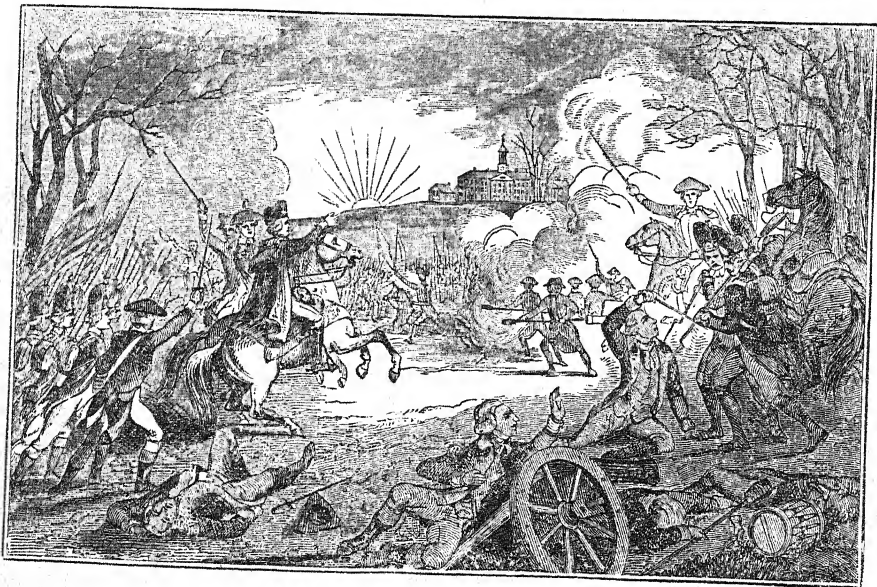
PRINCE—PRINCETON

ductory epitome, beginning with the creation. His manuscripts were deposited in the Old South Church, and were partially destroyed by the British in 1775-76. The remains, with his books, form a part of the Public Library of Boston. He died in Boston, Oct. 22, 1758.

Prince, or Prence, THOMAS, colonial governor; born in England in 1601; arrived in America in 1628; and was governor of Plymouth from 1634 to 1673. He was one of the first settlers at Nanset, or Eastham, in 1644, and lived there until 1663; was a zealous opposer of the Quakers, as heretics, though not a persecutor of them; and was an earnest champion of popular education. In spite of the opposition and clamors of the ignorant, he procured resources for the support of grammar-schools in the colony. He died in Plymouth, Mass., March 29, 1673.

Princeton, BATTLE AT. Alarmed by the blow at Trenton (see TRENTON, BATTLE AT), the British broke up their encampments along the Delaware, and retired to Princeton. Washington thereupon reoccupied Trenton, where he was speedily joined by 3,600 Pennsylvania

militia. At that time the term of enlistment of the New England regiments expired, but the persuasions of their officers and a bounty of \$10 induced them to remain for six weeks longer. Howe detained Cornwallis (who was about to sail for England), and sent him to take command of the concentrated troops at Princeton, about 10 miles northeast of Trenton. Reinforced by troops from New Brunswick, he marched on Trenton (Jan. 2, 1777), where Washington was encamped on high ground east of a small stream, near where it enters the Delaware. After a sharp cannonade at a bridge and a ford, the British encamped, feeling sure of capturing the whole of Washington's army in the morning. The position of the latter was a perilous one. He had 5,000 men, half of them militia who had been only a few days in camp. To fight the veterans before him would be madness; to attempt to recross the Delaware in the face of the enemy would be futile. Washington called a council of war, and it was decided to attempt to gain the rear of the enemy during the night, beat up his quarters at Princeton, and, if possible, fall on his stores at New Brunswick.



BATTLE OF PRINCETON (From an old print).

PRINCETON, BATTLE AT

Washington kept his camp-fires brightly burning, sent his baggage silently down the river to Burlington, had small parties throwing up intrenchments within hearing of the British sentinels, and at about midnight, the weather having suddenly become very cold and the ground hard frozen, the whole American army marched away unobserved by the enemy. By a circuitous route, they reached Princeton (Jan. 3) before sunrise. Two or three

ton!" The army was soon on the move in that direction. In the mean time the battle at Princeton was sharp and decisive. Mercer's forces were furiously attacked with the deadly bayonet, and they fled in disorder. The enemy pursued until, on the brow of a hill, they discovered the American regulars and Pennsylvania militia, under Washington, marching to the support of Mercer, who, in trying to rally his men, had his horse disabled



VIEW OF THE BATTLE-FIELD NEAR PRINCETON.

British regiments lying at Princeton had just begun their march to join Cornwallis at Trenton. Their commander, Colonel Mawhood, first discovered the approaching Americans, under General Mercer, and a sharp engagement ensued, each having two field-pieces.

Meanwhile the British at Trenton were greatly surprised, in the morning, to find their expected prey had escaped. The American camp-fires were still burning, but the little army had mysteriously disappeared. Faint sounds of cannonading at Princeton reached the ear of Cornwallis at Trenton. Although it was a keen winter morning, he thought it the rumbling of distant thunder. General Erskine more readily comprehended the matter, and exclaimed, "Thunder? To arms, general! Washington has outgeneralled us! Let us fly to the rescue at Prince-

ton!" The army was soon on the move in that direction. In the mean time the battle at Princeton was sharp and decisive. Mercer's forces were furiously attacked with the deadly bayonet, and they fled in disorder. The enemy pursued until, on the brow of a hill, they discovered the American regulars and Pennsylvania militia, under Washington, marching to the support of Mercer, who, in trying to rally his men, had his horse disabled

under him, and was finally knocked down by a clubbed musket, and mortally wounded. Just then Washington appeared, checked the flight of the fugitives, and, with the help of Moulder's artillery, intercepted the other British regiment. Mawhood saw Washington bringing order out of confusion, and, charging with his artillery, tried in vain to seize Moulder's cannon. At this onset the Pennsylvanians, first in line, began to waver, when Washington, to encourage them, rode to the forefront of danger. For a moment he was hidden in the battle-smoke, and a shiver of dread lest he had fallen ran through the army. When he appeared, unhurt, a shout of joy rent the air. A fresh force of Americans, under Colonel Hitchcock, came up, and, with Hand's riflemen, were turning the British left, when Mawhood ordered a re-

PRINCETON—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

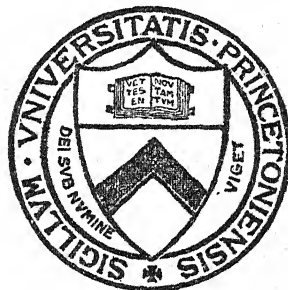
treat. His force (the 70th Regiment) fled across the snow-covered fields, leaving two brass cannon behind them. The 55th Regiment, which had attempted to reinforce them, were pressed by the New England troops, under Stark, Poor, Patterson, Reed, and others, and were joined in their flight towards New Brunswick by the 40th, who had not taken part in the action. A British regiment in the strong stone-built Nassau Hall, of the College of New Jersey, was cannonaded, and soon surrendered.

In this short but sharp battle the British lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 430 men. The American loss was about 100, including Colonels Haslet and Potter, Major Morris, and Captains Shippen, Fleming, and Neal. Mercer died nine days after the battle. When Cornwallis arrived at Princeton, Washington and his little army and prisoners were far on their way towards the Millstone River, in hot pursuit of the 40th and 55th regiments. Washington relinquished the chase because of the great fatigue of his soldiers; and moving on to MORRISTOWN (*q. v.*), in east Jersey, there established the winter-quarters of the army. He was universally applauded. It is said that Frederick the Great, of Prussia, declared that the achievements of Washington and his little band of patriots, between Dec. 25, 1776, and Jan. 4, 1777, were the most brilliant of any recorded in military history.

Princeton, THE. On Feb. 28, 1845, President Tyler lost two of his most trusted cabinet ministers by an accident. The President and all his cabinet, many members of Congress, and other distinguished citizens, with several ladies, were on board the United States steam ship-of-war *Princeton*, on a trial-trip down the Potomac from Washington. When they were opposite Mount Vernon one of the largest guns of the *Princeton*, in firing a salute, burst, scattering its deadly fragments around. The Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur, and Secretary of the Navy, T. W. Gilmer, and David Gardiner, of New York, were killed. No one else was seriously injured.

Princeton University, one of the higher institutions of learning established in the English-American colonies, under the

name of the College of New Jersey. It was founded under the auspices of the Presbyterian Synod of New York, which then included New Jersey in its jurisdiction. A charter was obtained in 1746, and it was opened for students in May, 1747, at Elizabethtown, N. J. The same year it was removed to Newark, and in 1757 it was transferred to Princeton, where a new college edifice, named Nassau Hall, had just been completed. That name was given in honor of William III., "of the illustrious house of Nassau." The college itself was often called "Nassau Hall." It suffered much during the Revolution, being occupied as barracks and hospital by both armies. The president, Dr. Witherspoon, and two of the alumni, Benjamin Rush and Richard Stockton, were signers of the Declaration of Independence; and several of the leading patriots during the war, and statesmen afterwards, were graduates of the College of New Jersey. General Washington and the Continental Congress were present at the "commencement" in 1793. Other buildings were



SEAL OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

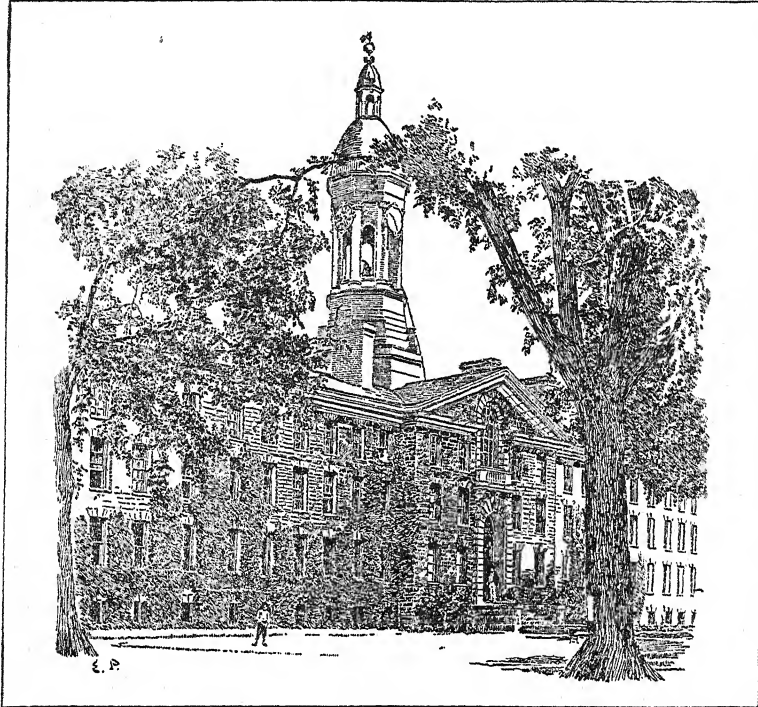
erected, and it had steady prosperity until the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861. Nassau Hall was burned in 1855, and speedily rebuilt. The Civil War reduced the number of its students, but it regained them, and more, when peace came. In 1868 Rev. James McCosh, of Belfast, Ireland, was called to the presidency of the college—a man of great energy and activity. During his administration many fine buildings were added to the institution, and more than \$1,000,000 was given to the college. John C. Green gave \$750,000 to endow a scientific school,

PRINTING

erect a library, and a building for lectures and recitations. The sesquicentennial of the institution was observed in October, 1890, during which it was formally declared a university, and in honor of the event friends of the institution made special gifts of about \$1,500,000. At the end of 1903 the university had 108 professors and instructors, 1,565 students, 176,302 volumes in the library, 8,864 graduates since the organization of the college; productive funds aggregating \$2,591,750; and a total income of \$224,800. The Rev. Francis Landey Patton, D.D., LL.D., succeeded Dr. McCosh as president in 1888, and, resigning in 1902, was succeeded by Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., Lt.D. Since 1900 the university has received in gifts and bequests, largely for new buildings, over \$2,500,000.

Printing. The first printing in America was done in the city of Mexico, in 1539. There were then about 200 printing-offices in Europe. The second press was set up in Lima, Peru, in 1586, and the third was erected in Cambridge, Mass., in 1639. In 1638 Rev. Jesse Glover started for Massachusetts with his family, having in his care a printing-press given to the

colony by some friends in Holland. He was accompanied by Stephen Day, a practical printer. Mr. Glover died on the voyage, and, under the direction of the authorities in Boston, Day set up the press at Cambridge, and began printing there in January, 1639. Its first production was *The Freeman's Oath*, and the first literary work issued by it was a new metrical version of the psalms, a revision of those of Sternhold and Hopkins. This was the beginning of book-printing in the United States. It was forty years before another printing-press was set up in this country. The first printing-press at work west of the Alleghany Mountains was in Cincinnati, in 1793, and the first west



NASSAU HALL, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

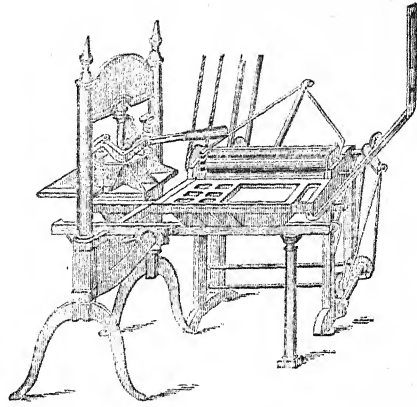
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PRINTING-PRESS

of the Mississippi was in St. Louis, in 1808.

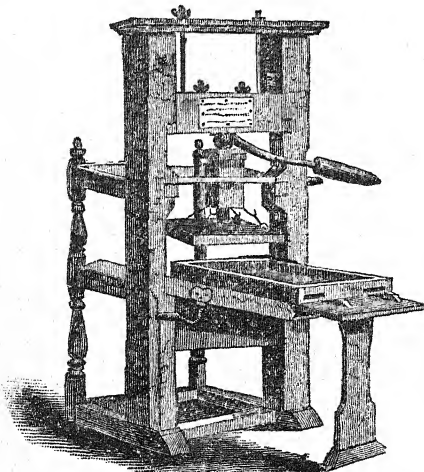
In reply to questions of the plantation committee, Governor Berkeley, in 1671, reported: "We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this—the worst are sent out to us; and there are few that we can boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men from hither. But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" The authorities in Virginia continued to hold this view after Berkeley had left. In 1680 John Buckner, having brought a printing-press to Virginia, printed the laws of that session for a while. Governor Culpeper and his council called him to account and compelled him to give bonds that he would print no more until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. Royal instructions came positively forbidding any printing in the colony.

Printing-press, THE. Wonderful improvements were made in the construc-



WASHINGTON PRESS, ONE OF THE EARLIEST USED IN THE UNITED STATES.

tion of printing-presses in the United States during the nineteenth century. The press on which Benjamin Franklin worked as a journeyman printer in 1725, was very little improved until 1817, when George Clymer, of Philadelphia, invented the "Columbian" press. It was the first important improvement. The power was applied by a compound lever. In 1829 Samuel Rust invented the "Washington" press, which superseded others for a while. The daubing-balls, before used, were succeeded by inking-rollers, and later a self-inking apparatus was used. With that machine a good workman could turn off 2,000 sheets a day. Daniel Treadwell, of Boston, invented the first "power-press," and in 1830 Samuel Adams, of the same city, invented the celebrated "Adams" press, which was long used for fine book-work. It was improved by his son Isaac. Every operation is now done automatically. The first "rotary" press for rapid newspaper-printing was made by a German mechanic in London, and used to print the *London Times*, in 1814. It gave 1,800 impressions in an hour. An improved machine was made for the *Times*, in 1848, which threw off 10,000 sheets an hour. The Hoes, of New York, made many and great improvements in printing-machines, and between 1850 and 1860 they made successful attempts to print from a roll of paper, on both sides of the sheet. Difficulties that at first appeared have



FRANKLIN'S PRESS.

Allahabad Khan Calcutta

PRISON PENS—PRISONERS

been overcome, and now the press used for a great daily newspaper will print the paper on both sides and fold, ready for delivery, at the rate of 96,000 four-page or 48,000 eight-page sheets per hour.

Printing was introduced into the thirteen original States of the United States by the following named persons at the time and place noted:

Massachusetts.....	Cambridge.....	Stephen Day.....	1639
Virginia.....	Williamsburg.....	John Buckner.....	1680-82
Pennsylvania.....	near Philadelphia.....	William Bradford.....	1685
New York.....	New York City.....	William Bradford.....	1683
Connecticut.....	New London.....	Thomas Short.....	1709
Maryland.....	Annapolis.....	William Parks.....	1726
South Carolina.....	Charleston.....	Eliaser Phillips.....	1730
Rhode Island.....	Newport.....	James Franklin.....	1732
New Jersey.....	Woodbridge.....	James Parker.....	1751
North Carolina.....	New-Berne.....	James Davis.....	1749
New Hampshire.....	Portsmouth.....	Daniel Fowle.....	1756
Delaware.....	Wilmington.....	James Adams.....	1761
Georgia.....	Savannah.....	James Johnston.....	1762

The first book published in America was issued in 1536 in the city of Mexico.

Prison Pens. See CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Prisoners, EXCHANGE OF. Late in 1776 an arrangement was made for an exchange of prisoners between the Americans and British. The latter held about 5,000, many of whom had suffered terribly in the prisons in and around New York. The Americans held about 3,000. At first the British refused to exchange, on the ground that the Americans were rebels; but after Howe's arrival at New York he had opened negotiations on the subject. A good deal of obstruction had occurred on account of the refusal of Congress to fulfil the stipulations made by Arnold at the Cedars (see CEDARS, AFFAIR AT THE). But finally a cartel was arranged, and a partial exchange was effected early in 1777. As the Americans had no prisoner of equal rank with Gen. Charles Lee, they offered in exchange for him six Hessian field-officers captured at Trenton. Lee was claimed by Howe as a deserter from the British army, and the exchange was at first refused. Howe had received orders to send Lee to England; but the fear of retaliation upon British prisoners, and some important revelations made by Lee, caused him to be kept in America, and finally exchanged for Gen. Robert Prescott. There were other reasons for delay in the exchange of prisoners. The prisoners in the hands of the British were returned half-starved and disabled, and

Washington refused to send back an equal number of healthy British and Hessian prisoners. Besides, those who came back were persons whose terms of service generally had expired, and would be lost to the Continental army; while every person sent to the British army was a healthy recruit. For this reason Congress was in no haste to exchange.

At the beginning of the Civil War many prisoners were taken on both sides. The question soon occurred to the government, Can we exchange prisoners with rebels against the national authority without thereby acknowledging the Confederate government, so-called, as a government in fact? They could not; but humanity took precedence of policy, and an arrangement was made for an exchange of prisoners. Col. W. H. Ludlow was chosen for the service by the national government; Robert Ould was chosen by the Confederates. The former commissioner had his headquarters at Fort Monroe; the latter at Richmond. Prisoners were sent in boats to and from each place. This business went regularly on until it was interrupted by Jefferson Davis near the close of 1862. Because the government chose to use the loyal negroes as soldiers, Davis's anger was kindled. On Dec. 23 he issued a most extraordinary proclamation, the tone of which more than anything else doubtless caused foreign governments to hesitate about introducing the Confederacy into the family of nations. In it he outlawed a major-general of the Union army (see BUTLER, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN), and he directed in that proclamation that all negro soldiers who might be taken prisoners, and all commissioned officers serving in company with them who should be captured, should be handed over to State governments for execution, the negroes as insurgent slaves, the white officers as inciters of servile insurrection.

The national government felt morally bound to afford equal protection to all its citizen soldiers of whatever hue. When Davis, in a message to the Confederate Congress (Jan. 12, 1863), announced his determination to deliver all white officers commanding negro troops, who might be captured, to State authorities to be hung, and to treat those troops as rebels against their masters, the national Congress took

PRISONERS—PRISONERS FOR DEBT

the matter up. Davis's proclamation and message were followed by his instructions to Robert Ould not to consider captive negro soldiers as prisoners of war. After that no quarter was given, in many instances, where colored troops were employed, and the black flag was carried against officers commanding them. The government felt compelled to refuse any more exchanges until the Confederates should treat all prisoners alike. In August, 1863, when the national commissioner of prisoners demanded that negro captives should be treated as prisoners of war and exchanged, Commissioner Ould replied: "We will die in the last ditch before giving up the right to send slaves back to slavery."

The Confederate government thus effectually shut the door of exchange, and fearfully increased the number and terrible sufferings of the Union prisoners in their hands. These sufferings have been detailed in official reports, personal narratives, and otherwise; and there seems to be conclusive testimony to show that the order of President Davis concerning negro prisoners was to deliberately stop exchanges and enable the Confederates to destroy or permanently disable Union prisoners by the slow process of physical exhaustion, by means of starvation or unwholesome food. General Meredith, commissioner of prisoners at Fort Monroe, said in a letter: "On the 25th of November I offered to send immediately to City Point 12,000 or more Confederate prisoners, to be exchanged for National soldiers confined in the South. This proposition was distinctly and unequivocally refused by Mr. Ould. And why? Because the damnable plans of the rebel government in relation to our poor captured soldiers had not been fully carried out." The testimony seems clear that the Union prisoners at Richmond, Danville, Salisbury, and Andersonville were subjected to cruelties and poisonous food for the double purpose of crippling and reducing the National force and of striking terror into the Northern population, in order to prevent enlistments. When Gen. John Winder, Davis's general commissary of prisoners, went from Richmond to take charge of the Union prisoners at Andersonville, the *Examiner* of that city exclaimed: "Thank

God that Richmond is at last rid of old Winder! God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent."

Meanwhile the Confederate prisoners of war had been well fed and humanely treated. This the Confederate authorities well knew; and when, in all the Confederate prisons, the Union captives were no better, as soldiers, than dead men—an army of 40,000 skeletons—Mr. Ould proposed, in a letter to General Butler (Aug. 10, 1864), a resumption of exchange, man for man. And when such resumption began, the difference between Union skeletons and vigorous Confederate soldiers was acknowledged by Ould, who wrote exultingly from City Point to General Winder:

"The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw." At the middle of autumn (1864) arrangements for special exchanges were made, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mulford went with vessels to Savannah to receive and take to Annapolis 12,000 Union prisoners from Andersonville and elsewhere. The records of the War Department show that during the war 220,000 Confederate soldiers were captured, of whom 26,436 died of wounds or diseases during their captivity; while, of 126,940 Union soldiers captured, nearly 22,576 died while prisoners—or a little more than 11 per cent. of the Confederates, and more than 17 per cent. of the Unionists.

Prisoners for Debt. The suffering of prisoners for debt, which impelled General Oglethorpe to propose colonizing a region in America with them, was terrible in the extreme. The writings of Howard and the pencil of Hogarth have vividly depicted them; yet these do not convey an adequate idea of the old debtors' prisons of England. The merchant, unfortunate in his business, was often plunged from affluence and social honor and usefulness to the dreadful dens of filth and misery called prisons. Oglethorpe had stood before one of the victims of the cruel law. He had been a distinguished London alderman, a thrifty merchant, and highly esteemed for his integrity and benevolence. As a "merchant prince," he had been a commercial leader. Great losses made him a bankrupt. His creditors sent him to prison. In a moment he was compelled to leave a

PRISONERS FOR DEBT—PRISONS AND PRISON-SHIPS

happy home, delightful society, and luxurious ease for a loathsome prison-cell, there to herd with debased and criminal society. One by one his friends who could aid him in keeping famine from his wretched abode disappeared, and he was forgotten by the outside world. He had been twenty-three years in jail when Oglethorpe saw him. Gray-haired, ragged, haggard, and perishing with hunger, he lay upon a heap of filthy straw in a dark, damp, unventilated room. His devoted wife, who had shared his misery for eighteen years, had just starved to death, and her body lay in rags by his side, silent and cold. An hour before he had begged his jailer to remove her body to the prison burying-ground. The inhuman wretch, who was acquainted with the prisoner's history, had refused with an oath, and said, with cruel irony, "Send for your alderman's coach to take her to Westminster Abbey!"

The scene led to the foundation of the colony of GEORGIA (7. v.). The fate of this London alderman was worse than that of the debtors of Greece and Rome, who were sold into slavery by their creditors. Laws for the imprisonment of debtors disgraced the statute-books of our States until within a comparatively few years. When Lafayette visited the United States in 1824-25 he found Colonel Barton, the captor of General Prescott in Rhode Island, in a prison for debt, and released him by the payment of the creditor's demand. Robert Morris, whose financial ability was the main dependence of the colonies in carrying on the war for independence, was a prisoner for debt in his old age. Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, once saw a man put in jail in Batavia, N. Y., for debt. His remark—"He no catch beaver there!"—fully illustrated the unwisdom of such laws; for surely a man in prison cannot earn money to pay a debt. Public attention was thoroughly aroused to the cruelties of the law when John G. Whittier wrote his stirring poem, *The Prisoner for Debt*, in which he thus alluded to Colonel Barton:

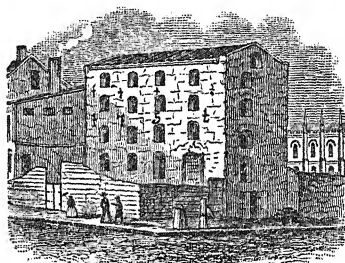
'What hath the gray-haired prisoner done?
Hath murder stained his hands with gore?
Ah, no! his crime's a fouler one—
God made the old man poor.

For this he shares a felon's cell,
The fittest earthly type of hell!
For this, the boon for which he poured
His young blood on the invader's sword,
And counted light the fearful cost—
His blood-gained liberty is lost!

"Down with the law that blinds him thus!
Unworthy freemen, let it find
No refuge from the withering curse
Of God and human kind!
Open the prisoner's living tomb,
And usher from its brooding gloom
The victims of your savage code
To the free sun and air of God!
No longer dare as crime to brand
The chastening of the Almighty's hand!"

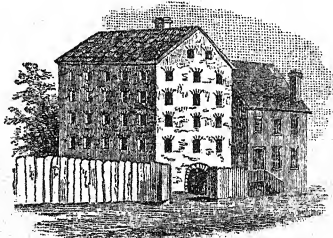
—See DEBTORS.

Prisons and Prison-ships, BRITISH.
The British in New York confined the American prisoners of war in various large buildings, the most spacious of which were churches and sugar-houses. In the North Dutch Church, corner of Fulton and William streets, were con-



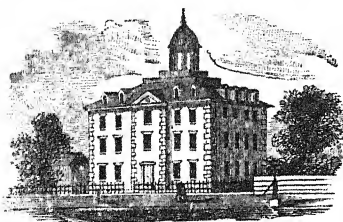
VAN CORTLANDT'S SUGAR-HOUSE.

fined at one time 800 prisoners; and in the Middle Dutch Church, corner of Nassau and Liberty streets, room was made for 3,000 prisoners. Both churches were stripped of their pews, and floors were laid from one gallery to the other.



SUGAR-HOUSE IN LIBERTY STREET.

PRISONS AND PRISON-SHIPS—PRIVATEERING



PROVOST JAIL.

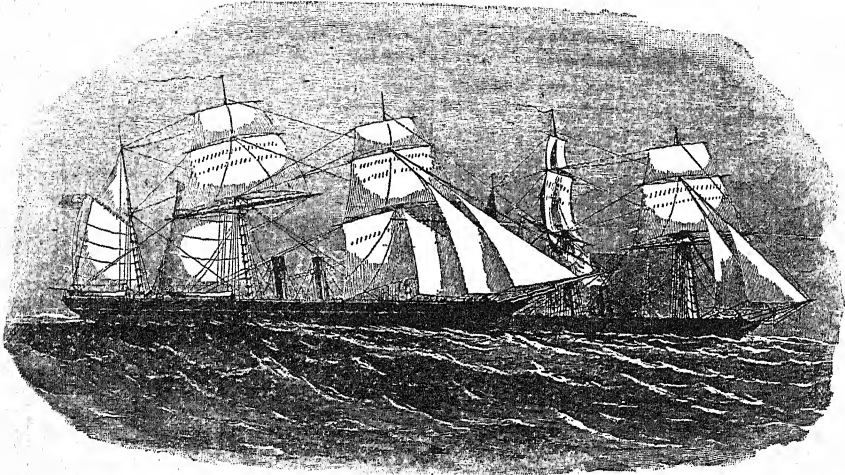
Smaller churches were used for hospitals. Rhinelander's, Van Cortlandt's, and Livingston's sugar-houses contained hundreds of prisoners, whose sufferings for want of fresh air, food, and cleanliness were dreadful. Under Commissaries Loring, Sproat, and others, and particularly under the infamous Provost-Marshal Cunningham, the prisoners in these buildings and the provost jail received the most brutal treatment. Hundreds died and were cast into pits without any funeral ceremonies. The heat of summer was suffocating in the sugar-house prisons. "I saw," says Dunlap, in describing the one in Liberty Street, "every narrow aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air." For many weeks the dead-cart visited this prison (a fair type of the others), into which from eight to twelve corpses were daily flung and piled up. They were then dumped into ditches in the outskirts of the city and covered with earth by their fellow-prisoners, who were detailed for the work.

The prison-ships—dismantled old hulks—lying in the waters around the city, were more intolerable than the prisons on land. Of these, the *Jersey*, lying at the Wallabout, near the site of the Brooklyn navy-yard, was the most famous. She was the hulk of a 64-gun ship, in which more than 1,000 prisoners were sometimes confined at one time. There they suffered indescribable horrors from unwholesome food, foul air, filth, and vermin, and from small-pox, dysentery, and prison-fever that slew them by scores. Despair reigned there incessantly, for their treatment was generally brutal in the extreme. Every night the living, dying, and dead were huddled together. At sunset each day was heard the savage order, ac-

companied by horrid imprecations, "Down, rebels, down!" and in the morning the significant cry, "Rebels, turn out your dead!" The latter were selected from the living, sewed up in blankets, carried on shore, and buried in shallow graves in the sand. Fully 11,000 were so taken from the *Jersey* and buried during the war. In 1808 the bones of these martyrs were gathered by the Tammany Society and placed in a vault near the entrance to the navy-yard, and a magnificent monument was erected and dedicated to their memory in Trinity Church-yard, on Broadway.

Privateering, the right given to private individuals to roam the ocean and seize and plunder the vessels of an enemy in time of war. When the act of the British Parliament prohibiting all trade with the colonies and confiscating their ships and effects as if they were the ships and effects of open enemies was received by Congress, the first instinct was to retaliate. On March 16, 1776, a committee of the whole considered the propriety of authorizing the inhabitants of the colonies to fit out privateers. Franklin expressed a wish that such an act should be preceded by a declaration of war, as of one independent nation against another. Two days afterwards, after an able debate, privateers were authorized to cruise against ships and their cargoes belonging to any inhabitant, not of Ireland and the West Indies, but of Great Britain. All New England and New York, Virginia, and North Carolina voted for it. Maryland and Pennsylvania voted against it. On the following day Wythe, Jay, and Wilson were appointed to prepare a preamble to the resolutions, and when on the 22d Lee presented their report (being in the minority), he moved an amendment, charging the King himself with their grievances, inasmuch as he had "rejected their petitions with scorn and contempt." This was new and bold ground, and was objected to as severing the King from the colonies. Never before had they disclaimed allegiance to their monarch, and Congress hesitated; but on the following day (the 23d) the amendment was accepted. This was nearly three months before Lee offered his resolution for independence.

PRIVATEERING

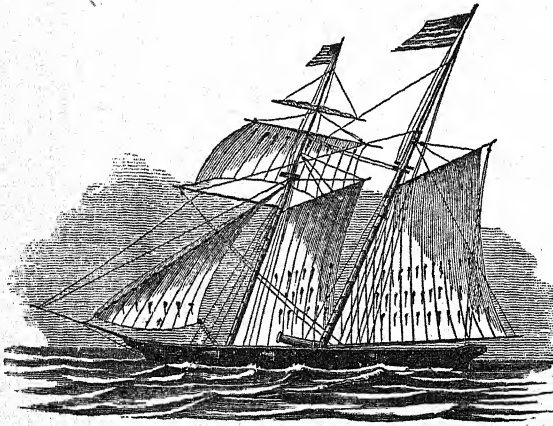


TYPE OF PRIVATEER USED IN THE CIVIL WAR.

Early in the Revolutionary War privateering was entered upon with much zeal and vigor by the Americans, especially by the New Englanders, and the scarcity produced by the interruption of regular commerce was partially supplied by successful cruisers. It was kept up during the whole war. Shares in vessels following it were held by many of the leaders in

more privateers. The homeward-bound British vessels from the West Indies, deeply laden, and passing a long distance along the American coast, offered rich and tempting prizes. In the first year of this naval warfare nearly 350 British vessels were captured, worth, with their cargoes, \$5,000,000.

The records of the American privateers during the War of 1812-15 show the wonderful boldness and skill of American seamen, most of them untaught in the art of naval warfare and the general character of privateering service. After the first six months of the war most of the naval conflicts on the ocean were carried on, on the part of the Americans, by private armed vessels, which "took, burned, and destroyed" about 1,600 British merchantmen of all classes in the space of three years and nine months, while the number of American merchant-vessels destroyed during the same period by British privateers did not vary much from 500. The American armed vessels which caused such disasters to British commerce num-



CLIPPER-BUILT PRIVATEER SCHOONER.

the Revolutionary struggle. Robert Morris made large profits by the business, and Washington was part owner of one or

PRIVY COUNCIL—PROCÈS VERBAL

bered about 250. Of these forty-six were letters-of-marque, and the remainder were privateers. This was 115 less than were enrolled while there were difficulties with France in 1789 and 1799. The number of private armed vessels then was 365. Of the whole number in 1812-15, 184 were sent out from the four ports of Baltimore, New York, Boston, and Salem. The aggregate number sent out from Portsmouth (N. H.), Philadelphia, and Charleston, was thirty-five. The remainder went out from other ports. The "clippers" were the fastest sailers and most successful of the privateers. These were mostly built at Baltimore, or for parties in that city, and were known as "Baltimore clippers." They were schooners with raking masts. They usually carried from six to ten guns, with a single long one, which was called "Long Tom," mounted on a swivel in the centre. They were usually manned with fifty persons besides officers, all armed with muskets, cutlasses, and boarding pikes, and commissioned to "burn, sink, and destroy the property of the enemy, either on the high seas or in his ports." A complete history of American privateering would fill several volumes; an outline of it is contained in Coggeshall's *History of American Privateers*. The most famous and desperate combat recorded in the history of American privateering is that of the *General Armstrong*, Capt. S. C. Reid, in September, 1814. See GENERAL ARMSTRONG, THE.

Privy Council, a body of men selected by the sovereigns of England for their chief advisers and executors. First it was a small permanent committee selected out of the great council of the kingdom, which was composed of all the great tenants of the crown. It appears in the early rolls of Parliament as a permanent council, and under the Plantagenet monarchs it consisted of the five great officers of state, the two archbishops, and from ten to fifteen other persons, spiritual or temporal, sitting constantly as a court, and invested with extensive powers. Under the Stuarts, the star-chamber court and court of requests were committees of the privy council. The privy councillors were chosen by the King without patent or grant. Under Charles II. their number, which had become large, was reduced to thirty. It soon became indefinite again

and so continued. Those only who were specially summoned ever attended its meetings. Under its jurisdiction the King, in council, might issue proclamations binding on the subject if consonant with the laws of the land; temporarily regulate various matters of trade and international intercourse; inquire into offences against the government and commit offenders to take their trial according to law, and had appellate jurisdiction in the last resort from all the colonies. The function of advisers of the sovereign in all weighty matters is now discharged by the cabinet.

Prize Courts. Ships and property captured in war-time are submitted to the judgment of certain courts to establish the lawfulness of such capture. The United States district courts have such jurisdiction under the judiciary act of 1789.

Prize-money, arising from captures made from the enemy, was decreed by the English government to be divided into eight equal parts and distributed by order of rank, April 17, 1703. The distribution of army prize-money is regulated by an act passed in 1832. Naval prize-money is now regulated by royal proclamation. In the United States, Congress decreed in 1812 that in the distribution of prize-money arising from the captures by national vessels, one-half should go to the government, and the other half, divided into twenty equal parts, should be distributed by order of rank.

Procès Verbal, the French term for an official report or record of proceedings. The French explorers in America set a column, placed the royal arms of France upon the same, and then proclaimed the country to be a part of the dominions of France. Then a report of the proceedings was written and signed. Sometimes they deposited a tablet of lead with an appropriate inscription. Céloron, who led a French expedition from Canada to the Ohio country (1749), buried several of them at different points. One of these plates reads as follows: "In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Céloron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonnière, governor-general of New France, to re-establish tranquillity in some Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate of lead at the confluence

PROCTOR—PROHIBITION PARTY

of the Ohio and Chautauqua* this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio, otherwise *Belle Rivière*, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to have been enjoyed by the kings of France preceding, and as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle." This inscription revealed the designs of the French. The plate was sent to the royal governor of New York, and by him to the British government. He sent copies of the inscription to other colonial governors, and Colonel Johnson told the Five Nations that it implied an attempt to deprive them of their lands, and that the French ought to be immediately expelled from the Ohio and Niagara. One of the plates buried by Céloron near the mouth of the Muskingum River was found by some boys near the close of the eighteenth century. A part of it was used for bullets; the preserved fragment is now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass. Near the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, W. Va., another leaden *procès verbal*, buried by Céloron, was found by a boy in 1846.

Proctor, HENRY A., military officer; born in Wales in 1765; joined the British army in 1781, and rose to the rank of major-general after his service in Canada in 1813. He was sent to Canada in command of a regiment in 1812, and, as acting brigadier-general, commanded British troops at Amherstburg, under the direction of General Brock, to prevent Hull's invasion of Canada. For his victory at Frenchtown he was made a brigadier-general. He and his Indian allies were repulsed at Fort Meigs and at Fort Stephenson, and he was defeated in the battle of the Thames by General Harrison. For his conduct in America, especially at Frenchtown, he was afterwards court-martialled, and suspended from command for six months; but was again in active service, and was made a lieutenant-general. He died in Liverpool, England, in 1859.

* The Alleghany River was regarded as the Ohio proper, and the Monongahela only as a tributary.

Proctor, LUCIEN BROCK, author; born in Hanover, N. H., March 6, 1826; graduated at Hamilton College in 1844; admitted to the bar in 1847; abandoned law practice in 1863 to give his entire attention to legal writing. His publications include *The Bench and Bar of the State of New York*; *Lives of the New York State Chancellors*; *The Life and Times of Thomas Addis Emmet*; *The Legal History of Albany and Schenectady Counties*; *Early History of the Board of Regents and University of the State of New York*; etc.; also many addresses, including *Aaron Burr's Political Career Defended*; *Review of John C. Spencer's Legal and Political Career*, etc.

Proctor, REDFIELD, statesman; born in Proctorsville, Vt., June 1, 1831; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1851; subsequently studied law in the Albany Law School; entered the National army at the outbreak of the Civil War as lieutenant; was mustered out as colonel in 1865. He was elected to the State legislature in 1867; to the State Senate in 1874; lieutenant-governor in 1876; governor in 1878; was Secretary of War in 1889-91; and then became a United States Senator. At the request of the President, Senator Proctor visited Cuba in March, 1898, and his report on the conditions existing there powerfully influenced public opinion in the United States.

Proctor, THOMAS, military officer; born in Ireland in 1739; emigrated to Philadelphia; became a colonel of artillery; and was distinguished in the battle of Brandywine and in Sullivan's expedition in 1779. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., March 16, 1806.

Prohibition Party. The question of prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors was agitated in various sections of the United States before a political party was formed distinctly on that issue. State legislation has at different times attempted prohibition in Maine, Kansas, Iowa, and other States. A distinctive national party was organized in 1869, and in 1872 it nominated a candidate for President. It has put a ticket in the field in all succeeding Presidential campaigns, among others St. John in 1884, Fisk in 1888, Bidwell in 1892, Levering in 1896, Woolley in 1900, and Swallow in 1904. It has re-

PROTECTION

ceived no electoral votes, though it has polled a popular vote of several hundred thousand. Besides its characteristic plank, it has advocated in its platforms

some principles held either by the Democratic or by the People's party. In 1900 there was a marked increase in the popular vote of this party.

PROTECTION

Protection. The following argument for protection is Mr. Blaine's reply to Mr. Gladstone's argument for free-trade, the text of which will be found in vol. iii. of this work, under FREE TRADE.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone is the most distinguished representative of the free-trade school of political economists. His addresses in Parliament on his celebrated budget, when chancellor of the exchequer, in 1853, were declared by Lord John Russell "to contain the ablest exposition of the true principles of finance ever delivered by an English statesman." His illustrious character, his great ability, and his financial experience point to him as the leading defender of free-trade applied to the industrial system of Great Britain.

Mr. Gladstone apologizes for his apparent interference with our affairs. He may be assured that apology is superfluous. Americans of all classes hold him in honor; free-traders will rejoice in so eminent an advocate, and protectionists, always the representatives of liberality and progress, will be glad to learn his opinions upon a question of such transcendent importance to the past, the present, and the future of the republic.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the argument of Mr. Gladstone, as indeed of every English free-trader except John Stuart Mill, is the universality of application which he demands for his theory. In urging its adoption he makes no distinction between countries; he takes no account of geographical position—whether a nation be in the Eastern or the Western Hemisphere, whether it be north or south of the equator; he pays no heed to climate, or product, or degree of advancement; none to topography—whether the country be as level as the delta of the Nile or as mountainous as the republic of Bolivia; none to pursuits and employments, whether in the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial field; none to the

wealth or poverty of a people; none to population, whether it be crowded or sparse; none to area, whether it be as limited as a German principality or as extended as a continental empire. Free-trade he believes advantageous for England: therefore, without the allowance of any modifying condition, great or small, the English economist declares it to be advantageous for the United States, for Brazil, for Australia; in short, for all countries with which England can establish trade relations. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr. Gladstone to find any principle of administration or any measure of finance so exactly fitted to the varying needs of all countries as he assumes the policy of free-trade to be. Surely it is not unfair to maintain that, deducing his results from observation and experience in his own country, he may fall into error and fail to appreciate the financial workings of other countries geographically remote and of vastly greater area.

The American protectionist, let it not be discourteous to urge, is broader in his views than the English free-trader. No intelligent protectionist in the United States pretends that every country would alike realize advantage from the adoption of the protective system. Human government is not a machine, and even machines cannot be so perfectly adjusted as to work with equal effectiveness at all times and under all conditions. Great Britain and the United States certainly resemble one another in more ways than either can be said to resemble any other nation in the world; yet, when we compare the two on the question at issue, the differences are so marked that we almost lose sight of the resemblance. One is an insular monarchy with class government; the other a continental republic with popular government. One has a large population to the square mile; the other a small population to the square mile. One was old in a rich and complex civilization before the estab-

PROTECTION

lishment of the other was even foreseen. One had become the wealthiest nation of the world while the other was yet in the toils and doubts of a frontier life and a primitive civilization. One had extensive manufactures for almost every field of human need, with the civilized world for its market, while the population of the other was still forced to divide its energies between the hard calling of the sea and the still harder calling of a rude and scantily remunerative agriculture.

The physical differences between the two countries are far more striking than the political and social differences. They are, indeed, almost incalculable. Great Britain is an island less than 90,000 square miles in extent. It lies in the far north. Its southernmost point is nearly thirty degrees of latitude above the tropics. Its northernmost point is but nine degrees below the Arctic Circle. Within its area the exchange of natural products is necessarily limited. Its life depends upon its connection with other countries. Its prosperity rests upon its commerce with the world. On the other hand, a single State of the Union is nearly three times as large as Great Britain. Several other States are each quite equal to it in area. The whole Union is well-nigh forty times as large. Alaska excepted, the northernmost point of the Union is 60 miles south of the southernmost point of Great Britain, and the southernmost point of the Union is but little more than 100 miles from the tropics. Its natural products are more varied, more numerous, and of more valuable character than those of all Europe. To quote one of Mr. Gladstone's phrases, we constitute "not so much a country in ourselves, as a world." He tells us that we carry on "the business of domestic exchanges on a scale such as mankind has never seen." Our foreign commerce, very large in itself, is only as one to twenty-five compared to our internal trade. And yet Mr. Gladstone thinks that a policy which is essential to an island in the northern ocean should be adopted as the policy of a country which even to his own vision is "a world within itself."

With these fundamental points of difference between the two countries, I assume that varied financial and industrial systems, wrought by the experience of each,

would be the natural and logical result. Hence I do not join issue with Mr. Gladstone on both of his propositions. He defends free-trade in Great Britain. He assails protection in the United States. The first proposition I neither deny nor affirm. Were I to assume that protection is in all countries and under all circumstances the wisest policy, I should be guilty of an error similar to that which I think Mr. Gladstone commits. It might be difficult to prove that free-trade is not the wisest financial policy for Great Britain. So far from guarding herself against material imported from other countries, her industrial system would wither and die if foreign products were withheld for even a brief period. She is in an especial degree dependent upon the products of other nations. Moreover, she does not feel bound to pay heed to the rate of wages which her labor may receive. That, like the fabrics which her labor creates, must take its chance in the markets of the world.

On many points and in many respects it was far different with Great Britain a hundred years ago. She did not then feel assured that she could bear the competition of Continental nations. She was, therefore, aggressively, even cruelly, protective. She manufactured for herself and for her net-work of colonies reaching around the globe. Into those colonies no other nation could carry anything. There was no scale of duty upon which other nations could enter a colonial port. What the colonies needed outside of British products could be furnished to them only in British ships. This was not protection! It was prohibition, absolute and remorseless, and it was continued even to the day when Mr. Gladstone entered upon his long and splendid career in Parliament. It was not broken, though in some respects it was relaxed, until in the fulness of time British energy had carried the wealth and the skill of the kingdom to the point where no competition could be feared.

During the last thirty years of her protective system, and especially during the twenty years from 1826 to 1846, Great Britain increased her material wealth beyond all precedent in the commercial history of the world. Her development of steam-power gave to every British work-

PROTECTION

man the arms of Briareus, and the inventive power of her mechanicians increased the amount, the variety, and the value of her fabrics beyond all anticipation. Every year of that period witnessed the addition of millions upon millions of sterling to the reserve capital of the kingdom; every year witnessed a great addition to the effective machinery whose aggregate power was already the wonder of the world. The onward march of her manufacturing industries, the steady and rapid development of her mercantile marine, absorbed the matchless enterprise and energy of the kingdom. Finally, with a vast capital accumulated, with a low rate of interest established, and with a manufacturing power unequalled, the British merchants were ready to underbid all rivals in seeking for the trade of the world.

At that moment Great Britain had reason to feel supremely content. She found under her own flag, on the shores of every ocean, a host of consumers whom no man might number. She had Canada, Australia, and India with open ports and free markets for all her fabrics; and, more than all these combined, she found the United States suddenly and seriously lowering her tariff and effectively abolishing protection at the very moment England was declaring for free-trade. The traffic of the world seemed prospectively in her control. Could this condition of trade have continued, no estimate of the growth of England's wealth would be possible. Practically it would have had no limit. Could she have retained her control of the markets of the United States as she held it for the four years preceding the outbreak of the Civil War, the American people would have grown commercially dependent upon her in a greater degree than is Canada or Australia today.

But England was dealing with an intelligence equal to her own. The American people had, by repeated experience, learned that the periods of depression in home manufactures were those in which England most prospered in her commercial relations with the United States, and that these periods of depression had, with a single exception, easily explained, followed the enactment by Congress of a free-trade

tariff,* as certainly as effect follows cause. One of the most suggestive experiments of that kind had its origin in the tariff to which I have just referred, passed in 1846 in apparent harmony with England's newly declared financial policy. At that moment a Southern President (Mr. Polk) and a Southern Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Robert J. Walker) were far more interested in expanding the area of slave territory than in advancing home manufactures, and were especially eager to make commercial exchanges with Europe on the somewhat difficult basis of cotton at high prices and returning fabrics at low prices.

Under ordinary circumstances the free-trade tariff of 1846 would have promptly fallen under popular reprobation and been doomed to speedy repeal. But it had a singular history and for a time was generally acquiesced in, even attaining in many sections a certain degree of popularity. Never did any other tariff meet with so many and so great aids of an adventitious character to sustain it as did this enactment of 1846. Our war with Mexico began just as the duties were lowered, and the consequence was the disbursement of more than \$100,000,000 in a way that reached all localities and favorably affected all interests. This was a great sum of money for that period, and for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 it considerably more than doubled the ordinary outlay of the government. In the middle of this period the Irish famine occurred and called for an immense export of breadstuffs at high prices. The discovery of gold in California the succeeding year flushed the channels of business as never before, by rapidly enlarging the circulation of coin in all parts of the country. Before this outpouring of gold had ceased, the three great nations of Europe, as precedence was reckoned at that time—England, France, and Russia—entered upon the Crimean War. The export of manufactures from England and France was checked; the breadstuffs of Russia were blockaded and could not reach the markets

* The phrase "free-trade tariff" involves a contradiction of terms. It is used to designate that form of duty which is levied with no intention to protect domestic manufactures.

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of the world. An extraordinary stimulus was thus given to all forms of trade in the United States. For ten years—1846 to 1856—these adventitious aids came in regular succession and exerted their powerful influence upon the prosperity of the country.

The withdrawal or termination of these influences, by a treaty of peace in Europe and by the surcease of gold from California, placed the tariff of 1846 where a real test of its merits or its demerits could be made. It was everywhere asked with apprehension and anxiety, Will this free-trade tariff now develop and sustain the business of the country as firmly and securely as it has been developed and sustained by protection? The answer was made in the ensuing year by a widespread financial panic, which involved the ruin of thousands, including proportionately as many in the South as in the North, leaving the country disordered and distressed in all the avenues of trade. The disastrous results of this tariff upon the permanent industries of the country are described in President Buchanan's well-remembered message, communicated to Congress after the panic: "With unsurpassed plenty in all the elements of national wealth, our manufacturers have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want." This testimony as the result of a free-trade tariff is all the more forcible from the fact that Mr. Buchanan, as a member of President Polk's cabinet, had consented to the abandonment of protection, which in his earlier career he had earnestly supported.

If these disasters of 1857, flowing from the free-trade tariff, could have been regarded as exceptional, if they had been without parallel or precedent, they might not have had so deadly a significance. But the American people had twice before passed through a similar experience. On the eve of the War of 1812, Congress guarded the national strength by enacting a highly protective tariff. By its own terms this tariff must end with the war. When the new tariff was to be formed, a popular cry arose against "war duties," though the country had prospered under

them despite the exhausting effect of the struggle with Great Britain. But the prayer of the people was answered, and the war duties were dropped from the tariff of 1816. The business of the country was speedily prostrated. The people were soon reduced to as great distress as in that melancholy period between the close of the Revolutionary War and the organization of the national government—1783 to 1789. Colonel Benton's vivid description of the period of depression following the reduction of duties comprises in a few lines a whole chapter of the history of free-trade in the United States:

"No price for property; no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshal; no purchasers at execution - sales except the creditor or some boarder of money; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farm; no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand."

Relief came at last with the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824, to the support of which leading men of both parties patriotically united for the common good. That act, supplemented by the act of 1828, brought genuine prosperity to the country. The credit of passing the two protective acts was not due to one party alone. It was the work of the great men of both parties. Mr. Clay and General Jackson, Mr. Webster and Mr. Van Buren, Gen. William Henry Harrison and Richard M. Johnson, Silas Wright and Louis McLane, voted for one or the other of these acts, and several of them voted for both. The co-operation of these eminent men is a great historic tribute to the necessity and value of protection. Plenty and prosperity followed, as if by magic, the legislation to which they gave their support. We have their concurrent testimony that the seven years preceding the enactment of the protective tariff of 1824 were the most discouraging which the young republic in its brief life had encountered, and that the seven years which followed its enactment were beyond precedent the most prosperous and happy.

Sectional jealousy and partisan zeal could not endure the great development of manufactures in the North and East which followed the apparently firm establishment

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of the protective policy. The free-trade leaders of the South believed—at least they persuaded others to believe—that the manufacturing States were prospering at the expense of the planting States. Under the lead of Calhoun, South Carolina rebelled, and President Jackson, who had so strikingly shown his faith in the policy of protection, was not able to resist the excitement and resentment which the free-traders had created in the cotton States. He stood between hostile policies, represented by his two bitterest personal enemies—Clay for protection; Calhoun for free-trade. To support Clay would ruin Jackson politically in the South. He could not sustain Calhoun, for, aside from his opposition to free-trade, he had cause for hating him personally. He believed, moreover, that Calhoun was at heart untrue to the Union, and to the Union Jackson was as devoted as Clay. Out of this strange complication came, not unnaturally, the sacrifice of the protective tariff of 1824-28 and the substitution of the compromise tariff of 1833, which established an *ad-valorem* duty of 20 per cent. on all imports, and reduced the excess over that by a 10 per cent. annual sliding scale for the ensuing ten years. Like all compromises, it gave complete satisfaction to neither party, but it was received with general acquiescence from the belief that it was the best practicable solution of the impending difficulties. The impending difficulties were two. One was the portentous movement which involved the possibility of dissolving the Union. The other was the demand for a free-trade tariff as the only measure that could appease the Southern nullifiers. Disunion and free-trade from that time became associated in the public mind—a source of apprehension in the North, a source of political power in the South. Calhoun was the master-spirit who had given the original impulse both to disunion and free-trade. Each in turn strengthened the other in the South, and both perished together in the War of the Rebellion.

For a time satisfaction was felt with the tariff adjustment of 1833, because it was regarded as at least a temporary reconciliation between two sections of the Union. Before the sliding scale was ruinously advanced, there was great stimulus

to manufacturing and to trade, which finally assumed the form of dangerous speculation. The years 1834, 1835, and 1836 were distinguished for all manner of business hazard, and before the fourth year opened, the 30 per cent. reduction (three years of 10 per cent. each) on the scale of duties was beginning to influence trade unfavorably. The apprehension of evil soon became general, public confidence was shaken, the panic of 1837 ensued, and business reversals were rapid, general, and devastating.

The trouble increased through 1838, 1839, and 1840, and the party in power, held responsible for the financial disasters, fell under popular condemnation. Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and the elder General Harrison was elevated to the Presidency by an exceptionally large majority of the electoral votes. There was no relief to the people until the protective tariff of 1842 was enacted; and then the beneficent experience of 1824 was repeated on even a more extensive scale. Prosperity, wide and general, was at once restored. But the reinstatement of the Democratic party to power, two years later, by the election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency, followed by a perverse violation of public pledges on the part of men in important places of administration, led to the repeal of the protective act and the substitution of the tariff of 1846, to which I have already adverted, and whose effects upon the country I have briefly outlined.

Measuring, therefore, from 1812, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the approaching war with Great Britain, to 1861, when a protective tariff was enacted to give strength and stability to the government in the impending revolt of the Southern States, we have fifty years of suggestive experience in the history of the republic. During this long period free-trade tariffs were thrice followed by industrial stagnation, by financial embarrassment, by distress among all classes dependent for subsistence upon their own labor. Thrice were these burdens removed by the enactment of a protective tariff. Thrice the protective tariff promptly led to industrial activity, to financial ease, to prosperity among the people. And this happy condition lasted in each case, with

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no diminution of its beneficent influence, until illegitimate political combinations, having their origin in personal and sectional aims, precipitated another era of free-trade. A perfectly impartial man, unswerved by the excitement which this question engenders in popular discussion, might safely be asked if the half-century's experience, with its three trials of both systems, did not establish the wisdom of protection in the United States. If the inductive method of reasoning may be trusted, we certainly have a logical basis of conclusion in the facts here detailed.

And by what other mode of reasoning can we safely proceed in this field of controversy? The great method of Bacon was by "rigid and pure observation, aided by experiment and fructified by induction." Let us investigate "from effects to causes, and not from causes to effects." Surely it is by a long series of experiments, and by that test only, that any country can establish an industrial system that will best aid in developing its hidden wealth and establishing its permanent prosperity. And each country must act intelligently for itself. Questions of trade can no more be regulated by an exact science than crops can be produced with accurate forecast. The unknown quantities are so many that a problem in trade or agriculture can never have an absolute answer in advance. But Mr. Gladstone, with an apparent confidence in results as unshaken as though he were dealing with the science of numbers, proceeds to demonstrate the advantage of free-trade. He is positively certain in advance of the answer which experiment will give, and the inference is that nothing is to be gained by awaiting the experiment. Mr. Gladstone may argue for Great Britain as he will, but for the United States we must insist on being guided by facts, and not by theories; we must insist on adhering to the teachings of experiments which "have been carried forward by careful generalization to well-grounded conclusions."

As an offset to the charge that free-trade tariffs have always ended in panics and long periods of financial distress, the advocates of free-trade point to the fact that a financial panic of great severity fell upon the country in 1873, when the

protective tariff of 1861 was in full force, and that, therefore, panic and distress follow periods of protection as well as periods of free-trade. It is true that a financial panic occurred in 1873, and its existence would blunt the force of my argument if there were not an imperatively truthful way of accounting for it as a distinct result from entirely distinct causes. The panic of 1873 was widely different in its true origin from those which I have been exposing. The Civil War, which closed in 1865, had sacrificed on both sides a vast amount of property. Reckoning the money directly expended, the value of property destroyed, and the production arrested and prevented, the total is estimated to be \$9,000,000,000. The producers of the country had been seriously diminished in number. A half-million men had been killed. A million more had been disabled in various degrees. Help was needed in the honorable form of pensions, and the aggregate required for this purpose exceeded all anticipation and has annually absorbed an immense proportion of the national income. The public debt that must be funded reached nearly \$3,000,000,000, demanding at the beginning more than \$150,000,000 for annual interest. A great proportion of the debt, when funding was complete, was held in Europe, calling for an enormous export of gold, or its equivalent, to meet the interest.

Besides these burdens upon the people, the country was on a basis of paper money, and all gold payments added a heavy premium to the weight of the obligation. The situation was without parallel. The speculative mania which always accompanies war had swollen private obligations to a perilous extent, and the important question arose of restoring coin payment. On the one hand, it was contended that to enforce the measure would create a panic by the shrinkage of prices which would follow; and on the other hand, it was urged with equal zeal that to postpone it longer would increase the general distrust among the people as to the real condition of the country, and thus add to the severity of the panic if one should be precipitated.

Notwithstanding the evil prophecies on both sides, the panic did not come until

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eight and a half years after the firing of the last gun in the Civil War. Nor did it come until after two great calamities in the years immediately preceding had caused the expenditure of more than \$200,000,000, suddenly withdrawn from the ordinary channels of business. The rapid and extensive rebuilding in Chicago and Boston after the destructive fires of 1871 and 1872 had a closer connection with the panic of 1873 than is commonly thought. Still further, the six-years' depression, from 1873 to 1879, involved individual suffering rather than general distress. The country as a whole never advanced in wealth more rapidly than during that period. The entire experience strengthened the belief that the war for the Union could not have been maintained upon a free-trade basis, and that the panic of 1873 only proved the strength of the safeguard which protection supplies to a people surrounded by such multiform embarrassments as were the people of the United States during the few years immediately following the war. And, strongest of all points, the financial distress was relieved and prosperity restored under protection, whereas the ruinous effects of panics under free-trade have never been removed except by a resort to protection.

Does Mr. Gladstone maintain that I am confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc* in these statements? He must show, then, that the United States during the war could have collected a great internal revenue on domestic manufactures and products, when under the system of free-trade similar fabrics would daily have reached New York from Europe to be sold at prices far below what the American manufacturer, with the heavy excise then levied, could afford to set upon his goods. And if the government could collect little from the customs under free-trade, and nothing from internal products, whence could have been derived the taxes to provide for the payment of interest on public loans, and what would have become of the public credit? Moreover, with free-trade, which Mr. Gladstone holds to be always and under all circumstances wiser than protection, we should have been compelled to pay gold coin for European fabrics, while at home and during the tremendous strain of the war legal-tender

paper was the universal currency. In other words, when the life of the country depended upon the government's ability to make its own notes perform the function of money, the free-traders' policy would have demanded daily gold for daily bread.

The free-trader cannot offset the force of the argument by claiming that the laws regulating revenue and trade are, like municipal laws, silent during the shock of arms; because the five closing years—indeed, almost six years—of the decade in which the Rebellion occurred were passed in peace, and during those years the ravages of war were in large degree repaired and new wealth rapidly acquired. But I shall not give to Mr. Gladstone or to the American free-trader the advantage of seeming to rest the defence of protection upon its marvellous value during the exhaustive period of war. Viewing the country from 1861 to 1889—full twenty-eight years—the longest undisturbed period in which either protection or free-trade has been tried in this country—I ask Mr. Gladstone if a parallel can be found to the material advancement of the United States.

Mr. Gladstone admits the wonderful increase of wealth acquired under a protective tariff, but he avers that the results would have been larger under free-trade. That, of course, is a speculative opinion, and is entitled to respect according to the knowledge and experience of the man who utters it. Every statement of Mr. Gladstone carries weight, but in this case his opinion runs directly counter to the fifty years of financial experience through which this country has passed with alternate trials of the two systems. Moreover, it is fair to say that Mr. Gladstone does not in this utterance represent European judgment. He speaks only for the free-trade party of Great Britain and their followers on this side of the ocean. The most eminent statesman on the continent of Europe holds opinions on this subject directly the reverse of those held by the most eminent statesman of Great Britain. We feel assured in America that so far as the question of protection may be affected, either favorably or adversely, by the weight of individual judgment, we may safely leave Mr. Gladstone to be answered by Prince Bismarck.

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But better than the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, better than the opinion of Prince Bismarck, are the simple facts of the case, of open record in both countries. A brief rehearsal of these facts, with the pertinent comparison which they suggest, will give the best answer to Mr. Gladstone's assumption that the United States would have made more rapid progress under a system of free-trade. I take the official figures of the census in the United States, and for the United Kingdom I quote from Mr. Giffen, who is commended by Mr. Gladstone as the best authority in England:

In 1860 the population of the United States was in round numbers 31,000,000. At the same time the population of the United Kingdom was in round numbers 29,000,000. The wealth of the United States at that time was \$14,000,000,000; the wealth of the United Kingdom was \$29,000,000,000. The United Kingdom had, therefore, nearly the same population, but more than double the wealth of the United States, with machinery for manufacturing fourfold greater than that of the United States. At the end of twenty years (1880), it appeared that the United States had added nearly \$30,000,000,000 to her wealth, while the United Kingdom had added nearly \$15,000,000,000, or about one-half.

During this period of twenty years the United States had incurred the enormous loss of \$9,000,000,000 by internal war, while the United Kingdom was at peace, enjoyed exceptional prosperity, and made a far greater gain than in any other twenty years of her history—a gain which during four years was in large part due to the calamity that had fallen upon the United States. The United Kingdom had added 6,000,000 to her population during the period of twenty years, while the addition to the United States exceeded 18,000,000.

By the compound ratio of population and wealth in each country, even without making allowance for the great loss incurred by the Civil War, it is plainly shown by the statistics here presented that the degree of progress in the United States under protection far exceeded that of the United Kingdom under free-trade for the period named. In 1860 the average wealth,

per capita, of the United Kingdom was \$1,000, while in the United States it was but \$450. In 1880 the United Kingdom had increased her *per capita* wealth to \$1,230, while the United States had increased her *per capita* wealth to \$870. The United Kingdom had in twenty years increased her *per capita* wealth 23 per cent., while the United States had increased her *per capita* wealth more than 93 per cent. If allowance should be made for war losses, the ratio of gain in the United States would far exceed 100 per cent. Upon these results, what ground has Mr. Gladstone for his assertion? With great confidence, Mr. Gladstone proposes to carry the war for free-trade into the enemy's country. Perhaps the enemy, who are only modest protectionists, may embarrass the march of his logic with a few pertinent questions, or at least abate the rate of speed which he proposes for his triumphant movement. I shall not give counter-theories. I shall only cite established facts, and allow the facts to establish their own theories:

1. John Edgar Thompson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, purchased 100 tons of steel rails in 1862 at a price (freight paid to New York; duty of 45 per cent. unpaid) of \$103.44 gold coin. (By way of illustrating Mr. Gladstone's claim to superior quality of manufactures under free-trade, the railroad company states that many of the rails broke during the first winter's trial.) In 1864 English rails had fallen to \$88 per ton in New York, the freight paid and the duty unpaid. English manufacturers held the market for the ensuing six years, though the sales at the high prices were limited. In 1870 Congress laid a specific duty of \$28 per ton on steel rails. From that time the home market has been held by our own manufacturers, with a steady annual fall in price, as the facilities of production increased, until the summer and autumn of 1889, when steel rails were selling in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and London at substantially the same prices. Does any free-trader on either side of the ocean honestly believe that American rails could ever have been furnished as cheaply as English rails, except by the sturdy competition which the highly protective duty of 1870 enabled the American manu-

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facturers to maintain against the foreign manufacturers in the first place, and among American manufacturers themselves in the second place? It is not asserted that during the nineteen years since the heavy duty was first established (except during the past few months) American rails have been as cheap in America as English rails have been in England, but it is asserted with perfect confidence that, steadily and invariably, American railroad companies have bought cheaper rails at home than they would have been able to buy in England if the protective duty had not stimulated the manufacture of steel rails in the United States, and if the resulting competition had not directly operated upon the English market.*

* In 1870 only 30,000 tons of steel rails were manufactured in the United States. But the product under the increased duty of that year rapidly increased. The relative number of tons produced in England and the United States for a period of twelve years is shown as follows:

	England.	United States.
1877.....	508,400	385,865
1878.....	622,390	491,427
1879.....	520,231	610,682
1880.....	732,910	852,196
1881.....	1,023,740	1,187,770
1882.....	1,235,785	1,284,067
1883.....	1,097,174	1,148,709
1884.....	784,968	996,983
1885.....	706,583	959,471
1886.....	730,343	1,574,703
1887.....	1,021,847	2,101,904
1888.....	979,083	1,386,277

Total in 12 years.. 9,963,454 12,980,054

For the same period, 1877-88 inclusive, the following table will show the number of tons of steel ingots produced in the two countries respectively:

	England.	United States.
1877.....	750,006	500,524
1878.....	807,527	653,773
1879.....	834,511	829,439
1880.....	1,044,382	1,074,262
1881.....	1,441,719	1,374,247
1882.....	1,673,649	1,514,687
1883.....	1,553,380	1,477,345
1884.....	1,299,676	1,375,531
1885.....	1,304,127	1,519,430
1886.....	1,570,520	2,269,190
1887.....	2,089,403	2,936,033
1888.....	2,032,794	2,511,161

Total in 12 years.. 16,401,688 18,035,622

Under the protective duty of 1870 the United States soon manufactured annually a much larger quantity of steel than Great Britain, and reduced the price from \$100 per ton in gold to less than \$35 per ton in gold.

2. English steel for locomotive tires imported in 1865, duty paid, was 34 cents per pound in gold. The American competition, under a heavy protective duty, had by 1872 reduced the price to 13 cents per pound, duty paid. At the present time (1889) American steel for locomotive tires, of as good quality as the English steel formerly imported, is furnished at 4¼ cents per pound and delivered free of cost at the point where the locomotives are manufactured. The lowering of price was not a voluntary act on the part of the English manufacturer. It was the direct result of American competition under a protective duty—a competition that could not have been successfully inaugurated under free-trade.

3. In the year 1860, the last under a free-trade policy, the population of 31,000,000 in the United States bought carpets to the amount of \$12,000,000. Nearly half of the total amount was imported. In 1888, with a population estimated at 63,000,000, the aggregate amount paid for carpets was nearly \$60,000,000, and of this large sum less than \$1,000,000 was paid for foreign carpets and about half a million for Oriental rugs. Does any free-trader in England believe that the United States, without a protective tariff, could have attained such control of its own carpet manufacture and trade? It will not be unnoticed, in this connection, that under a protective tariff the population, by reason of better wages, was enabled to buy a far greater proportion of carpets than under free-trade. Nor must it escape observation that carpets are now furnished to the American buyer under a protective tariff much cheaper than when a non-protective tariff allowed Europe to send so large a proportion of the total amount used in the United States.

These illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied. In woollens, in cottons, in leather fabrics; in glass, in products of lead, of brass, of copper; indeed, in the whole round of manufactures, it will be found that protection has brought down the price from the rate charged by the importers before protection had built up the competing manufacture in America. For many articles we pay less than is paid in Europe. If we pay higher for other things than is paid across the sea to-day, figures

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plainly indicate that we pay less than we should have been compelled to pay if the protective system had not been adopted; and I beg Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the American people have much more wherewith to pay than they ever had or could have under free-trade.

Mr. Gladstone boldly contends that "keeping capital at home by protection is dear production, and is a delusion from top to bottom." I take direct issue with him on that proposition. Between 1870 and the present time considerably more than 100,000 miles of railroad have been built in the United States. The steel rail and other metal connected therewith involved so vast a sum of money that it could not have been raised to send out of the country in gold coin. The total cost could not have been less than \$500,000,000. We had a large interest to pay abroad on the public debt, and for nine years after 1870 gold was at a premium in the United States. During those years nearly 40,000 miles of railways were constructed, and to import English rail and pay for it with gold bought at a large premium would have been impossible. A very large proportion of the railway enterprises would of necessity have been abandoned if the export of gold to pay for the rails had been the condition precedent to their construction. But the manufacture of steel rails at home gave an immense stimulus to business. Tens of thousands of men were paid good wages, and great investments and great enrichments followed the line of the new road and opened to the American people large fields for enterprise not theretofore accessible.

I might ask Mr. Gladstone what he would have done with the labor of the thousands of men engaged in manufacturing rail, if it had been judged practicable to buy the rail in England? Fortunately he has given his answer in advance of the question, for he tells us that "in America we produce more cloth and more iron at high prices, instead of more cereals and more cotton at low prices." The grain-growers of the West and the cotton-growers of the South will observe that Mr. Gladstone holds out to them a cheerful prospect! They "should produce more cereals and more cotton at low prices"! Mr. Gladstone sees that the protective sys-

tem steadily tends to keep up the price of "cereals and cotton," and he asks that manufactures of "cloth and iron" be abandoned, so that we may raise "more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Mr. Gladstone evidently considers the present prices of cereals and cotton as "high prices."

Protectionists owe many thanks to Mr. Gladstone for his outspoken mode of dealing with this question of free-trade. He gives us his conclusions without qualification and without disguise. The American free-trader is not so sincere. He is ever presenting half-truths and holding back the other half, thus creating false impressions and leading to false conclusions. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely frank. He tells the laborers on protected articles that they would be better engaged in "raising more cereals and more cotton at low prices." Where does Mr. Gladstone suggest a market for the additional grain and cotton to be raised by American mechanics becoming farmers and increasing the production of those great staples? The foreign market is filled with a competing grain-supply to such a degree that already the price of wheat is unduly lowered to the Western farmer. The farmer needs a still larger home consumption of his grain, while Mr. Gladstone thinks he needs a still larger home production. The legitimate involvement of Mr. Gladstone's argument is that all mechanical and manufacturing enterprises in America producing articles of higher price than the same produced in Europe should be abandoned, and the laborers so engaged should be turned to the production of "more cereals and more cotton at low prices"! The Western farmer's instinct is wiser than Mr. Gladstone's philosophy. The farmer knows that the larger the home market the better are his prices, and that as the home market is narrowed his prices fall.

Mr. Gladstone's pregnant suggestion really exhibits the thought that lies deep in the British mind: that the mechanic arts and the manufacturing processes should be left to Great Britain and the production of raw material should be left to America. It is the old colonial idea of the last century, when the establishment of manufactures on this side of the

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ocean was regarded with great jealousy by British statesmen and British merchants. Some years before the Revolutionary struggle began, Parliament had declared that "the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tends to lessen their dependence on Great Britain." A few years later the British board of trade reported to Parliament that "manufactures in the American colonies interfere with profits made by British merchants." The same body petitioned Parliament that "some measures should be provided to prevent the manufacturing of woollen and linen goods in the colonies." Finally Parliament declared that "colonial manufacturing was prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain." These outrageous sentiments (the colonists characterized them much more severely) were cherished in the time of the glorious Georges, in the era of Walpole and the elder Pitt.

I do not mean to imply that Mr. Gladstone's words carry with them an approval, even retrospectively, of this course towards the colonies, but there is a remarkable similarity to the old policy in the fundamental idea that causes him in 1889 to suggest that Americans produce "too much cloth and too much iron," and should turn their labor to "low-priced cereals and low-priced cotton." Are we not justified in concluding that Mr. Gladstone's theory of free-trade, in all its generalizations and specifications, is fitted exactly to the condition of Great Britain, and that British hostility to American protection finds its deep foundation in the fact—to quote the old phrases—that "it is prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain," that "it lessens our dependence upon Great Britain," and that "it interferes with profits made by British merchants"?

Mr. Gladstone makes another statement of great frankness and of great value. Comparing the pursuits in the United States which require no protection with those that are protected, he says: "No adversary will, I think, venture upon saying that the profits are larger in protected than in unprotected industries." This is very true, and Mr. Gladstone may be surprised to hear that the constant objection made by American free-traders against the "protected industries," as he terms

them, is that the profits derived from them are illegitimately large. Mr. Gladstone sees clearly that as a rule this is not true, and he at once discerns the reason. He says "the best opinions seem to testify that in your protected trades profits are hard pressed by wages." The free-traders of America try by every cunning device to hide this fact. Its admission is fatal to their cause. Not one free-trade organ or leader among them all dares to take his position beside Mr. Gladstone and plainly tell the truth to the American laborer. Not one free-trade organ or leader dares frankly to say to the great body of American workmen that the destruction of protection inevitably and largely reduces their daily wages. I thank Mr. Gladstone for this testimony, at once accurate and acute. It is fair to presume that he intends it to be applied to the unprotected manufacturer in England and to the protected manufacturer in America, both producing the same article. His logic gives, and I have no doubt truly, as large profit to the manufacturer of England, selling at a low price, as to the manufacturer of America, selling at a high price—the difference consisting wholly in the superior wages paid to the American mechanic.

There is another important effect of protective duties which Mr. Gladstone does not include in his frank admission. He sees that the laborers in what he calls the "protected industries" secure high pay, especially as compared with the European school of wages. He perhaps does not see that the effect is to raise the wages of all persons in the United States engaged in what Mr. Gladstone calls the "unprotected industries." Printers, bricklayers, carpenters, and all others of that class are paid as high wages as those of any other trade or calling, but if the wages of all those in the protected classes were suddenly struck down to the English standard, the others must follow. A million men cannot be kept at work for half the pay that another million men are receiving in the same country. Both classes must go up or must go down together.

Mr. Gladstone makes another contention, in which, from the American point of view, he leaves out of sight a controlling factor, and hence refers an effect to the wrong cause. Regarding the advance of

wages in England, he says: "Wages which have been partially and relatively higher under protection have become both generally and absolutely higher, and greatly higher, under free-trade." I do not doubt the fact, but I venture to suggest that such advance in wages as there has been in England is referable to another and a palpable cause—namely, the higher wages in the United States, which have constantly tempted British mechanics to emigrate, and which would have tempted many more if the inducement of an advance in wages at home had not been interposed. Especially have wages been high and tempting in the United States since 1861, when the country became firmly protective by the enactment of the Morrill tariff. It will be found, I think, that the advance of wages in England corresponds precisely in time, though not in degree, with the advance in the United States, and the advance in both cases was directly due to the firm establishment of protection in this country as a national policy. But it must not be forgotten that American wages are still from 70 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than British wages. If a policy of free-trade should be adopted in the United States, the reduction of wages which would follow here would promptly lead to a reduction in England. The operatives of Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield recognize this fact as clearly as do the proprietors who pay the advanced wages, and more clearly than do certain political economists who think the world of commerce and manufactures can be unerringly directed by a theory evolved in a closet without sufficient data, and applied to an inexact science.

The zeal of Mr. Gladstone for free-trade reaches its highest point in the declaration that "all protection is *morally* as well as economically bad." He is right in making this his strongest ground of opposition, if protection is a question of morals. But his assertion leaves him in an attitude of personal inconsistency. There is protection on sea as well as on land. Indeed, the most palpable and effective form of protection is in the direct payment of public money to a line of steamers that could not be maintained without that form of aid. I do not say that such aid is unwise protection; least

of all do I say it is immoral. On the contrary, I think it has often proved the highest commercial wisdom, without in the least infringing upon the domain of morals. Mr. Gladstone, however, commits himself to the principle that "all protection is morally bad." If this has been his belief ever since he became an advocate of free-trade, his conscience must have received many and severe wounds, as session after session, while chancellor of the exchequer, he carried through Parliament a bounty—may I not say a direct protection?—of £180,000 sterling to a line of steamers running between England and the United States—a protection that began six years before free-trade was proclaimed in English manufactures, and continued nearly twenty years after. In the whole period of twenty-five years an aggregate of many millions of dollars was paid out to protect the English line against all competition.

It may be urged that this sum was paid for carrying the Anglo-American mails, but that argument will not avail a free-trader, because steamers of other nationalities stood ready to carry the mails at a far cheaper rate. Nay, a few years ago, possibly when Mr. Gladstone was premier of England, public bids were asked to carry the Anglo-Indian mails. A French line offered a lower bid than any English line, but the English government disregarded the French bid and gave the contract to the Peninsular and Oriental line, owned by a well-known English company. Still later, the German Lloyd Company contracted to carry the Anglo-American mails cheaper than any English line offered, and the German company actually began to perform the duty. But Englishmen did not want that kind of free-trade, and they broke the contract with the German line and again gave protection to the English ships. Does not this justify the opinion that the English policy of free-trade is urged where England can hold the field against rivals, and that when competition leaves her behind she repudiates free-trade and substitutes the most pronounced form of protection?

Does Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the immorality of protection apply only to protection on land, or is supremacy on the sea so important to British interests that it is

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better to throw morals to the wind and resort to whatever degree of protection may be necessary to secure the lead to English ships? The doctrine of improving harbors in the United States by the national government was for many years severely contested, the strict-construction party maintaining that it must be confined to harbors on the sea-coast at points where foreign commerce reaches the country. During one of the many discussions over this narrow construction, an Ohio member of Congress declared that he "could not think much of a Constitution that would not stand being dipped in fresh water as well as salt." I fear that Mr. Gladstone's code of morals on this question of protection will not secure much respect in other countries so long as it spoils in salt water.

It will not escape Mr. Gladstone's keen observation that British interests in navigation flourish with less rivalry and have increased in greater proportion than any other of the great interests of the United Kingdom. I ask his candid admission that it is the one interest which England has protected steadily and determinedly, regardless of consistency and regardless of expense. Nor will Mr. Gladstone fail to note that navigation is the weakest of the great interests in the United States, because it is the one which the national government has constantly refused to protect. If since the Civil War the United States had spent in protecting her shipping merely the annual interest on the great sum which England has expended to protect her ocean traffic, American fleets would now be rivaling the fleets of England, as they rivalled them before the war, on every sea where the prospect of commercial gain invites the American flag.

The failure of the United States to encourage and establish commercial lines of American ships is in strange contrast with the zealous efforts made to extend lines of railway inside the country, even to the point of anticipating the real needs of many sections. If all the advances to railway companies, together with the outright gifts by towns, cities, counties, States and nation be added together, the money value would not fall short of \$1,000,000,000. No effort seems too great for our people when the interior of the

country is to be connected with the seaboard. But when the suggestion is made to connect our seaboard with commercial cities of other countries by lines of steamships, the public mind is at once disturbed by the cry of "subsidy." We really feel as much afraid of protection at sea as Mr. Gladstone is of protection on land. The positions of the American Congress and the English Parliament on this subject are precisely reversed. England has never been affrighted by the word subsidy, and, while we have stood still in impotent fear, she has taken possession of the seas by the judicious, and even the lavish, interposition of pecuniary aid. I have already said that the interest on the amount which England has paid for this object since she began it with great energy, fifty years ago, would give all the stimulus needed for the rapid expansion of our commerce. Let it be added that if the government of the United States will for twenty years to come give merely the interest upon the interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., on the amount which has been a free gift to railroads, every steam line needed on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf will spring into existence within two years from the passage of the act. It is but a few years since Congress twice refused to give even \$125,000 per annum to secure an admirable line of steamers from New York to the four largest ports of Brazil. And the sum of \$125,000 is but the interest upon the interest of the interest, at 5 per cent., of the gross amount freely given to the construction of railroads within the Union. Is it any wonder that we have lost all prestige on the sea?

The opposition to the policy of extending our foreign commerce by aiding steamship lines with a small sum, just as we have aided internal commerce on railroads with a vast sum, originates with the American free-trader. Mr. Gladstone cannot fail to see how advantageous the success of this free-trade effort in the United States must prove to Great Britain. The steady argument of the free-trader is that, if the steamship lines were established, we could not increase our trade because we produce under our protective tariff nothing that can compete in neutral markets with articles of the like kind from England. How, then, can the free-

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trader explain the fact that a long list of articles manufactured in the United States find ready and large sale in Canada? The Canadian tariff is the same upon English and American goods. Transportation from England to Quebec or Montreal is cheaper than from the manufacturing centres of the United States to the same points. The difference is not great, but it is in favor of the English shipper across the seas, and not of the American shipper by railway. It is for the free-trader to explain why, if the cost of transportation be made the same, the United States cannot compete with England in every country in South America in all the articles of which we sell a larger amount in Canada than England does.

Giving heed to the cry of the professional free-trader in America, Mr. Gladstone feels sure that, though the protected manufacturers in the United States may flourish and prosper, they do so at the expense of the farmer, who is in every conceivable form, according to the free-trade *dictum*, the helpless victim of protection. Both Mr. Gladstone and the American free-trader have, then, the duty of explaining why the agricultural States of the West have grown in wealth during the long period of protection at a more rapid rate than the manufacturing States of the East. The statement of the free-trader can be conclusively answered by referring to the census of the United States for the year 1860, and also for the year 1880:

In 1860, eight manufacturing States of the East (the six of New England, together with New York and Pennsylvania) returned an aggregate wealth of \$5,123,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880, the same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$16,228,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was slightly more than 216 per cent.

Let us see how the agricultural States fared during this period. By the census of 1860, eight agricultural States of the West (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin) returned an aggregate wealth of \$2,271,000,000. Twenty years afterwards, by the census of 1880 (protection all the while in full force), these same States returned an aggregate wealth of \$11,268,

000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 396 per cent., or 180 per cent. greater than the increase in the eight manufacturing States of the East.

The case will be equally striking if we take the fifteen Southern States that were slave-holding in 1860. By the census of that year, the aggregate return of their property was \$6,792,000,000. But \$2,000,000,000 was slave property. Deducting that, the total property amounted to \$4,792,000,000. Their aggregate return of wealth by the census of 1880 was \$8,633,000,000. The rate of increase for the twenty years was 80 per cent. Consider that during this period eleven States of the South were impoverished by civil war to an extent far greater than any country has been despoiled in the wars of modern Europe. Consider that the labor system on which previous wealth had been acquired in the South was entirely broken up. And yet, at the end of twenty years, the Southern States had repaired all their enormous losses and possessed nearly double the wealth they had ever known before. Do not these figures incontestably show that the agricultural sections of the country, West and South, have prospered even beyond the manufacturing sections, East and North? And all this not merely with protection, but because of protection!

As Mr. Gladstone considers protection immoral, he defines its specific offence as "robbery." To have been fully equal to the American standard of free-trade vituperation, Mr. Gladstone should have denounced our manufacturers as "Robber Barons." This is the current phrase with a class who are perhaps more noisy than numerous. The intention of the phrase is to create popular prejudice against American manufacturers as growing rich at the expense of the people. This accusation is so persistently repeated that its authors evidently regard it as important to their cause. It may perhaps surprise Mr. Gladstone to be told that out of the fifty largest fortunes in the United States—those that have arrested public attention within the last ten years—certainly not more than one has been derived from protected manufacturing; and this was amassed by a gentleman of the same Scotch blood with Mr. Gladstone himself. The forty-nine other fortunes were acquired

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from railway and telegraph investments, from real estate investments, from the import and sale of foreign goods, from banking, from speculations in the stock market, from fortunate mining investments, from patented inventions, and more than one from proprietary medicines.

It is safe to go even further and state that, in the one hundred largest fortunes that have been viewed as such in the past ten years, not five have been derived from the profits of protected manufactures. Their origin will be found in the fields of investment already referred to. Moreover, the fear of the evil effect of large fortunes is exaggerated. Fortunes rapidly change. With us wealth seldom lasts beyond two generations. There is but one family in the United States recognized as possessing large wealth for four consecutive generations. When Mr. Jefferson struck the blow that broke down the right of primogeniture and destroyed the privilege of entail, he swept away the only ground upon which wealth can be secured to one family for a long period. The increase in the number of heirs in successive generations, the rightful assertion of equality among children of the same parents, the ready destruction of wills that depart too far from this principle of right, and, above all, the uncertainty and the accidents of investment, scatter fortunes to the wind and give to them all the uncertainty that betides human existence.

In no event can the growth of large fortunes be laid to the charge of the protective policy. Protection has proved a distributor of great sums of money; not an agency for amassing it in the hands of a few. The records of our savings-banks and building associations can be appealed to in support of this statement. The benefit of protection goes first and last to the men who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces. The auspicious and momentous result is that never before in the history of the world has comfort been enjoyed, education acquired, and independence secured by so large a proportion of the total population as in the United States of America.

Protective Association. AMERICAN. See AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

Protectorate Parliament. See CROMWELL, OLIVER.

Protestant Churches. On the progress of the Protestant faith in general, and in the United States during the nineteenth century in particular, the Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D., LL.D., writes as follows:

Besides a number of minor sects, such as the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Arminians, the Nestorians, and the Jacobites, numbering in all 4,000,000 or 5,000,000, we have the three grand divisions of Christendom—the Holy Orthodox Greek Church, with 98,000,000 of adherents; the Protestant churches, with an aggregate of 143,000,000, and the Roman Catholic Church, with 230,000,000. No statistics are at hand showing the relative growth of the number of adherents of these three great divisions. But the growth of the populations under their rule is thus set forth by comparison: The Roman Catholics, in the year 1500, were ruling over 80,000,000 of people; in 1700, over 90,000,000, and in 1891, over 242,000,000. The Greek Catholics, in 1500, were governing 20,000,000; in 1700, 33,000,000, and in 1891, 128,000,000. The Protestants, in 1500, had not begun to be; in 1700 they held sway over 32,000,000, and in 1891, over 520,000,000. In the four centuries the political power of the Roman Catholics has more than trebled, that of the Greeks has been multiplied by six, and that of the Protestants has sprung from nothing to a control of one-third of the world's population. It is easy to see which of these grand divisions is expanding most rapidly.

The Protestant principle of the right of private judgment has resulted in the multiplication of sects. Some variety of organization and ritual might well have grown from the sowing of the light; but the variation which would have appeared under normal conditions has undoubtedly been increased by human selfishness and ambition. It may be doubted whether the emphasis which has been placed upon the right of private judgment expresses a sound principle. In no kind of social organization are rights or liberties the primary concern. A family in which it is the first business of every member to assert his own rights, or to magnify his liberty, will not be a united and happy family. In the organic relations

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of the family, love and duty are fundamental—not rights and liberties.

We may awake, by-and-by, to the fact that the same thing is true of the state. The attempt to base a commonwealth upon a doctrine of rights will probably result in social disintegration. A community in which it is the first business of every citizen to assert his own rights will not continue to be peaceful and prosperous. The social and political disorders which threaten the life of the nation all spring from the fact that the people have been trained to think more of rights than of duties.

By misplacing the emphasis in the same way, Protestantism has introduced into its life a disintegrating element. Neither the right of private judgment nor any other right can be safely asserted as the foundation of the Christian Church. The foundation of the Church is loyalty to Christ and His Kingdom; all rights are to be held and interpreted under that obligation. The failure to do this—the assertion of the individual will as against the common welfare—has rent the Church into fragments and multiplied creeds and organizations far beyond all the needs of varying tastes and intellects. We may admit that this is the opprobrium of Protestantism; its power is lessened and its life is marred by these needless divisions, and by the unlovely competitions that spring from them. But the last years of the century have witnessed some serious attempts to correct these abuses; some of the separated sects have come together in unity; others are approaching each other with friendly overtures; the tendencies seem now to be towards reunion rather than division. In Great Britain the Non-conformist bodies have formed a strong federation by which they are able to act together for many common purposes, and movements are on foot to bring about a similar organization in this country. If the principle of differentiation has been over-accentuated during the nineteenth century, there is now some reason to hope that the twentieth century will reinforce the principle of integration; that loyalties will be emphasized as much as liberties, and the duty of co-operation rather more than the right of private judgment.

The past century has been a period of theological agitation and upheaval in Protestant Christendom. The progress of physical science, the rise of the evolutionary philosophy, and the development of Biblical criticism have kept the theologians busy with the work of reconstruction. Germany has been the theological storm-centre. Kant's tremendous work had been done before the century came in, but Herder and Hegel and Schleiermacher were digging away at the foundations in the early years, and those who have come after them have kept the air full of the noises of hammer and saw and chisel as the walls have been going up. Much of the theology "made in Germany" has appeared to be the product of the head rather than of the heart; formal logic deals rudely with the facts of the spiritual order. But the great theologians of the last half of the century—Dorner and Rothe and Nitzsch and Ritschl—although working on different lines, have abundantly asserted the reality of the spiritual realm; and it is now possible for the educated German to find a philosophy of religion which reconciles modern science with the essential facts of Christianity.

The most important religious movement of the nineteenth century in England is a reversion to sacramentalism, led by Newman and Pusey and William George Ward. Its ruling idea is that the sacraments have power in themselves to convey grace and salvation. This is essentially the doctrine of the old Church, and the movement gradually took on the form of a reaction; the adoration of the consecrated wafer, prayers for the dead, the use of incense—various Roman Catholic practices—were adopted one by one. In due time Newman and Faber and Ward entered the Catholic communion; since their departure, the ideas and practices for which they stood have been rapidly gaining ground in the English Church. How far this doctrinal reaction is likely to go, it would not be safe to predict. But it must be said of the High Church party that it is not wasting all its energies upon vestments and ceremonies; it is taking hold, in the most energetic manner, of the problems of society; in hand to hand work with the needy and degraded classes it is doing more, perhaps, than has ever

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been done by any other branch of the Christian Church in England.

The remainder of the Protestants of Great Britain—the Broad Churchmen, the Non-conformists, the Scotch Presbyterians of the Established Church, and of the United Free Church—with the entire Protestant body of the United States, have been subject to similar influences, and have been passing through similar theological transitions. Some branches of the Protestant Church have been greatly affected by the prevailing scientific and critical inquiries, and some have been less disturbed by them, but the intellectual ferment has reached most of them; and modifications, more or less radical, have been made in all their creeds.

These theological changes are not wholly due to the new conceptions of the world and of man which modern science has introduced. Some of them—and these not the least important—are the fruit of a purified ethical judgment. The dogmas of the Church, as Sabatier has shown, spring from the life of the Church. If the spirit of Christ is abiding in the hearts of his disciples, their views of truth will be constantly purified and enlarged. Many of the changes in theological theory which have taken place within the past century are to be thus explained. The practical disappearance of the hard Calvinistic interpretations which were prevalent in most of the Reformed churches 100 years ago has resulted from the cultivation of humaner feelings and from a better conception of the nature of justice. Philosophically, the change consists in the substitution of righteousness for power in our definitions of the justice of God. The old theology emphasized the sovereignty of God in such a way as to make it appear that what was central in Him was will—His determination to have His own way. "His mere good pleasure" was the decisive element in His action. This theology was the apotheosis of will. The hard fact was disguised and softened in many ways, but it was always there; that was the nerve of the doctrine. The later conceptions emphasize the righteousness of God more than His power. His justice is not chiefly His determination to have His own way; it is His deter-

mination to do right, to recognize the moral constitution which He has given to His children, and to conform to that in His dealings with them. The assumption, nowadays, always is that of Abraham—that the Judge of all the earth will do right, that which will commend itself as right to the unperverted moral sense of His children. Theology has been ethicized; that is the sum of it. To-day it is a moral science; 100 years ago it was not. This is a tremendous change; none more radical or revolutionary has taken place in any of the sciences. To be rid of theories which required the damnation of non-elect infants and of all the heathen; which imputed the guilt of our progenitors to their offspring; and which proclaimed an eternal kingdom of darkness, ruled by an evil potentate, whose ubiquity was but little short of omnipresence, whose resources pressed hard upon omnipotence, and whose access to human souls implied omniscience—is a great deliverance. The entire aspect of religion has changed within the memory of many who will read these words. We are living under a different sky, and breathing a different atmosphere. That these horrible doctrines are obsolete is manifest from the fact that the great Scotch Presbyterian churches have explained them away, and that their American brethren are slowly making haste to be free of them. It is long since they have been preached to intelligent congregations.

The progress of Biblical criticism during the last quarter of the century has been rapid and sometimes disquieting. Much work of a somewhat fanciful character has been done, but a large number of important conclusions are accepted by most scholars. The prevailing teaching in the theological seminaries of the evangelical churches is that the Bible contains a revelation from God, in historical and prophetic documents of priceless value, holding truth found nowhere else, and making known to us the Way and the Truth and the Life; but that this revelation comes through human mediation, and is not free from human imperfection; that, while its spiritual elements may be spiritually discerned, its parts are not of equal value, and that

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it is dangerous to impute to the whole book an infallibility which it nowhere claims. The new conception of the Bible has undoubtedly given a shock to many devout minds, who have been accustomed to regard it with superstitious veneration; and those who have been convinced by the arguments of the critics have not all learned to use it as it was meant to be used—to draw inspiration from it, instead of reading inspiration into it. Those who will seek to be inspired by it will find that it is inspired, because it is inspiring; and there is reason to hope that the Bible may yet prove, under the new theories of its origin, a better witness for God than ever before. It is well that He should not any longer be held responsible for the human crudities and errors which it contains.

The great development of the natural sciences and the rise of the evolutionary theories have also had their effect upon Christian theology. That there are vast numbers of Protestant Christians who have been scarcely touched by these influences is true; but these influences are shaping the thought of the world, and it is impossible that the theology of a living Church should not be profoundly affected by them. For natural science is simply telling us what God is doing in His world, and evolution is simply explaining the way in which His work is done. At bottom, all this is religious truth, of the most fundamental character; and, if Christian theology is true theology, it must include the truths of science and of evolution.

Such an inclusion makes needful some important reconstructions of theological theory. It substitutes for our mechanical theories of creation the thought of the immanent God, who, in the words of Paul, is above all, and through all, and in us all; nay, it gives us also that doctrine of the immanent Christ—the Logos, the infinite Reason and Love, of whom the same apostle speaks in words of such wonderful significance; “in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins; who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or do-

minions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together.”* If the Christ-element, the element of self-sacrificing love, is the very matrix of the creation, then it ought not to surprise us if we find in nature itself the elements of sacrifice; and we do find them there, when we look for them. Over against the struggle for life is the struggle for the life of others; vicariousness is at the heart of nature. We begin to discern some deep meaning in the mystical saying that Christ represents “the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,” and we are able to see that He came to fulfil not merely the Levitical law, but the very law of life. All this has been, as yet, but imperfectly worked out in our theological theories; but it begins to be evident that the doctrine of the Incarnation will find, in the doctrine of evolution, an interpretation far more sublime than any which was possible under the mechanical theories of creation.

In the development of Protestantism on its intellectual side there have been losses as well as gains. Where such liberty of thinking is allowed, there will be wild and foolish thinking; it is often forgotten that the principle of reason is the principle of unity, and not of division or denial. There is a reasonless conservatism, which clings to beliefs long after they have ceased to be credible; and there is a rash radicalism, which throws away truth untested. Protestant theology has suffered from both these causes. There has always been, and there still is, much shallow thinking; and, in the transitions which have been taking place, some have lost their faith. But there is good reason for believing that the Christians of to-day have a hold as firm as those of any former day upon essential Christian truth.

On the side of life and practice there have also been gains and losses. In some of the elements of the religious life we may be poorer than our forefathers were. There is not so much reverence now as once there was; but there is less of slavish fear. There is less intense devotional feel-

* Col. 1., 14-17.

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ing; but there are also fewer cases of hopeless religious melancholy. We do not make so much of the Lord's day as men once did in some sections; that is an undoubted loss. Yet there was a gloom and restraint in that old observance which we should be slow to recall. We do not, perhaps, quite adequately estimate the amount of irreligion which prevailed in this country in the early days of the nineteenth century. A careful historical comparison would reassure those who suppose that we are in danger of losing all our religion.

The development of the Protestant churches has been intensive, as well as extensive; the work of the local Church has greatly broadened. The Church of today is a far more efficient instrument for promoting the Kingdom of God in the world than was the Church of 100 years ago. At that date the Sunday-school work was just beginning; the Church did nothing for its own members but to hold two services on a Sunday, and sometimes a week-night service. In fact, it may be said that the Church did nothing at all; all the religious work was done by the minister. The conception that the Church is a working body, organized for the service of the community, had hardly entered into the thought of the minister or of the members. It was rather an ark of safety, in which men found temporary shelter on their way to heaven.

The larger work, outside of its immediate fold, was not contemplated. In 1800 there was no Foreign Missionary Society in existence on this continent, and no Bible Society; a few feeble Home Missionary Societies had just been formed. There was no religious newspaper in the world. The vast outreaching work of Christian education and Christian publication had not entered into the thought of the churches. Such efficient arms of the Christian service as the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Societies of Christian Endeavor and the Salvation Army are of recent origin.

The two truths of the divine Fatherhood and the human Brotherhood are the central truths of Christian theology today. This has never before been true. Men have always been calling God Father, but in their theories they have been mak-

ing Him Monarch. He was as much of a Father as He could be consistently with his functions as an absolute Sovereign. The Sovereignty was the dominant fact; the Fatherhood was subordinate. All this is changed. It is believed to-day that there can be no sovereignty higher than fatherhood, and no law stronger than love.

The doctrine must have vast social consequences. When it is once fully accepted, and all that it implies is recognized and enforced, society will be regenerated and redeemed. If all men are, indeed, brothers, and owe to one another, in every relation, brotherly kindness; if there is but one law of human association—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"; if every man's business in the world is to give as much as he can, rather than to get as much as he can, then the drift of human society must now be in wrong directions, and there is need of a reformation which shall start from the centres of life and thought. We need not so much new machinery, as new ideals of personal obligation.

This idea that Christ has come to save the world; that His mission is not to gather His elect out of the world and then burn it up, but to establish the Kingdom of Heaven here, and that it is established by making the law of love the regulative principle of all the business of life, is practically a new idea. Many, here and there, have tentatively held it, and their faltering attempts to live by it have produced what we have had of the precious fruits of peace and good-will among men. Charity and philanthropy have not been unknown; the spirit of Christ has found in them a beautiful expression; within that realm the Kingdom of Heaven has been set up.

Protestant Episcopal Church, a religious body founded on the Church of England, which had its beginning on the American continent in the sixteenth century. Clergymen of the Church of England accompanied the early colonists of North Carolina and one of them baptized an Indian chief in 1587 in a colony unsuccessfully begun by Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1693 Trinity parish in New York City was instituted. Two years later Christ Church was founded in Philadelphia, and from then on individual

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churches sprang up in various localities until 1785-89 when the Protestant Episcopal Church was formally organized as a branch of Christ's Church. The doctrines of this body consist of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds, and the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with a few changes. The legislative power is vested in a general convention which meets every three years. This body is composed of the house of bishops and the house of the clerical and lay representatives. At the general convention of the church, in Boston, in October, 1904, the Rt. Hon. and Most Rev. Randall Thomas Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in attendance, he being the first Primate of all England to visit the United States. The reports for 1904 were as follows: Ministers, 5,050; churches, 6,789; members, 773,261.

Proud, ROBERT, historian; born in Yorkshire, England, May 10, 1728; went to Philadelphia in 1759, where he taught until the breaking out of the Revolution, when he gave a passive adherence to the British crown. In 1797 his *History of Pennsylvania* (1681-1742) was published. He died in Philadelphia, July 7, 1813.

Providence Plantation. See RHODE ISLAND.

Provincial Congresses. Governor Gage summoned a meeting of the Massachusetts Assembly at Salem, under the provisions of the new and obnoxious act of Parliament. Perceiving the increasing boldness of the people under the stimulus of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, he countermanded the summons. The members denied his right to do so. They met at Salem, ninety in number, on the appointed day, Oct. 5, 1774; waited two days for the governor, who did not appear; and then organized themselves into a Provincial Congress, with John Hancock as president and Benjamin Lincoln, secretary. They adjourned to Concord, where, on the 11th, 260 members took their seats. There they adjourned to Cambridge, when they sent a message to the governor, telling him that, for the want of a legal assembly, they had formed a provisional convention. They complained of unlawful acts of Parliament, expressed their loyalty to the King, and protested against the fortifying of Boston

Neck by the governor. Gage denounced them. This act increased their zeal. They appointed a committee of safety, to whom they delegated large powers. They were authorized to call out the militia of the province, and perform other acts of sovereignty. Another committee was authorized to procure ammunition and military stores, for which purpose more than \$60,000 were appropriated. A receiver-general, Henry Gardiner, was appointed, into whose hands the constables and tax-collectors were directed to pay all moneys received by them. They made provision for arming the province, and appointed Jeremiah Preble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy general officers of the militia. They also authorized the enrolment of 12,000 minute-men, and, assuming both legislative and executive powers, received the allegiance of the people generally. So passed away royal rule in Massachusetts, and the sovereignty of the people was established in the form of the Provincial Congress. Gage issued a proclamation denouncing their proceedings, to which no attention was paid.

The Provincial Congress of New Hampshire assembled at Exeter, on May 17, 1775, when ninety-eight counties, towns, parishes, and boroughs were represented by deputies. Matthew Thornton was chosen president, and Eleazar Thompson secretary. They established a post-office at Portsmouth, provided for procuring arms, recommended the establishment of home manufactures, commissioned Brigadier-General Folsom first commander, and provided for the issue of bills of credit.

On May 2, 1775, the provincial committee of correspondence of New Jersey directed the chairman to summon a Provincial Congress of deputies to meet in Trenton, on the 23d of that month. Thirteen counties were represented—namely, Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, Morris, Somerset, Sussex, Monmouth, Hunterdon, Burlington, Gloucester, Cumberland, Salem, and Cape May. Hendrick Fisher was chosen president; Johathan D. Sargent secretary; and William Paterson and Frederick Frelinghuysen assistants. The Provincial Assembly had been called (May 15) by Governor Franklin to consider North's conciliatory proposition. They

PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES—PRYOR

declined to approve it, or to take any decisive step in the matter, except with the consent of the Continental Congress, then in session. They adjourned a few days afterwards, and never met again. Royal authority was at an end in New Jersey. The Provincial Congress adopted measures for organizing the militia and issuing \$50,000 in bills of credit for the payment of extraordinary expenses.

On the recommendation of the committee of sixty of the city of New York, delegates chosen in a majority of the counties of the province met at the Exchange in New York, May 22, 1775. They adjourned to the next day, in order to have a more complete representation, when delegates appeared from the following counties: New York, Albany, Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, Westchester, Kings, Suffolk, and Richmond. The Congress was organized by the appointment of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, president; Volkert P. Douw, vice-president; John McKesson and Robert Benson, secretaries; and Thomas Petit, door-keeper. They forwarded to the Continental Congress a financial scheme, devised by Gouverneur Morris, for the defence of the colonies by the issue of a Continental paper currency, substantially the same as that afterwards adopted. They also took measures for enlisting four regiments for the defence of the province, and for erecting fortifications, recommended by the Continental Congress, at the head of York Island and in the Hudson Highlands. The Provincial Congress agreed to furnish provisions for the garrison at Ticonderoga. There was a strong Tory element in the Congress, which caused much effort towards conciliation, and a plan was agreed to, in spite of the warm opposition of leading Sons of Liberty. It contemplated a repeal of all obnoxious acts of Parliament, but acknowledged the right of the mother-country to regulate trade, and the duty of the colonists to contribute to the common charges by grants to be made by the colonial assemblies, or by a general congress, specially called for that purpose. But this plan met with little favor, and in time the Provincial Congress of New York became more thoroughly patriotic. It showed hesitation, however, in several important emergencies, especially in the

matter of declaring the independence of the colonies. It ceased to exist in the summer of 1777, when a State government was organized.

On Aug. 21, 1775, a Provincial Congress, consisting of 184 deputies, assembled at Hillsboro, N. C. They first declared their determination to protect the Regulators, who were liable to punishment; declared Governor Martin's proclamation to have a tendency to stir up tumult and insurrection in the province dangerous to the King's government, and directed it to be publicly burned by the common hangman. They provided for raising troops; authorized the raising, in addition to a regular force, of ten battalions, to be called minute-men, and they authorized the emission of bills of credit to the amount of \$150,000.

Provisional Army. The course of the French government (Directory) towards the government of the United States became so aggressive and insolent during the years 1797-98 that the United States decided to take measures for defence and retaliation. To this end, therefore, an addition to the army of 10,000 men was ordered by Congress in 1798, and officers commissioned, with Washington as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief. Although commissions were issued to the officers, the men were never called out and no money disbursed. This provisional army was held in readiness until the summer of 1800, when it was disbanded.

Pryor, ROGER ATKINSON, jurist; born in Dinwiddie county, Va., July 19, 1828; graduated at Hampden-Sydney College in 1845, and at the University of Virginia in 1848; became a lawyer and editor, and an advocate of State supremacy. In 1854 he was a special commissioner to Greece, and in 1859 was elected to Congress. He was an advocate of secession; went to South Carolina early in 1861; was on the staff of Beauregard in the attack upon Fort Sumter in April; was commissioned a brigadier-general and led a division in the battles before Richmond in 1862, and resigned in 1863. He was a member of the Confederate Congress in 1862; and was captured and confined in Fort Lafayette in 1864. After the war he urged loyalty to the government; in 1865 removed to New York City to prac-

PUBLIC DEBT—PUEBLA

tise law; and became a justice of the Supreme Court of New York.

Public Debt. See DEBT, NATIONAL.

Public Domain. There were disposed of during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, public lands aggregating 22,824,299.65 acres, classified as follows: Cash sales, 3,073,896.99 acres; miscellaneous entries, 19,577,031.10 acres, and Indian lands, 173,371.56 acres, showing an increase of 3,335,764.35 acres as compared with the aggregate disposals for the preceding fiscal year. The total cash receipts during the fiscal year from various sources aggregated \$11,024,743.65, an increase of \$4,762,816.47 over the preceding fiscal year.

The following table gives, by States and Territories, an approximate estimate of the reserved, as well as the unappropriated, public lands in the public land States and Territories:

republic. It was founded after the reduction of Mexico by Cortez (1519-21). It contains more than sixty churches, thirteen nunneries, nine monasteries, and twenty-one collegiate houses. Many of the churches and convents are rich in gold and silver ornaments, paintings, and statues. The city is about 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, and contained (1895) 88,684 inhabitants. After his victory at CERRO GORDO (*q. v.*), General Scott pressed forward on the great national road over the Cordilleras. General Worth had joined the army, and with his division led the way. They entered the strongly fortified town of Jalapa, April 19, 1847, and a few days afterwards Worth unfurled the American flag over the formidable castle of Perote, on the summit of the Cordilleras, 50 miles beyond Jalapa. This fortress was regarded as the strongest in Mexico after San Juan de Ulloa.

State or Territory.	Area Unappropriated and Unreserved.			Area Reserved.	Area Appropriated.
	Surveyed.	Unsurveyed.	Total.		
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Alabama.....	258,420	.....	258,420	52,020	32,347,480
Alaska.....	(a)	367,983,506	367,983,506	b120,174	(a)
Arizona.....	11,691,038	35,312,783	47,003,821	20,159,837	5,628,662
Arkansas.....	2,759,533	.....	2,759,533	2,569	30,781,567
California.....	29,456,076	7,508,854	36,965,530	19,718,027	43,286,363
Colorado.....	33,638,530	4,288,086	37,926,616	5,486,643	22,934,901
Florida.....	1,179,197	160,070	1,339,267	19,259	33,714,114
Idaho.....	12,376,285	29,409,495	41,785,780	1,334,031	10,173,629
Illinois.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35,842,560
Indiana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22,950,400
Indian Territory.....	.....	.....	.....	19,658,880	.....
Iowa.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35,646,080
Kansas.....	1,047,831	.....	1,047,831	987,875	50,847,014
Louisiana.....	109,964	65,018	174,982	1,468,484	27,411,944
Michigan.....	365,065	.....	5,365,065	120,695	36,333,440
Minnesota.....	3,498,127	1,670,558	5,168,685	2,686,355	43,343,040
Mississippi.....	112,720	.....	112,720	.....	29,572,400
Missouri.....	227,158	.....	227,158	.....	43,568,682
Montana.....	18,244,326	30,641,337	57,885,663	17,384,134	18,323,803
Nebraska.....	8,848,906	.....	8,848,906	606,611	39,681,763
Nevada.....	30,792,220	30,485,688	61,277,908	5,983,409	3,075,323
New Mexico.....	39,336,648	14,435,359	53,772,359	6,606,759	18,049,682
North Dakota.....	8,749,864	4,447,475	13,197,339	3,325,490	28,387,251
Ohio.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26,062,720
Oklahoma.....	3,091,333	.....	3,091,333	3,762,462	17,920,605
Oregon.....	17,182,749	5,923,067	23,105,816	12,801,800	25,369,824
South Dakota.....	10,522,553	382,601	10,905,154	12,722,374	25,578,872
Utah.....	11,526,008	29,843,553	41,369,561	6,187,645	4,984,234
Washington.....	4,464,185	5,021,007	9,485,192	11,865,205	21,396,483
Wisconsin.....	113,001	.....	113,001	432,524	34,729,395
Wyoming.....	84,543,998	2,574,871	37,118,869	15,790,840	9,523,571
Grand total....	284,136,355	579,153,328	868,290,035	169,284,043	776,965,802

a The unreserved lands in Alaska are mostly unsurveyed and unappropriated.
b So far as estimated.

Public Libraries. See LIBRARIES. Appalled by the suddenness and strength of this invasion, the Mexicans gave up

Puebla, the capital of the Mexican these places without making any resistance. At Perote the victors gained fifty-

PUEBLO INDIANS—PULASKI

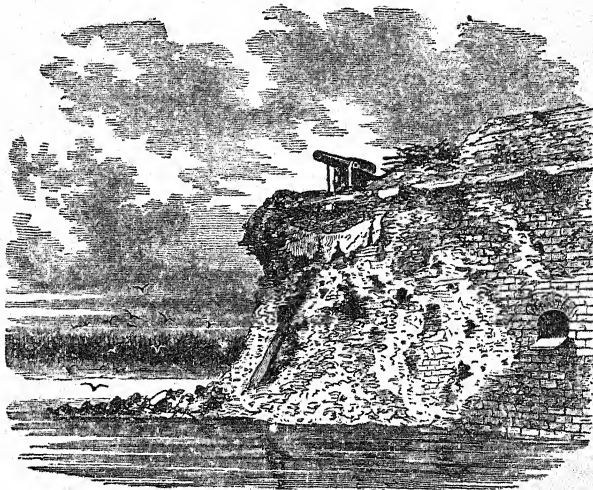
four pieces of artillery and an immense quantity of munitions of war.

Onward the victors swept over the lofty Cordilleras, and on May 15 they halted at the sacred Puebla de los Angeles, where they remained until August. There Scott counted up the fruits of his invasion thus far. In the space of two months he had made 10,000 Mexican prisoners and captured 700 pieces of artillery, 10,000 muskets, and 20,000 shot and shell; and yet, when he reached Puebla, his whole effective marching force with which he was provided for the conquest of the capital of Mexico did not exceed 4,500 men. Sickness and the demands for garrison duty had reduced his army about one-half. At Puebla Scott gave the Mexicans an opportunity to treat for peace. The government had sent Nicholas P. Trist as a diplomatic agent, clothed with power to negotiate for peace. He had reached Jalapa just as the army had moved forward, and he now accompanied it. He made overtures to the Mexican government, which were treated with disdain and loud boasts of their valor and patriotism. General Scott issued a conciliatory proclamation to the Mexican people on the subject while on the march, which closed with this significant paragraph: "I am marching on Puebla and Mexico, and from those capitals I shall again address you." Scott's chief officers were Generals Worth, Twiggs, Quitman, Pillow, Shields, Smith, and Cadwallader. On Aug. 7 he resumed his march towards the capital. See MEXICO, WAR WITH.

Pueblo Indians. See ZUÑI INDIANS.

Pulaski, Fort, CAPTURE OF. At the close of 1861 the National authority was supreme along the Atlantic coast from Wassaw Sound, below the Savannah River, to the North Edisto, well up towards Charleston. Gen. T. W. Sherman directed his chief engineer, Gen. Q. A. Gillmore, to

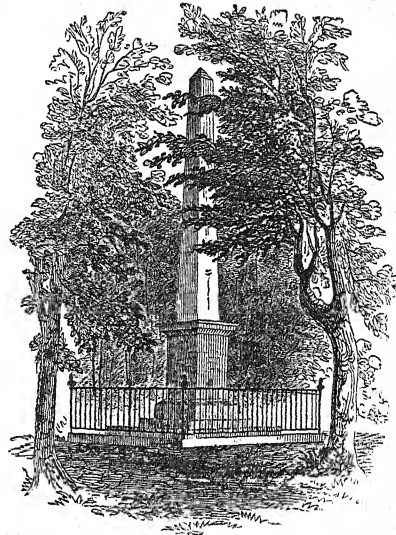
reconnoitre Fort Pulaski and report upon the feasibility of a bombardment of it. It had been seized by the Confederates early in the year. Gillmore reported that it might be done by planting batteries of rifled guns and mortars on Big Tybee Island. A New York regiment was sent to occupy that island, and explorations were made to find a channel by which gunboats might get in the rear of the fort. It was found, and land troops under General Viele went through it to reconnoitre. Another expedition went up to the Savannah River by way of Wassaw Sound, and the gunboats had a skirmish with Tattall's "Mosquito Fleet" (see PORT ROYAL). Soon afterwards the Nationals erected batteries that effectually closed the Savannah River in the rear of Pulaski, and at the close of February, 1862, it was absolutely blockaded. General Gillmore planted siege guns on Big Tybee that commanded the fort; and on April 10, 1862, after General Hunter (who had succeeded General Sherman) had demanded its surrender, and it had been refused, thirty-six heavy rifled cannon and mortars were opened upon it, under the direction of Generals Gillmore and Viele. It was gallantly defended until the 12th, when, so battered as to be untenable, it was surrendered. This victory enabled the Nationals



BREACH IN FORT PULASKI.

to close the port of Savannah against blockade-runners.

Pulaski, COUNT CASIMIR, military officer; born in Podolia, Poland, March 4, 1748. His father was the Count Pulaski, who formed the Confederation of Bar in 1768. He had served under his father in his struggle for liberty in Poland; and when his sire perished in a dungeon the young count was elected commander-in-chief (1770). In 1771 he, with thirty-nine others, disguised as peasants, entered Warsaw, and, seizing King Stanislaus, carried him out of the city, but were compelled to leave their captive and fly for safety. His little army was soon afterwards defeated. He was outlawed, and his estates were confiscated, when he entered the Turkish army and made war on Russia. Sympathizing with the Americans in their struggle for independence, he came to America in the summer of 1777, joined the army under Washington, and fought bravely in the battle of Brandywine. Congress gave him command of cavalry, with the rank of brigadier-general. He was in the battle of Germantown; and in 1778 his "Legion" was formed, composed of sixty light horsemen and 200 foot-soldiers. When about to take the field in the South the "Moravian nuns," or singing women at Bethlehem, Pa., sent him a banner



GREENE AND PULASKI MONUMENT.

wrought by them, which he received with grateful acknowledgments, and which he bore until he fell at Savannah in 1779. This event is commemorated in Longfellow's *Hymn of the Moravian Nuns*. The banner is now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. Surprised near Little Egg Harbor, on the New Jersey coast, nearly all of his foot-soldiers were killed. Recruiting his ranks, he went South in February, 1779, and was in active service under General Lincoln, engaging bravely in the siege of SAVANNAH (*q. v.*), in which he was mortally wounded, taken to the United States brig *Wasp*, and there died, Oct. 11. The citizens of Savannah erected a monument to "Greene and Pulaski," the cornerstone of which was laid by Lafayette in 1825.

Pulitzer, JOSEPH, journalist; born in Buda-Pesth, Hungary, April 10, 1847; came to the United States in 1864, and enlisted in the National army; became reporter, subsequently proprietor, of *Westliche Post*, St. Louis; proprietor of the *St. Louis Dispatch* and *Evening Post* in 1878; proprietor of the *New York World* in 1883. He was a member of the State legislature of Missouri in 1869; of the State Constitutional Convention in 1874;



COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI.

and of Congress from New York City in 1885-87. In 1893 he gave Columbia University \$100,000, and in 1903, for a school of journalism, \$1,000,000, with a conditional pledge of \$1,000,000 more.

Pupin, MICHAEL IDVORSKY, inventor; born in Austria, in 1858; came to New York when fifteen years old; graduated at Columbia University in 1883; studied at Cambridge University, England, and at the University of Berlin; became instructor of mathematical physics in the department of electrical engineering at Columbia in 1889. It was announced in 1900 that he had discovered a method by which ocean telephony could be made possible. He has published numerous works on electro-mechanics.

Purchas, SAMUEL, clergyman; born in Thaxted, Essex, England, in 1577; is chiefly known by his famous work entitled *Purchas his Pilgrimages; or, Relations of the World and the Religion observed in all Ages and Places discovered from the Creation until this Present*. It contains an account of voyages, religions, etc., and was published in five volumes in 1613. This, with *Hakluyt's Voyages*, led the way to similar collections. The third volume relates to America, and contains the original narratives of the earliest English navigators and explorers of the North American continent. Purchas was rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and chaplain to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in London in 1628.

Puritans, a name applied in England, at the middle of the sixteenth century, to persons who wished to see a greater degree of reformation in the Established Church than was adopted by Queen Elizabeth, and a purer form, not of faith, but of discipline and worship. It became a common name of all who, from conscientious motives, but upon different grounds, disapproved of the established ritual in the Church of England from the Reformation under Elizabeth to the act of uniformity in 1562. From that time until the Revolution in England in 1688 as many as refused to comply with the established form of worship were called Non-conformists. There were about 2,000 clergymen and 500,000 people who were so denominated. From the accession of William and Mary and the passage of the tolera-

tion act the name of Non-conformists was changed to Dissenters, or Protestant Dissenters. Because the stricter Non-conformists in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. professed and acted purer lives in morals and manners, they were called Puritans in derision.

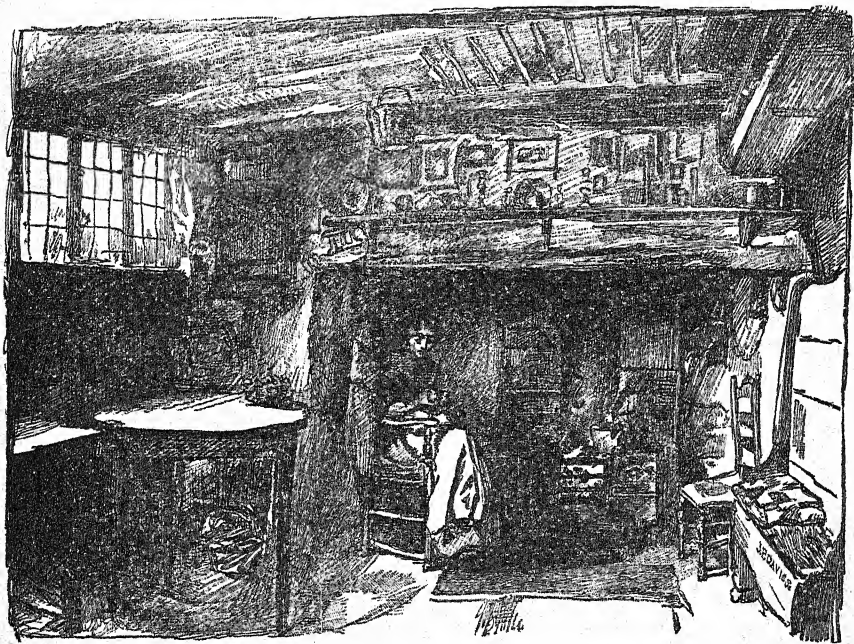
There were different degrees of Puritanism, some seeking a moderate reform of the English liturgy, others wishing to abolish episcopacy, and some declaring against any Church authority whatsoever. Representatives from these three classes of Puritans formed the larger portion of the earlier settlers in New England. The union of these in the civil war in England effected the overthrow of the monarchy, and at the restoration the name of Puritan was one of reproach. Since the toleration act of 1690 the word has ceased to designate any particular sect.

At the time of the passage of the toleration act in Maryland (1649) the Puritans in Virginia were severely persecuted because they refused to use the Church liturgy, and 118 of them left that colony. Their pastor, Mr. Harrison, returned to England; but nearly all the others, led by their ruling elder, Mr. Durand, went to Maryland, and settled on the banks of the Severn River, near the site of Annapolis, and called the place Providence. The next year Governor Stone visited them and organized the settlement into a shire, and called it Anne Arundel county, in compliment to the wife of Lord Baltimore. These Puritans gave the proprietor considerable trouble.

Puritanism was exhibited in its most radical form in New England, for there it had freedom of action. The Puritan was not a sufferer, but an aggressor. He was the strictest of his sect. He was an unflinching egotist, who regarded himself as his "brother's keeper," and was continually busied in watching and guiding him. His constant business seemed to be to save his fellow-men from sin, error, and eternal punishment. He sat in judgment upon their belief and actions with the authority of a God-chosen high-priest. He would not allow a Jesuit or a Roman Catholic priest to live in the colony. His motives were pure, his aims lofty, but his methods were uncharitable and sometimes

PURITANS

absurd. As a law-giver and magistrate, Plaistowe stole four baskets of corn from the Indians, and he was ordered to return to them eight baskets, to be fined £5, and thereafter to "be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr. Plaistowe, as former-



A PURITAN HOME IN ENGLAND.

laws in those statute-books were largely sumptuary in their character. He imposed a fine upon every woman who should cut her hair like that of a man. He forbade all gaming for amusement or gain, and would not allow cards or dice to be introduced into the colony. He fined families whose young women did not spin as much flax or wool daily as the selectmen had required of them. He forbade all persons to run, or even walk, "except reverently to and from church," on Sunday; and he doomed a burglar, because he committed a crime on that sacred day, to have one of his ears cut off. He commanded John Wedgewood to be put in the stocks for being in the company of drunkards. Thomas Pitt was severely whipped for "suspicion of slander, idleness, and stubbornness." He admonished Captain Lovell to "take heed of light carriage." Josias

ly." He directed his grand-jurors to admonish those who wore apparel too costly for their incomes, and, if they did not heed the warning, to fine them; and in 1646 he placed on the statute-books of Massachusetts a law which imposed the penalty of flogging for kissing a woman in the street, even by way of honest salute. He rigidly enforced this law 100 years after its enactment, because it was not repealed. A British war-vessel entered the harbor of Boston. The captain, hastening to his home in that town, met his wife in the street and kissed her. He was accused, found guilty, and mildly whipped. Just before sailing on another cruise he invited his accuser, the magistrates, and others who approved the punishment to dine on board his vessel. When all were merry with good-cheer he ordered his boatswain and mate to flog the magistrates with a

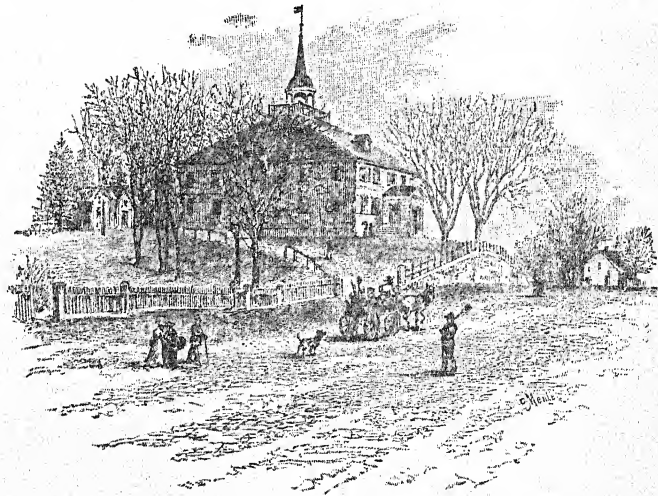
PURITANS

knotted cat-o'-nine tails. It was done, and the astonished guests were driven pell-mell over the side of the ship into a boat waiting to receive them. Such were some of the outward manifestations of Puritanism in New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. In Rhode Island it was softened, and finally it assumed an aspect of broader charity everywhere. Its devotees were stern, conscientious moralists and narrow religionists. They came to plant a Church free from disturbance by persecution, and proclaimed the broad doctrine of liberty of conscience—the right to exercise private judgment. "Unsettled persons"—Latitudinarian in religion—came to enjoy freedom and to disseminate their views. In that dissemination Puritanism saw a prophecy of subversion of its principles. Alarmed, it became a persecutor in turn. "God forbid," said Governor Dudley in his old age, "our love for truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors—I die no libertine." "To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance," said Parson Ward, of Ipswich, a leading divine. "Religion admits of no eccentric notions," said Parson Norton, another leading divine and persecutor of so-called Quakers in Boston.

The early settlers in New England regarded the Indians around them as something less than human. Cotton Mather took a short method of solving the question of their origin. He guessed that "the devil de-

fested in many ways; and when we con- sider the atrocities perpetrated by the Indians, we cannot much wonder at it. The captives who fell into the hands of the Rhode- Islanders were distributed among them as servants and slaves. A

Indians had embittered both parties, the expressions of pious men concerning them are shocking to the enlightened mind of to-day. After the massacre of the Pequods, Mather wrote: "It was supposed that no less than five or six hundred Pequod souls were brought down to hell that day." The learned and pious Dr. Increase Mather, in speaking of the efficiency of prayer in bringing about the destruction of the Indians, said: "Nor could they [the English] cease crying to the Lord against Philip until they had prayed the bullet into his heart." In speaking of an Indian who had sneered at the religion of the English, he said that immediately upon his uttering a "hideous blasphemy a bullet took him in the head and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment amongst the devils and blasphemers in hell forever." The feeling against the Indians at the close of King Philip's War among the New-Englanders was that of intense bitterness and savage hatred. It was mani-



OLD PURITAN MEETING HOUSE, HINGHAM, MASS.

large body of Indians, assembled at Dover, N. H., to treat for peace, were treacherously seized by Major Waldron. About 200 of them were claimed as fugitives from Massachusetts, and were sent to Boston, where some were hanged and the remainder sent to Bermuda and sold as slaves. To have been present at the "Swamp fight" was adjudged by the authorities of Rhode Island sufficient foundation for putting an Indian to death. Death or slavery was the penalty for all known to have shed English blood. Some fishermen at Marblehead having been killed by the Indians, some women of that town, coming out of church on Sunday just as two Indian prisoners were brought in, fell upon and murdered them. King Philip's dead body was first beheaded and then quartered. His head was carried into Plymouth on a pole and there exhibited for months. His wife and son, made prisoners, were sent to Bermuda and sold as slaves. The disposition of the boy was warmly discussed, some of the elders of the church proposing to put him to death, but slavery was his final doom.

Put-in-Bay. See PERRY, OLIVER HAZARD.

Putman, ALBIGENCE WALDO, author, born in Marietta, O., March 11, 1799; was admitted to the bar and practised in Mississippi till 1836, when he removed to Nashville, Tenn. His publications include *History of Middle Tennessee*; *Life and Times of Gen. James Robertson*; and *Life of Gen. John Sevier* in Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*. He died in Nashville, Tenn., Jan. 20, 1869.

Putnam, HERBERT, librarian; born in New York City, Sept. 20, 1861; graduated at Harvard in 1883; admitted to the bar in 1885; practised at the Minnesota and Massachusetts bars. He became librarian of the Minneapolis Public Library in 1887, of the Boston Public Library in 1895, president of the American Library Association in 1898, and librarian of Congress in 1899. See PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Putnam, ISRAEL, military officer; born in Salem (the part now Danvers), Mass., Jan. 7, 1718; he settled in Pomfret, Conn., in 1739, where he acquired a good estate; raised a company, and served in the French and Indian War with so much ef-

iciency that in 1757 he was promoted to the rank of major.

While Abercrombie was resting secure-



ISRAEL PUTNAM IN 1776.

ly in his intrenchments at Lake George after his repulse at Ticonderoga, two or three of his convoys had been cut off by French scouting-parties, and he sent out Majors Rogers and Putnam to intercept them. Apprised of this movement, Montcalm sent Molang, an active partisan, to waylay the English detachment. While marching through the forest (August, 1758), in three divisions, within a mile of Fort Anne, the left, led by Putnam, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, who attacked the English furiously, uttering horrid yells. Putnam and his men fought bravely. His fusée at length missed fire with the muzzle at the breast of a powerful Indian, who, with a loud war-whoop, sprang forward and captured the brave leader. Binding Putnam to a tree (where his garments were riddled by bullets), the chief fought on. The Indians were defeated, when his captor unbound Putnam and took him deeper into the forest to torture him. He was stripped naked and bound to a sapling with green withes. Dry wood was piled high around him and lighted, while the Indians chanted the death-song. The flames were kindling fiercely, when a sudden thunder-shower burst over the forest and nearly extinguished them. But they were renewed with greater intensity, and Putnam lost all hope, when a French officer dashed through the crowd of yelling savages, scattered the burning fagots, and cut the cords

PUTNAM, ISRAEL

that bound the victim. It was Molang, the leader of the French and Indians, who had heard of the dreadful proceedings. Putnam was delivered to Montcalm at Ticonderoga, treated kindly, and sent a prisoner to Montreal. He was afterwards exchanged for a prisoner captured by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac, and was lieutenant-colonel at the capture of Montreal in 1760, and at the capture of Havana in 1762. He was a colonel in Bradstreet's Western expedition in 1764. After the war he settled on a farm in Brooklyn township, Conn., where he also kept a tavern.

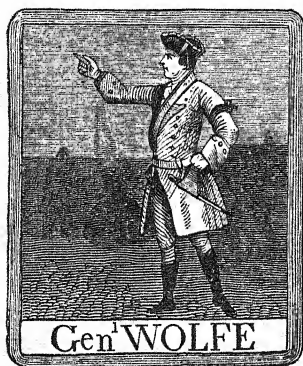
On the morning after the affairs at Lexington and Concord (April 20, 1775) Putnam was in his field, with tow blouse and leather apron, assisting hired men in building a stone wall on his farm. A horseman at full speed acquainted him with the stirring news. He instantly set out to arouse the militia of the nearest town, and was chosen their leader when they were gathered. In his rough guise he set out for Cambridge, and reached it at sunrise, having ridden the same horse 100 miles in eighteen hours. He was appointed a provincial major-general; was active



ISRAEL PUTNAM IN BRITISH UNIFORM.

that time his services were given to his country without cessation in the Hudson Highlands and in western Connecticut. Paralysis of one side of his body in 1779 affected his physical condition, but did not impair his mind, and he lived in retirement until his death, May 19, 1790.

The sign on Putnam's tavern bore a full-length portrait of General Wolfe. In the following letter, written at the close of the Revolutionary War, he alludes to his having been an innkeeper:



PUTNAM'S SIGN.

in the battle of Bunker Hill; and was appointed one of the first major-generals of the Continental army. From

"BROOKLYN, Feb. 18, 1782.
 "GENTLEMEN,—Being an Enemy to Idleness, Dissipation, and Intemperance, I would object against any measure that may be conducive thereto: and as the multiplying of public-houses where the public good does not require it has a direct tendency to ruin the morals of the youth, and promote idleness and intemperance among all ranks of people, especially as the grand object of those candidates for license is money, and where that is the case, men are not apt to be over-tender of people's morals or purses. The authority of this town, I think, have run into a great error in approbating an additional number of public-houses, especially in this parish.



THE FRENCH OFFICER RESCUING PUTNAM FROM THE INDIANS.

They have approbated two houses in the centre, where there never was custom (I mean travelling custom) enough for one. The other custom (or domestic), I have been informed, has of late years increased, and the licensing of another house, I fear, would increase it more. As I kept a public house here myself a number of years before the war, I had an opportunity of knowing, and certainly do know, that the travelling custom is too trifling for a man to lay himself out so as to keep such a house as travellers have a right to expect; therefore I hope your honors will consult the good of this parish, so as only to license one of the two houses. I shall not undertake to say which ought to be licensed: your honors will act according to your best information.

"I am, with esteem, your honors' humble servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"To the Honorable County Court, to be held at Windham on the 19th inst."

Putnam, RUFUS, military officer; a cousin of Gen. Israel Putnam; born in Sutton, Mass., April 9, 1738; served in the French and Indian War from 1757 to 1760, and on the surrender of Montreal (1760) married and settled in Braintree, Mass., as a mill-wright. He was studious; acquired a good knowledge of mathematics, surveying, and navigation; was a deputy surveyor in Florida before the Revolution; and entered the army at Cambridge in 1775 as lieutenant-colonel. The ability he displayed in casting up defences at Roxbury caused Washington to recommend him to Congress as superior, as an engineer, to any of the Frenchmen then employed in that service. He was

PLYE

appointed chief engineer (August, 1776), but soon afterwards left that branch of the service to take command of a Massachusetts regiment. He was with the Northern army in 1777, and in 1778 he, with General Putnam, superintended the construction of the fortifications at West Point. After the capture of Stony Point he commanded a regiment in Wayne's brigade, and served to the end of the campaign. He was made a brigadier-general in 1783. He was aide to General Lincoln in quelling Shays's insurrection (1787), and in 1788, as superintendent of the Ohio Company, he founded Marietta, the

efforts of Cornwallis to embody the loyalists of North Carolina into military corps. In this movement the gallant Col. Henry Lee, with his "Legion," was conspicuous. At the head of his cavalry, he scoured the country around the head-waters of the Haw and Deep rivers, where, by force and stratagem, he foiled Tarleton, who was recruiting among the Tories there. Colonel Pyle, an active loyalist, had gathered about 400 Tories, and was marching to join Cornwallis. Lee's Legion greatly resembled Tarleton's, and he made the country people believe that he was recruiting for Cornwallis. Two prisoners were com-



RUFUS PUTNAM.

first permanent settlement in the eastern part of the Northwest Territory. He was judge of the Superior Court of that Territory in 1789, and was a brigadier-general in Wayne's campaign against the Indians. As United States commissioner, he made important treaties with some of the tribes. He was United States surveyor-general from October, 1793, to September, 1803. He died in Marietta, O., May 1, 1824.

Pyle, DEFEAT OF. Recrossing the Dan after his famous retreat into Virginia, General Greene attempted to frustrate the

compelled to favor the deception or suffer instant death. Two well-mounted young men of Pyle's corps were so deceived, and informed Lee (supposing him to be Tarleton) of the near presence of that corps. Lee sent word to Pyle, by one of the young men, of his approach, and, assuming the person of Tarleton, requested him to draw up his corps on one side of the road, that his wearied troops might pass without delay. The order, or request, was obeyed. Lee intended, when he should secure the complete advantage of Pyle, to reveal himself and give his Tory corps the choice, after being disarmed, to join the patriot army or return home. He had ordered Pickens to conceal his riflemen near. Just as Lee (as Tarleton) rode along Pyle's line (March 2, 1781), and had grasped the hand of the latter in an apparently friendly salute, some of the loyalists discovered Pickens's riflemen. Perceiving that they were betrayed, they commenced firing upon the rear-guard of the cavalry, commanded by Captain Eggleston. That officer instantly turned upon the foe, and the movement was followed by the whole column. A terrible fight and slaughter ensued. Of the loyalists, ninety were killed and a large portion of the remainder wounded in a brief space of time. A cry for mercy was raised by the loyalists. It was granted when the Americans were assured of their safety. Colonel Pyle, wounded, fled to the shelter of a pond near by, where, tradition says, he laid himself under water, with nothing but his nose above it, until after dark, when

PLYLE—PYNCHON

he crawled out and made his way to his home. Tarleton, who was near, fled to Hillsboro, and the disheartened Tories returned to their homes. Cornwallis wrote: "I am among timid friends and adjoining inveterate rebels."

Pyle, HOWARD, artist; born in Wilmington, Del., in 1853; studied in the Art Students' League, New York City; became one of the foremost black-and-white artists in the world. He has published a very large number of drawings on historical subjects.

Pynchon, JOHN, son of William; came

to America with his father in 1630; succeeded his father in the government of Springfield, Mass., in 1652; one of the assistants under the royal charter of Massachusetts from 1665 to 1686. He saw active service in King Philip's and the first French war. He died in Springfield, Jan. 17, 1703.

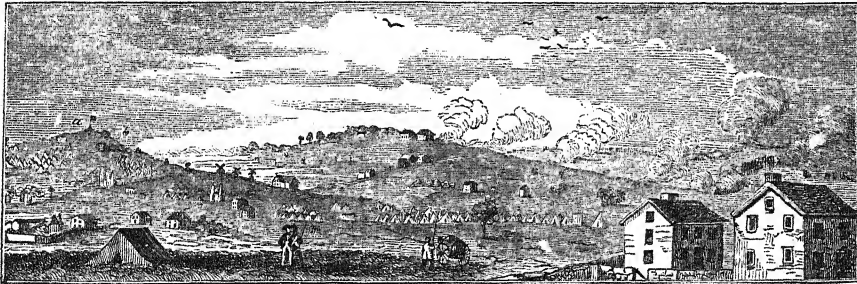
Pynchon, WILLIAM, pioneer; born in Springfield, England, about 1590; removed to New England in 1630; founded Agawam, near Springfield, Mass., in 1636; returned to England in 1652, where he died, Oct. 29, 1662.

Q.

Quackenbos, JOHN DUNCAN, physician; born in New York City, April 22, 1848; graduated at Columbia University in 1868; College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1871; appointed Professor of English Language and Literature in Columbia University, 1884. Since 1895 he has devoted himself to his profession, making a specialty of diseases of the nervous system. Dr. Quackenbos is the author of *History of the World*; *Appleton's Geographies*; *New England Roads*; *Hypnotism in Mental and Moral Culture*, etc.

Quaker Hill, BATTLE AT. In the summer of 1778 there were 6,000 British

under D'Estaing, occupied Narraganset Bay and opened communication with the American army, then near, and 10,000 strong. The French fleet even entered Newport Harbor, and compelled the British to burn or sink six frigates that lay there. There was a delay of a week before the American army could be made ready to move against the foe. Greene and Lafayette had both been sent to aid Sullivan, and success was confidently expected. On Aug. 10 the Americans crossed over the narrow strait at the north end of the island in two divisions, commanded respectively by Greene and Lafayette,



SCENE OF THE ENGAGEMENT ON RHODE ISLAND, AUG. 29, 1778.
(From a print in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1778.)

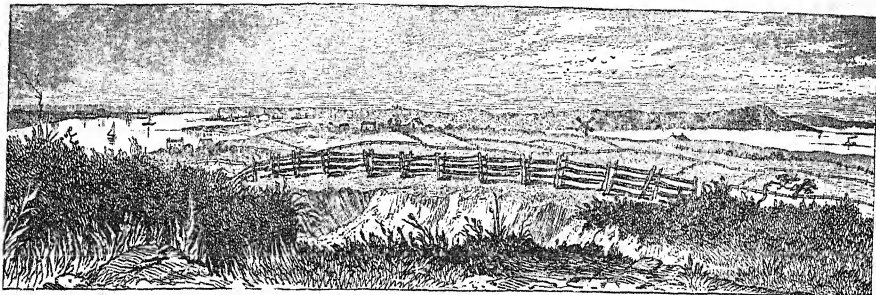
troops in Rhode Island, commanded by General Pigot. His headquarters were at Newport. They had held the island since late in 1776. An attempt had been made, by a force under General Spencer, of Connecticut, the year before, to expel them from the island, but it failed, and that officer resigned his commission and shortly after entered Congress. General Sullivan was his successor, and he had been directed to call on the New England States for 5,000 militia. The call was promptly obeyed. John Hancock, as general, led the Massachusetts militia in person. There was much enthusiasm. The French fleet,

where they expected to be joined by the 4,000 French troops of the fleet, according to arrangement. But at that time Howe had appeared off Newport with his fleet, and D'Estaing went out to meet him, taking the troops with him. A stiff wind was then rising from the northeast, and before the two fleets were ready for attack it had increased to a furious gale, and scattered both armaments. The wind blew the spray from the ocean over Newport, and the windows were incrustated with salt. The French fleet, much shattered, went to Boston for repairs, and the storm, which ended on the 14th, spoiled much of the

QUAKERS

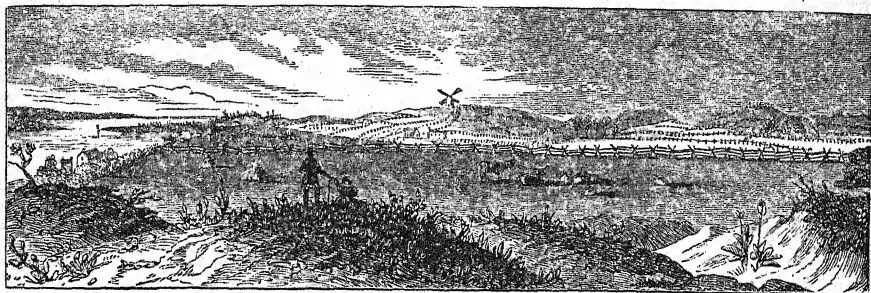
ammunition of the Americans, and damaged their provisions. Expecting D'Estaing's speedy return, the Americans had marched towards Newport, and when Sullivan found he had gone to Boston, he sent Lafayette to urge him to return. The militia began to desert, and Sullivan's army was reduced to 6,000 men. He felt compelled to retreat, and began that movement on the night of the 28th, pursued by the British. The Americans made a

the British were pushed farther back. It was a hot and sultry day, and many perished by the heat. The action ended at 3 p.m., but a sluggish cannonade was



VIEW NORTHWARD FROM BUTTS'S HILL.

kept up until sunset. On the night of the 30th Sullivan's army withdrew to the main. They had lost about 200 men, and the British 200. Sullivan made bitter complaints against D'Estaing, but Congress soothed his wounded spirit by commending his course. The day after Sulli-



QUAKER HILL, FROM THE FORT ON BUTTS'S HILL.

van withdrew, the British on Rhode Island the pursuers back to Quaker Hill, where and were reinforced by 4,000 men from they had strong intrenchments. There a New York, led by General Clinton in severe engagement occurred (Aug. 29), and person.

QUAKERS

Quakers. The sect of "Friends," who were called Quakers in derision, was founded at about the middle of the seventeenth century. At first they were called "Professors (or Children) of the Light," because of their fundamental principle that the light of Christ within was God's gift of salvation—that "Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is said that GEORGE FOX (*q. v.*), the founder of the sect, when brought before magistrates at Derby, England, in 1650,

QUAKERS

told them to "quake before the Lord," when one of them (Gervase Bennet) caught up the word "quake," and was the first who called the sect "Quakers." They were generally known by that name afterwards. They spread rapidly in England, and were severely persecuted by the Church and State. At one time there were 4,000 of them in loathsome prisons in England. The most prominent of Fox's disciples was William Penn, who did much to alleviate their sufferings. Many died in prison or from the effects of imprisonment. Grievous fines were imposed, a large portion of which went to informers. They were insulted by the lower classes; their women and children were dragged by the hair along the streets; their meeting-houses were robbed of their windows; and, by order of King Charles and the Arch-



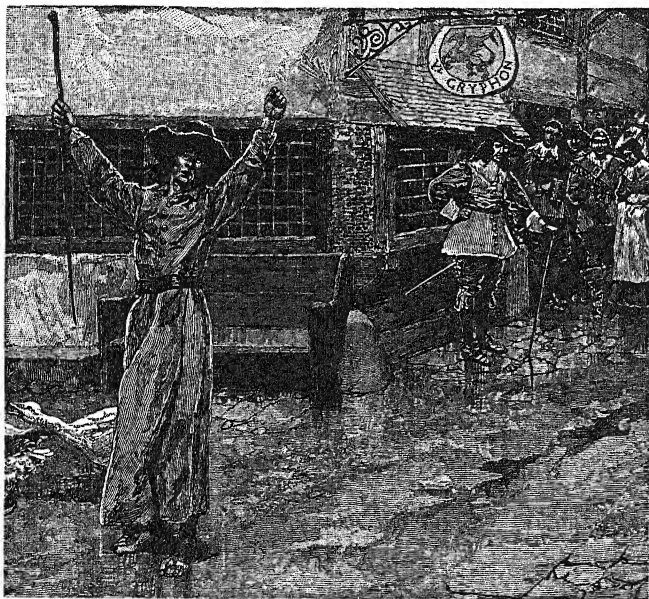
A QUAKER AT THE COURT OF CHARLES II.

QUAKERS

bishop of Canterbury, in 1670, their meeting-houses were pulled down; and when they gathered for worship beside the ruins they were beaten over the head by soldiers and dispersed. In this way many were killed outright or disabled for life. Con-

Those who first appeared in New England and endured persecution there were fanatical and aggressive, and were not true representatives of the sect in England. They were among the earliest of the disciples of Fox, whose enthusiasm led their judg-

ment; and some of them were absolutely lunatics and utterly unlike the sober-minded, mild-mannered members of that society to-day. They ran into the wildest extravagances of speech; openly reviling magistrates and ministers of the Gospel with intemperate language: overriding the rights of all others in maintaining their own; making the most exalted pretensions to the exclusive possession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; scorned all respect for human laws; mocked the institutions of the country; and two or three fanatical



A QUAKER PREACHER IN LITCHFIELD, ENGLAND.

stables and informers broke into their houses. The value of their property destroyed before the accession of William and Mary (1689) was estimated at \$5,000,000. Besides this, they were fined to the amount of over \$80,000, and their goods were continually seized because they refused to pay tithes, bear arms, or enroll themselves in the military force of the country. "The purity of their lives, the patience with which they endured insult and persecution (never returning evil for evil), their zeal, their devotedness, and their love for each other often compelled the admiration even of magistrates whose orders oppressed them."

To escape persecution, many of them emigrated to the Continent, and some to the West Indies and North America. In the latter places they found persecutors.

young women outraged decency by appearing without clothing in the churches and in the streets, as emblems of the "unclothed souls of the people"; while others, with loud voices, proclaimed that the wrath of the Almighty was about to fall like destructive lightning upon Boston and Salem. This conduct, and these indecencies, caused the passage of severe laws in Massachusetts against the Quakers.

The first of the sect who appeared there were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who arrived at Boston from Barbadoes in September (N. S.), 1656. Their trunks were searched, and their books were burned by the common hangman before they were allowed to land. Cast into prison, their persons were stripped in a search for body-marks of witches. None were found,

QUAKERS

and they, being mild-mannered women, and innocent, were soon released and expelled from Massachusetts as "heretics." Nine other men and women who came from London were similarly treated. Others "sought martyrdom" in New England and found it. Some reviled, scolded, and denounced the authorities in Church and State, railing at the functionaries from windows as they passed by. More and more severe were the laws passed against the Quakers. They were banished on pain of death. Three of them who returned were led to the scaffold—two young men and Mary Dyer, widow of the secretary of state of Rhode Island. The young men were hanged; Mary was reprieved and sent back to Rhode Island. The next spring she returned to Boston, defied the laws, and was hanged. The severity of the laws caused a revulsion in public feeling. True Friends who came stoutly maintained their course with prudence, and were regarded by thoughtful persons as real martyrs for conscience' sake. A demand for the repeal of the bloody enactments caused their repeal in 1661, when the fanaticism of both parties subsided

and a more Christian spirit prevailed. In Virginia, laws almost as severe as those in Massachusetts were enacted against the Quakers. In Maryland, also, where religious toleration was professed, they were punished as "vagabonds" who persuaded people not to perform required public duties. In Rhode Island they were not interfered with, and those who sought martyrdom did not go there. Some of them who did so disgusted Roger Williams that he tried to argue them out of the colony.

In September, 1656, the authorities of Massachusetts addressed to President Arnold, of Rhode Island, an urgent letter, protesting against the toleration of Quakers allowed there, and intimating that, unless it was discontinued, it would be resented by total non-intercourse. There was then very little sympathy felt for the Quakers in Rhode Island, but the authorities refused to persecute them, and Coddington and others afterwards joined them.

Governor Stuyvesant was a strict churchman, and guarded, as far as possible, the purity of the ritual and doctrines of the Reformed Dutch Church in



PERSECUTING A QUAKER.

QUAKERS

New Netherland. He compelled the Lutherans to conform, and did not allow other sects to take root there. In 1657 a ship arrived at New Amsterdam, having on board several of "the accursed sect called Quakers." They had been banished from Boston, and were on their way from Barbadoes to Rhode Island, "where all kinds of scum dwell," wrote Dominie Megapolenses, "for it is nothing else than a sink of New England." Among the Friends were Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead. They went from street to street in New Amsterdam, preaching their new doctrine to the gathered people. Stuyvesant ordered the women to be seized and cast into prison, where, for eight days, they were imprisoned in dirty, vermin-infested cells, with their hands tied behind them, when they were sent on board the ship in which they came, to be transported to Rhode Island. Robert Hodgson, who determined to remain in New Netherland, took up his abode at Hempstead, where a few Quakers were quietly settled. There he held a meeting, and Stuyvesant ordered him to his prison at New Amsterdam. Tied to the tail of a cart wherein sat two young women, offenders like himself, he was driven by a band of soldiers during the night through the woods to the city, where he was imprisoned in "a filthy jail," under sentence of such confinement for two years, to pay a heavy fine, and to have his days spent in hard labor, chained to a wheel-barrow with a negro, who lashed him with a heavy tarred rope. He was subjected to other cruel treatment at the hands of the governor, until the Dutch people, as well as the English, cried "Shame!" There were no other persecutions of the Friends in New Netherland after Hodgson's release.

The executions of Mary Dyer in 1660 and William Leddra in 1661, both in Boston, caused an amazing addition to the number of converts to Quakerism. The same year monthly meetings were established in several places in New England, and not long afterwards quarterly meetings were organized. On hearing of the death of Leddra, Charles II. sent an order to Endicott to stop the persecutions and to send all accused persons to England for trial. This order was sent by the hand of Samuel Shattuck,

a banished Quaker, who appeared before Governor Endicott with his hat on. The incensed governor was about to take the usual brutal steps to send him to prison, after ordering an officer to remove Shattuck's hat, when the latter handed the magistrate the order from the throne. Endicott was thunderstruck. He handed back Shattuck's hat and removed his own in deference to the presence of the King's messenger. He read the papers, and, directing Shattuck to withdraw, simply remarked, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands." A hurried conference was held with the other magistrates and ministers. They dared not send the accused persons to England, for they would be swift witnesses against the authorities of Massachusetts; so they ordered William Sutton, keeper of the Boston jail, to set all the Quakers free. So ended their severe persecution in New England; but the magistrates continued for some time to whip Quaker men and women, half naked, through the streets of Boston and Salem, until peremptorily forbidden to do so by the King.

After Massachusetts had suspended its laws against Quakers, Parliament made a law (1662) which provided that every five Quakers, meeting for religious worship, should be fined, for the first offence, \$25; for the second offence, \$50; and for the third offence to abjure the realm on oath, or be transported to the American colonies. Many refused to take the oath, and were transported. By an act of the Virginia legislature, passed in 1662, every master of a vessel who should import a Quaker, unless such as had been shipped from England under the above act, was subjected to a fine of 5,000 lbs. of tobacco for the first offence. Severe laws against other sectaries were passed in Virginia, and many of the Non-conformists in that colony, while Berkeley ruled, fled deep into the wilderness to avoid persecution.

Because the Friends refused to perform military duty or take an oath in Maryland they were subject to fines and imprisonment, but were not persecuted there on account of their religious views. When, in 1676, George Fox was in Maryland, his preaching was not hindered. He might be seen on the shores of the Chesapeake,

QUAKERS

preaching at the evening twilight, when the emigrants had come. The name was the labors of the day were over, to a multitude of people, comprising members of the legislature and other distinguished men of the province, yeomen, and large groups of Indians, with chiefs and sachems, their wives and children, all led by their emperor.

Fenwick, one of the purchasers of west Jersey, made the first settlement of members of his sect at Salem. Liberal offers were made to Friends in England if they would settle in New Jersey, where they would be free from persecution, and in 1677 several hundred came over. In March a company of 230 came in the ship *Kent*. Before they sailed King Charles gave them his blessing. The *Kent* reached New York in August, with commissioners to manage public affairs in New Jersey. The arrival was reported to Andros, who was

governor of New York, and claimed political jurisdiction over the Jerseys. Fenwick, who denied the jurisdiction of the Duke of York in the collection of customs duties, was then in custody at New York, but was allowed to depart with the other Friends, on his own recognizance to answer in the autumn. On Aug. 16 the *Kent* arrived at New Castle, but it was three months before a permanent place was settled upon. That place was on the Delaware River, and was first named Beverly. Afterwards it was called Bridlington, after a parish in Yorkshire, England, whence many of

others. The village prospered, and other settlements were made in its vicinity. Nearly all the settlers in west Jersey were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. One of the earliest erected buildings for the public worship of Friends in New Jersey was at Crosswicks, about half-way between Allentown and the Delaware River. Before the Revolution they built a spacious meeting-house there of imported brick.

From the founding of the government of Pennsylvania the rule of the colony was held by the Quakers, they being more numerous than others. When wars with the French and Indians afflicted the colo-



AN OLD QUAKER HOUSE, NEWCASTLE, DEL.

QUAKERS



FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE AT CROSSWICKS, N. J.

nies their peace principles made the members of the Assembly of that sect oppose appropriations of men and money for war purposes. When, in 1755, the frontiers of Pennsylvania were seriously threatened, the Quakers, though still a majority in the Assembly, could no longer resist the loud cry "To arms" in Philadelphia and re-echoed from the frontiers. The hostile Indians were among the Juniata settle-

the amount was intrusted to a committee of seven, of whom a majority were members of the Assembly; and these became the managers of the war, now formally declared, against the Delawares and Shawnees. So the golden chain of friendship which bound the Indians to William Penn was first broken. This was the first time the Quakers were driven into an open participation in war. Some of the more conscientious resigned their seats in the Assembly, and others declined a re-election. So it was that, in 1755, the rule of the Quakers in the administration of public affairs in Pennsylvania came to an end.

The "Testimony" of Friends, or Quakers, at their yearly meeting in Philadelphia in May, 1775, against the movements of the American patriots attracted special attention to that body. The papers and records of their yearly meeting in New Jersey, captured by Sullivan in his expedition against the loyalist regiments on Staten Island, gave Congress the first proof of



SCENE IN AN OLD QUAKER TOWN.

ments. The proprietary party successfully stirred up the people. After a sharp struggle, the Assembly, in consideration of a voluntary subscription of £5,000 by the proprietaries, consented to levy a tax of £50,000, from which the estates of the latter were exempted. The expenditure of

the general disaffection of the society. The Congress recommended the executives of the several colonies or States to watch their movements; and the executive council of Pennsylvania were earnestly exhorted to arrest and secure the persons of eleven of the leading men of that so-

QUAKERS—QUAY

ciety in Philadelphia, whose names were given. It was done, Aug. 28, 1777, and John Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, Sr., Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher, leading members, were banished to Fredericksburg, Va. The reason given by Congress for this act was that when the enemy were pressing on towards Philadelphia in December, 1777, a certain seditious publication, addressed "To our Friends and Brethren in Religious Profession in these and the adjacent Provinces," signed John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the "Meeting of Sufferings," held in Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1776, had been widely circulated among Friends throughout the States. At the same time the Congress instructed the board of war to send to Fredericksburg John Penn, the governor, and Benjamin Chew, chief-justice of Pennsylvania, for safe custody. While the British army was in Philadelphia in 1778, Joseph Galloway, an active Tory, and others employed John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle, members of the Society of Friends, as secret agents in detecting foes to the British government. Carlisle was a sort of inquisitor-general, watching at the entrances to the city, pointing out and causing the arrest of Whigs, who were first cast into prison and then granted permission to pass the lines. Both Roberts and Carlisle acted as guides to British expeditions when they went out of Philadelphia to fall upon and massacre their countrymen. These facts being laid before Congress, that body caused the arrest of Roberts and Carlisle. They were tried, found guilty, and hanged.

Quakers, CHRISTIAN. In 1692 there was a schism among the Friends, or Quakers, in Pennsylvania, caused by the action of George Keith, a Scotch Friend, formerly surveyor of east Jersey, and at this time master of the Friends' school at Philadelphia. He was a champion of the Quakers against Cotton Mather and the Boston ministers. He pressed the doctrine of non-resistance to its logical conclusion, that this principle was not consistent with the exercise of political authority. He also attacked negro slavery as inconsistent with those principles. So

sharply did Keith criticise the shortcomings of his co-religionists that he was disowned by the Yearly Meeting, when he forthwith instituted a meeting of his own, to which he gave the name of "Christian Quakers." A *Testimony of Denial* was put forth against Keith, who replied in a published address, in which he handled his adversaries without mercy. The Quaker magistrates fined him for "insolence," and William Bradford, the only printer in the colony, was called to account for having published Keith's address. He was discharged, but was so annoyed that he removed his printing business to New York.

Quarantine Law, FIRST. A profitable trade had been opened between Massachusetts and Barbadoes and other West India islands, when, in the summer of 1647, there was a wasting epidemic in those islands, carrying off 6,000 people in Barbadoes, and nearly as many in the other islands, proportionably to their population. The General Court of Massachusetts, on hearing of the disease, published an order that all vessels which should come from the West Indies should stay at the Castle at the entrance to the harbor, and not land any passengers or goods without license from three of the council, under a penalty of \$500. A like penalty was imposed upon any person visiting such quarantined vessel without permission. A similar order was sent to Salem and other ports. The nature of the epidemic is not known, but yellow fever has been alleged.

Quartering Act. A clause inserted in the British mutiny act in 1765 authorized the quartering of troops upon the English-American colonies. By a special enactment known as the "quartering act," the colonies in which they were stationed were required to find quarters, firewood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles.

Quay, MATTHEW STANLEY, legislator; born in Dillsbury, Pa., Sept. 30, 1833; graduated at Jefferson College in 1850; admitted to the bar in 1854; became lieutenant in the 10th Pennsylvania Reserves in 1861; promoted colonel of the 134th Pennsylvania Volunteers in August, 1862; member of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1864-66; secretary of the commonwealth in 1872-78; and was elected United States

QUEBEC

Senator in 1887, 1893, and 1901. In 1889 he was indicted for alleged misappropriation of public funds, but was acquitted, after a sensational hearing, April 21. The same year he was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate; the legislature got into a deadlock, and adjourned without making a choice. On April 21, 1889, Governor Stone issued to Mr. Quay a recess appointment certificate, but this was not accepted by the Senate, which, on April 24, 1900, declared the credentials offered invalid. On Jan. 15, 1901, the legislature elected him for the remainder of the term ending March 4, 1905. He died in Beaver, Pa., May 28, 1904.

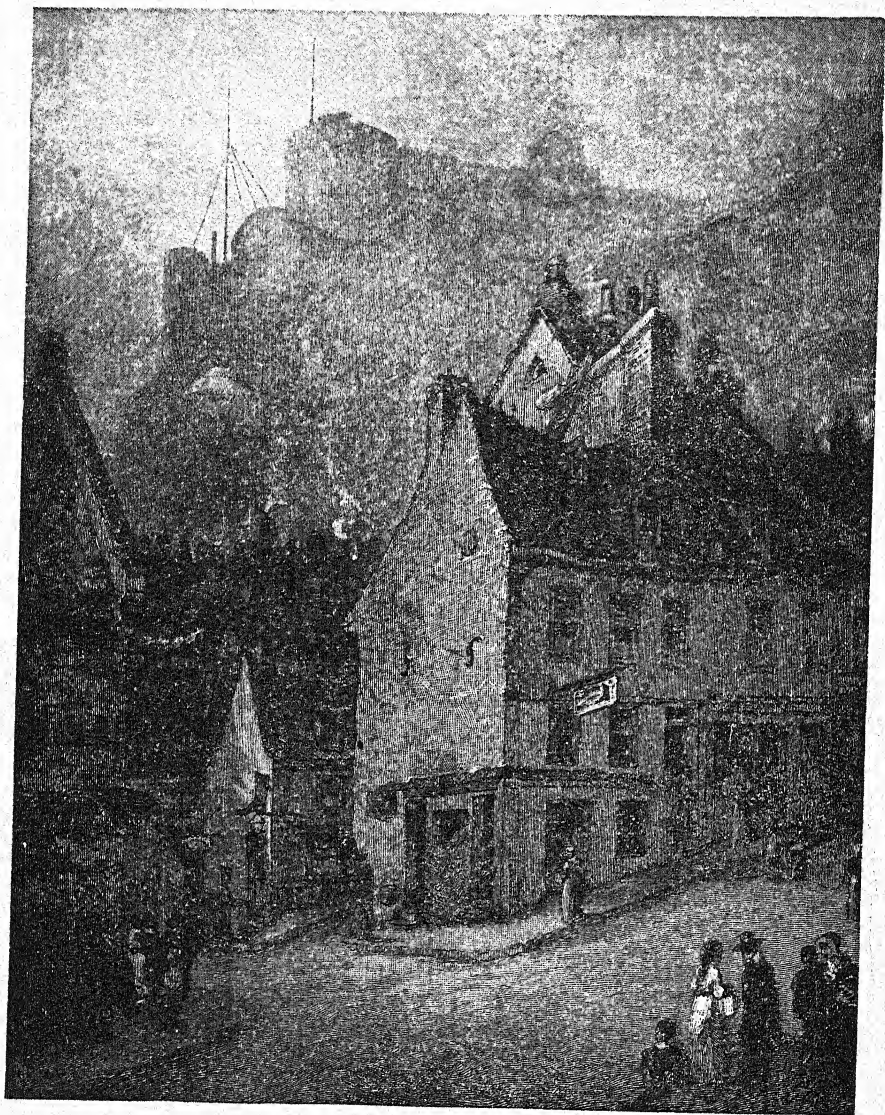
QUEBEC

Quebec. The New England colonies and New York formed a bold design, in 1690, to subject Canada to the crown of England. An armament was fitted out for operations by sea and land. The naval arm of the service was placed under the command of Sir William Phipps, who, without charts or pilots, crawled cautiously along the shores around Acadia and up the St. Lawrence, consuming nine weeks on the passage. A swift Indian runner had carried news of the expedition from Pemaquid to Frontenac, at Montreal, in time to allow him to hasten to Quebec and strengthen the fortifications there. Phipps did not arrive until Oct. 5. Immediate operations were necessary on account of the lateness of the season. He sent a flag demanding the instant surrender of the city and fortifications. His summons was treated with disdain. After being prevented from landing near the city by a gale, he debarked a large body of his troops at the Isle of Orleans, about 3 miles below the town, where they were attacked by the French and Indians. There the English remained until the 11th, when a deserter gave them such an account of the strength of Quebec that Phipps abandoned the enterprise, hastily re-embarked his troops, and crawled back to Boston with his whole fleet, after it had been dispersed by a tempest.

After the reduction of Port Royal, in 1711, Colonel Nicholson went again to England to solicit an expedition against Canada. The ministry acceded to his proposal, and a sufficient armament was ordered for the grand enterprise. Nicholson hastened back, gave notice to the colonies, and prepared for the invasion of Canada by sea and land. Admiral Walker commanded the fleet of sixty-eight vessels of war and transports, bearing about

7,000 men. When the ships arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, after loitering by the way, they were overtaken by a storm and thick fog. They were in a perilous place among rocks and shoals. Walker's New England pilots, familiar with the coast, told him so; but he haughtily rejected their information, and relied wholly on French pilots, who were interested in deceiving him. On the night of Sept. 2 his fleet was driving on the shore. Just as the admiral was going to bed, the captain of his flag-ship came down to him and said, "Land is in sight; we are in great danger." He did not believe it. Presently a provincial captain rushed down and exclaimed, "For the Lord's sake, come on deck, or we shall be lost!" Leisuredly putting on his gown and slippers, the admiral ascended to the deck and saw the imminent peril. His orders given to secure safety were too late. The vessels were driven on the rocks, and eight of them were lost. In the disaster almost 1,000 men perished. At a council of war held a few days afterwards, it was determined to abandon the expedition, and Nicholson, with his ships, returned to England, while the troops were sent to Boston. The arrogant Walker actually claimed credit for himself in retreating, falsely charging the disaster to the New England pilots, and saying: "Had we arrived safe at Quebec, ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish with cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest." His government did not reward him for helping Providence. Governor Vaudreuil, at Montreal, advised of the movement, had sent out Jesuit missionaries and other agents to gather Indian allies, and, hastening to Quebec, strengthened the fortifications there. So enthus-

QUEBEC



OLD TOWN AND RAMPARTS, QUEBEC.

astic were the people in preparing for defence that women worked on the forts.

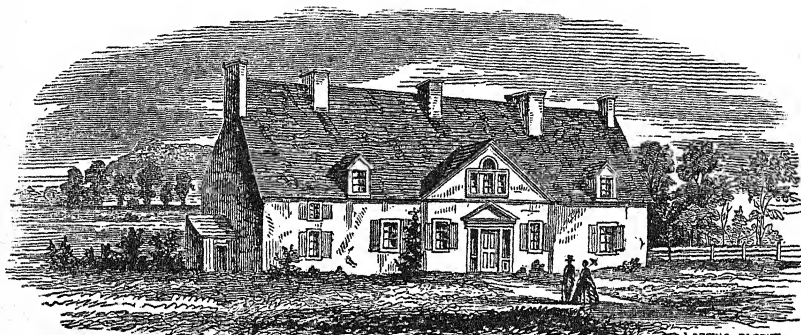
Another expedition for the capture of Quebec was fitted out in the spring of 1759, and placed under the command of Gen. James Wolfe, then only thirty-three years of age. He left Louisburg with

8,000 troops, in transports, under a convoy of twenty-two line-of-battle ships and as many frigates and smaller armed vessels, commanded by Admirals Holmes and Saunders. On June 27 he landed his troops on the Isle of Orleans. Quebec occupied a strong position for defence

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against attack. It consisted of an upper and a lower town on a point of land at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and its tributary the St. Charles. The lower town was built on a narrow beach at the water's edge of both rivers; the upper town occupied a high rocky cape, rising at one point 300 feet above the river, and extending back some distance in a lofty

Canadians and Indians. This camp was strongly intrenched, and, overhanging the St. Lawrence, and extending a great distance above Quebec, the Heights, almost perpendicular on the river-front, seemed to present an almost impregnable barrier of defence. Wolfe found a great advantage in his naval superiority, which gave him full command of the river. On the



MONTCALM'S HEADQUARTERS.

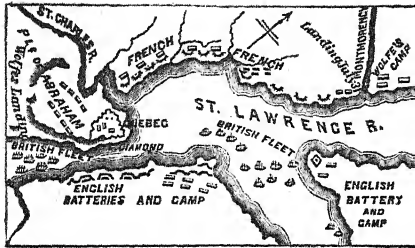
plateau, called the Plains of Abraham. The upper town was surrounded by a fortified wall. At the mouth of the St. Charles the French had moored several floating batteries, and, apprised of the expedition, had taken vigorous measures to strengthen the port. Beyond the St. Charles, and between it and the Montmorency, a river which enters the St. Lawrence a few miles below Quebec, lay Montcalm's army, almost equal in numbers to that of Wolfe, but composed largely of

south side of the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec, was Point Levi, occupied by some French troops. This post Wolfe seized (July 30) without much opposition, on which he erected batteries. From there he hurled hot shot upon the city, which destroyed the cathedral and did much damage to the lower town, but which had very little effect upon the strong fortifications of the upper town. Wolfe then determined to land below the mouth of the Montmorency and bring Montcalm into action. For this purpose he caused a large force to be landed, under Generals Townshend and Murray (July 10), who were to force the passage of the Montmorency. But the French were so strongly posted that such action was deferred. Finally General Monckton, with grenadiers, crossed the river from Point Levi and landed upon the beach at the foot of the high bank, just above the Montmorency. Murray and Townshend were ordered to cross that stream above the great falls and co-operate with Monckton, but the latter was too eager for attack to await their coming. He unwisely rushed forward, but was soon repulsed and compelled to take shelter behind a block-house near the beach, just as a thunder-storm, which had



NEAR THE PLACE WHERE WOLFE LANDED.

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MAP OF BATTLE OF QUEBEC.

been gathering for some time, burst in fury upon the combatants. Before it ceased night came on, and the roar of the rising tide warned the English to take to their boats. In the battle and the flood 500 of the English perished. Various devices were conceived for destroying the French shipping, to draw out the garrison, and to produce alarm. A magazine and many houses were fired and burned, but it was impossible to cut out the French shipping.

Two months passed away; very little progress had been made towards conquest; and no other intelligence had been received from Amherst than a report by the enemy that he had retreated. The season for action was rapidly passing. The prospect was discouraging; yet Wolfe, though prostrated by sickness, was full of hope. He called a council of officers at his bedside, and, on the suggestion of General Townshend, it was resolved to scale the Heights of Abraham from the St. Lawrence and assault the town. A plan was instantly matured, and, feeble as Wolfe was from the effects of fever, he resolved to lead the assault in person. The camp below the Montmorency was broken up (Sept. 8), and the attention of Montcalm was diverted from the real designs of the English by seeming preparations to attack his lines. Even De Bougainville, whom Montcalm had sent up the river with 1,500 men to guard against an attack above the town, had no suspicions of their intentions, so secretly and skilfully had the affair been managed. The troops had been withdrawn from the Isle of Orleans and placed on shipboard, and on the evening of Sept. 12 the vessels moved up the stream several miles above the intended landing-place, which was at a cove at the

foot of a narrow ravine, a short distance above the town, that led up to the Plains of Abraham. At midnight the troops left the ships, and in flat-bottomed boats, with muffled oars, went down to the designated landing-place, where they disembarked. At dawn (Sept. 13) Lieutenant-Colonel Howe (afterwards Gen. Sir William Howe) led the van up the tangled ravine in the face of a sharp fire from the guard above. After a brief struggle they reached the plain, drove off a small force there, and covered the ascent of the main body. In early morning the whole British force was upon the Plains of Abraham, ready to attack the city at its weakest points.



MONTMORENCY FALLS.

It was an apparition unexpected to the vigilant Montcalm. He instantly put his troops in motion to meet the impending

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peril of the city. He crossed the St. Charles, and between 9 and 10 A.M. the English were confronted by the French army on the plains.

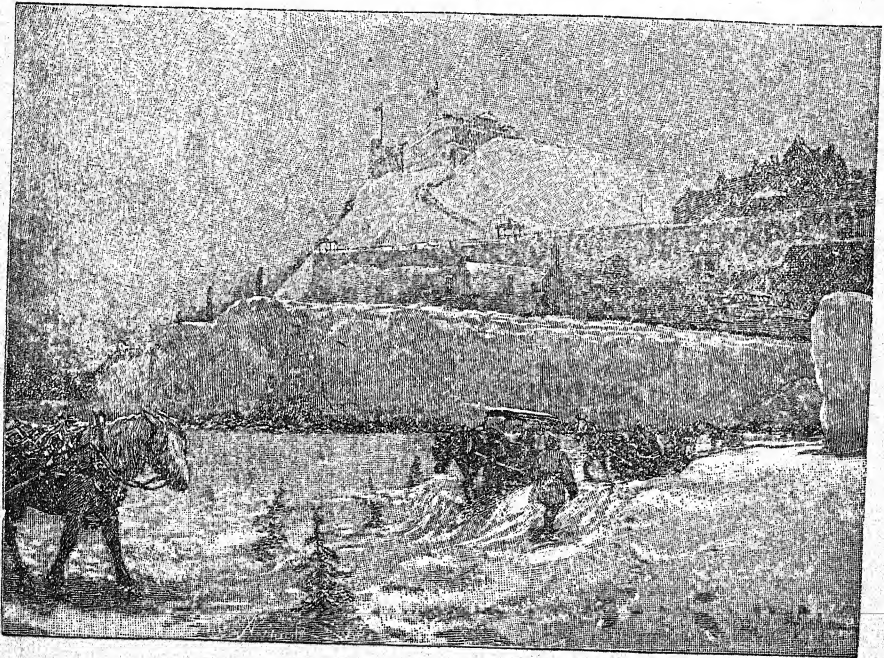
A general battle quickly ensued. Eight

generals were respectively stationed on the right of the English and the left of the French, opposite each other, and there the battle raged fiercest. Wolfe, though twice wounded, continued to give orders. His grenadiers were pressing the French back, when, a third time, he was wounded, and mortally. English bayonets and the broadswords of the Scotch Highlanders at length began to make the French line waver. At that moment Montcalm fell, mortally wounded, and the whole French line broke into disorder and fled. Monckton, who had taken the command, was severely wounded. Townshend continued the battle until the victory was won. Of the French, 500 were killed, and 1,000 (including the wounded) were made prisoners. The English lost 600 killed and wounded. General Townshend then prepared to besiege the city. Threatened famine within aided him, and five days after the death of Wolfe (Sept. 18, 1759), Quebec, with its fortifications, shipping, stores, and people, was surrendered to the English, when 5,000 troops, led by General Murray, took



WOLFE'S FIRST MONUMENT.

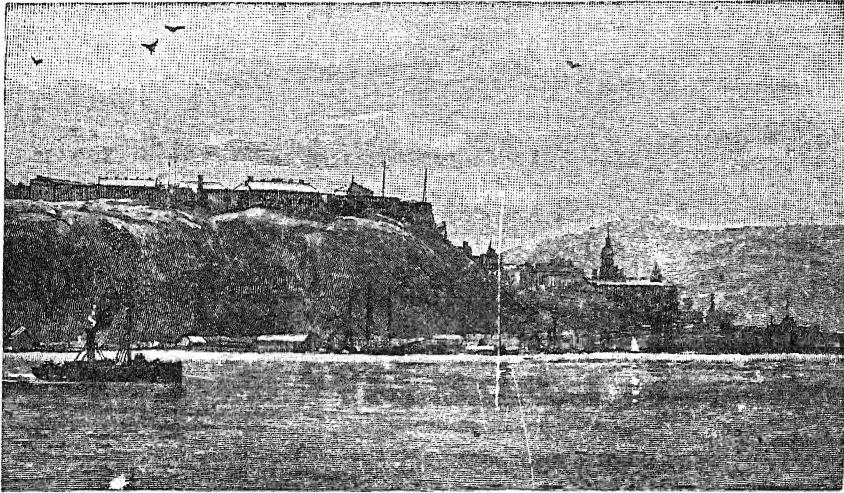
or ten 6-pounders, dragged up the heights by sailors, were brought into play after the action began. The French had only two small field-pieces. The contending



THE CITADEL, QUEBEC.

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possession of the whole. The English fleet, 1759), ascended to the Plains of Abraham with the sick and French prisoners, sailed down the river, marched towards the two gates of the city opening on the plain, and ordered



QUEBEC FROM THE ST. LAWRENCE.

ite was erected on the spot where Wolfe fell. Relic-seekers broke it into an unattractive mass, and it was removed for a more stately structure. See WOLFE, JAMES.

On the day after Montgomery entered Montreal in triumph (Nov. 13, 1775), Col. Benedict Arnold, with 750 half-naked men, having not more than 400 muskets and no artillery, stood before the walls of Quebec. He boldly demanded its surrender. He had reached Point Levi four days before, at the end of a terrible march through the wilderness. Veiled in falling snow, they had appeared like a supernatural apparition—a spectral army—on the bleak shore. The man who carried the news of their advent into Quebec created great consternation there. He said, in French, that they were *vêtu en toile*—clothed in linen cloth—referring to Morgan's riflemen in their linen frocks. The last word was mistaken for *tôle*—iron plate—and the message created a panic. Detained by the storm, Arnold crossed the river on the night of the 13th with 500 men in bark canoes, landed at Wolfe's Cove (where Wolfe landed in

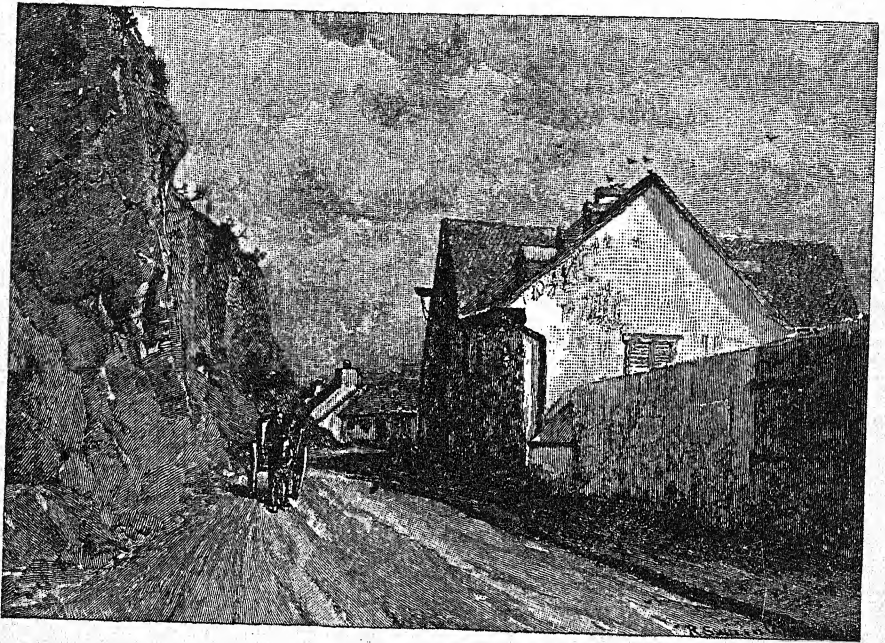
ed his men to give three cheers to bring out the regulars to attack him, when he hoped to rush in through the open gates, and by the assistance of friends within the walls to seize the city. The commander there paid little attention to him, and after making a ridiculous display of arrogance and folly for a few days by issuing proclamations and demanding the surrender of the city, he was startled by news of the descent of the St. Lawrence by Carleton, and that the garrison were about to sally out and attack him with field-pieces. He had been joined by the 200 troops he had left at Point Levi, but his numbers were still so few and without cannon, that he prudently fled up the river to Point Aux Trembles, and there awaited instructions from Montgomery. The latter had left troops in charge of General Wooster, at Montreal, and with a few soldiers who had agreed to follow him he went towards Quebec. He met Arnold's shivering soldiers on Dec. 3, and took command of the combined troops. With woollen clothing which he took with him he clothed Arnold's men, and with the combined force, less than 1,000 strong,

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and 200 Canadian volunteers under Col. James Livingston, he pressed forward, and stood before Quebec on the evening of the 5th.

On the following morning he demanded the surrender of the city and garrison of Governor Carleton, when the flag which he sent was fired upon. Montgomery sent a letter to Carleton, but the latter refused to have any communication with a "rebel general." The latter prepared to assail the walled town with his handful of ill-supplied men, exposed to tempest and cold on the bleak plain. He made an ice-redoubt and planted upon it six 12-pound cannon and two howitzers

pox appeared among them. Quarrels between Arnold and several of his officers alienated some of the troops, and it appeared at one time as if a dissolution of the little invading army was imminent. On Christmas Montgomery determined to try and carry the city by assault at two points simultaneously, one division to be under his own command, the other to be led by Arnold. It was determined to undertake the task on the next stormy night, Arnold to attack the lower town in the gloom, set'ing fire to the suburb of St. Roque, while the main body under Montgomery should make the attack on the St. Lawrence side of the town. A snow-



A STREET IN THE LOWER TOWN.

brought by Colonel Lamb. From four or five mortars placed in the lower town he sent bomb-shells into the city, and set a few buildings on fire. Some round-shot from the citadel shattered Lamb's ice-battery and compelled him to withdraw. Then Montgomery waited a fortnight for expected reinforcements, but in vain. The terms of enlistment of some of his men had almost expired, and the deadly small-

storm began (Dec. 30), and, notwithstanding sickness and desertion had reduced the invading army to 750 efficient men, movements for the assault were immediately made.

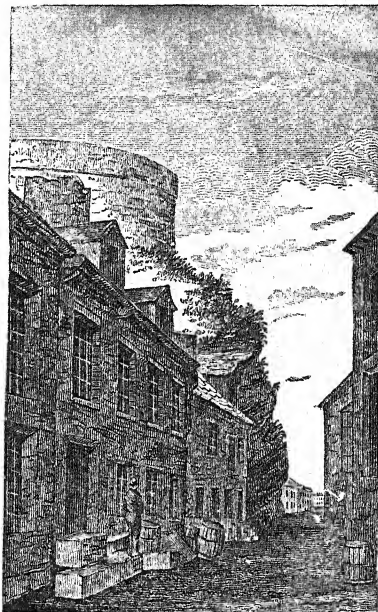
While Colonel Arnold led 350 men to assault the city on the St. Charles side, Colonel Livingston made a feigned attack on the St. Louis Gate, and Major Brown menaced Cape Diamond Bastion. At the

QUEBEC—QUEENSTON

same time Montgomery descended to the edge of the St. Lawrence with the remainder of the army, and made his way along the narrow shore at the foot of Cape Diamond. The plan was for the troops of Montgomery and Arnold to meet and assail Prescott Gate on the St. Lawrence side, and, carrying it by storm, enter the city. The whole plan had been revealed to Carleton by a Canadian deserter, and the garrison was prepared. A battery was placed at a narrow pass on the St. Charles side, and a block-house with masked cannon occupied the narrow way at the foot of Cape Diamond. Montgomery found that pass blocked with ice, and blinding snow was falling fast. He pressed forward, and after passing a deserted barrier approached the block-house. All was silent there. Believing the garrison not to be on the alert, Montgomery shouted to the companies of Captains Mott and Cheeseman near him, "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads; push on, my brave boys, and Quebec is ours!" Through the thick snow-veil forty men in the block-house watched for the appearance of the invaders just at dawn. Montgomery's shout was answered by a deadly storm of grape-shot from the masked cannon, and Montgomery, his aide (Captain McPherson), Captain Cheeseman, and ten others were slain. The remainder fell back under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

Meanwhile, Arnold was making his way through the snow-drifts on the other side of the town, in which there was great uproar—bells ringing and drums beating. The storm was raging violently, and Arnold's troops were compelled to march in single file through heavy snow-drifts. Lamb had to leave his artillery behind and join the fighters with small-arms. At a narrow pass Arnold was wounded in the leg and carried back to the hospital. Morgan took the command. A party of the Americans near Palace Gate were captured. The remainder fought desperately until ten o'clock, when Morgan, having lost full 100 men, was compelled to surrender. A reserve force of Arnold's division had retreated, and these were soon joined by the forces of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. So ended the siege of

Quebec. The whole loss of the Americans in the assault, killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 400; that of the British was only about twenty killed. Arnold retired with the remnant of his troops to



PLACE WHERE ARNOLD WAS WOUNDED.

Sillery, 3 miles up the river, and kept up the blockade of Quebec during the winter. See ARNOLD, BENEDICT.

Queen Anne's War. See ANNE, QUEEN.

Queen's College. See RUTGERS COLLEGE.

Queenston, BATTLE AT. The unfortunate armistice signed by Dearborn in 1812, so delayed preparations for war on the Niagara frontier that General Van Rensselaer found himself in command of only 700 men there on Sept. 1. His headquarters were at Lewiston, opposite Queenston. He had been promised 5,000 men at that time, and was charged with the double duty of defending that frontier and invading Canada. After the armistice was ended, regulars and militia began to gather on that frontier, and towards the middle of October Van Rensselaer had 6,000 men scattered along the

QUEENSTON, BATTLE AT

river from Lewiston to Buffalo. Feeling strong enough, he marched to invade Canada from Lewiston, on the night of the 12th. It was intensely dark. A storm had just ceased, and the air was laden with vapor. At 3 A.M. the next day Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer, in command of 600 men, was on the shore at Lewiston, prepared to cross the river in the gloom, but, for want of a sufficient number of boats, he crossed with less than half his force. The British, on the alert, had discovered the movement of the Americans, and when the latter landed, at the foot of the high, rocky bank of the Niagara River, they were assailed with musketry and a small field-piece. To this attack a battery on Lewiston Heights responded, when the British fled towards the village

George, 7 miles below Queenston, when the firing began. He hastened to the scene of action with his staff and pressed up the heights to a redan battery, where he dismounted, when suddenly Wool and his men came upon him. Brock and his staff fled in haste, and in a few minutes the American flag was waving over that little work. Brock placed himself at the head of some troops to drive Wool from the heights, and at first the Americans were pressed back by overwhelming numbers to the verge of the precipice, which rises 200 feet above the river, when, inspired by Wool's words and acts, they turned so furiously upon the British that they broke and fled down the hill. They were rallied by Brock, and were about to ascend the heights, when their commander was



QUEENSTON IN 1812.

of Queenston. They were followed by regulars, under Capt. John E. Wool, who pushed gallantly up the hill, pressed the British back to the plateau on which Queenston stands, and finally gained possession of Queenston Heights. Colonel Van Rensselaer had followed with militia, but was so severely wounded that he was compelled to relinquish the command and return to Lewiston. A bullet had passed through the fleshy part of both Wool's thighs, but, unmindful of his wounds, he would neither leave the field nor relinquish his command until the arrival of his senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Chrystie, at about nine o'clock.

Gen. Sir Isaac Brock was at Fort

mortally wounded at the foot of the hill. Wool was left master of the heights until the arrival of General Wadsworth, of the New York militia, who took the chief command. General Sheaffe, who succeeded Brock, again rallied the troops. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott had crossed the river and joined the Americans on the heights as a volunteer, and at the request of General Wadsworth he took active command.

Early in the afternoon a crowd of Indians, led by John Brant, son of the great Mohawk chief, fell upon the American pickets with a horrid war-whoop. The militia were about to flee, when the towering form and trumpet-toned voice of Scott arrested their attention. He inspired the

QUINCY

troops, now about 600 strong, to fall upon the Indians, who turned and fled in terror to the woods. General Van Rensselaer, who had come over from Lewiston, hastened back to send over more militia. About 1,000 had come over in the morning, but few had engaged in the contest. The others refused to go, pleading that they were not compelled to leave the soil of their country, and they stood idly at Lewiston while their comrades were being slaughtered. Overwhelming numbers had pressed forward under General Sheaffe, and compelled the Americans to surrender. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 190; the number made prisoners was 900. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners—the latter taken in the morning—was about 130. The prisoners were marched to Newark, opposite Fort Niagara. The American militia, officers and privates, were paroled and sent across the river, but those of the regular army were detained, prisoners of war, for exchange, sent to Quebec, and thence by cartel-ship to Boston.

Quincy, EDMUND; born in Wigsthorpe, England, 1602; emigrated to Massachusetts in 1628; several thousand acres of land in Mount Wollaston plantation were granted to Edmund Quincy and William Coddington in 1635. Upon this tract the town of Quincy was laid out. He died in Mount Wollaston, Mass., Dec. 9, 1635.

Quincy, JOSIAH, merchant; born in Braintree, Mass., in 1709; graduated at Harvard in 1728; appointed joint commissioner with Thomas Pownall, from Massachusetts, in 1755, to negotiate an alliance with New York and Pennsylvania against the French, and to erect Fort Ticonderoga as a defence against invasion from Canada. He died in Braintree in 1784.

Quincy, JOSIAH, patriot; born in Boston, Mass., Feb. 23, 1744; third son of Josiah Quincy; graduated at Harvard College in 1763, and soon rose to distinction as a lawyer. He was fervent and influential as a speaker and writer. In 1770 he, with John Adams, defended Captain Preston. Ill-health

compelled him to abandon all business. He made a voyage to Charleston in February, 1773, which gave him much benefit, but his constitution was permanently impaired. He took part in public affairs, speaking against British oppression fervidly and eloquently, until September, 1774, when he made a voyage to England. In London he labored incessantly in behalf of the American cause, but his health soon gave way, and on the voyage homeward he died when he was in sight of his native land, April 26, 1775.

Quincy, JOSIAH, statesman; born in Boston, Mass., Feb. 4, 1772; son of the preceding Josiah Quincy; graduated at Harvard College in 1790, at the head of his class, and entered on the practice of law in Boston in 1793. In 1804 he was State Senator, and from 1805 to 1813 a member of Congress, in which, as a Federalist, he opposed the measures of the administration—especially with regard to the admission of Louisiana as a State and the War of 1812-15—with great ability and vigor. He was ready, fervid, earnest, witty, and keenly satirical in speech, and was a constant annoyance to Presidents Jefferson and Madison. After the war he was again State Senator (1815-20),



JOSIAH QUINCY.

QUINCY, JOSIAH

member of the State Constitutional Convention, speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1820-21, mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1829, and president of Harvard College from 1829 to 1845. He was judge of the Boston municipal court in 1822, and he first laid down the rule that the publication of the truth with good intentions, and for a justifiable motive, was not libellous. Mr. Quincy was a lifelong opposer of the system of slave labor, not only as morally wrong, but injurious to the country; and at the age of ninety-one years he made a public patriotic speech in support of the efforts of the government to perpetuate the Union. Mr. Quincy's career in Congress was mem-

He was a leader among the Federalists, and was cordially hated by his Democratic opponents. They lampooned him, they abused him, they caricatured him. In one caricature he was called "Josiah the First," and had upon his breast, as the decoration of an order, crossed codfishes, in allusion to his persistent defence of the New England fisheries. He was also called "King" because of his political domination in New England. In the caricature his coat was scarlet, his waistcoat brown, his breeches light green, and his stockings white silk. In a space near his head, in the original, were the words, "I, Josiah the First, do, by this royal proclamation, announce myself King of New England, Nova Scotia, and Passamaquoddy, Grand Master of the noble order of the Two Codfishes." He died in Quincy, Mass., July 1, 1864.

The Embargo. On Nov. 28, 1808, Mr. Quincy delivered the following speech in the national House of Representatives on the embargo bill:



A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE.

orable. It was at a time of great political agitation and international commotion. He was an able debater, and was sometimes almost fierce in his denunciations of his opponents, especially when topics connected with the War of 1812 was a theme for debate. He was patriotic, and most sincerely opposed to war; but when it was begun he never omitted to give his aid to his distressed country in the conflict.

disgraced and brought to the brink of ruin. . . .

It remains for us, therefore, to consider what submission is, and what the pledge not to submit implies.

One man submits to the order, decree, or edict of another, when he does that thing which such order, decree, or edict commands, or when he omits to do that thing which such order, decree, or edict

QUINCY, JOSIAH

prohibits. This, then, is submission. It is to do as we are bidden. It is to take the will of another as a measure of our rights. It is to yield to his power, to go where he directs, or to refrain from going where he forbids us.

If this be submission, then the pledge not to submit implies the reverse of all this. It is a solemn declaration that we will not do that thing which such order, decree, or edict commands, or that we will do what it prohibits. This, then, is freedom. This is honor. This is independence. It consists in taking the nature of things, and not the will of another, as the measure of our rights. What God and nature offer us we will enjoy in despite of the commands, regardless of the menaces of iniquitous power.

Let us apply these correct and undeniable principles to the edicts of Great Britain and France, and the consequent abandonment of the ocean by the American government. The decrees of France prohibit us trading with Great Britain. The orders of Great Britain prohibit us from trading with France. And what do we do? Why, in direct subserviency to the edicts of each, we prohibit our citizens from trading with either. We do more. As if unqualified submission was not humiliating enough, we descend to an act of supererogation in servility; we abandon trade altogether; we not only refrain from that particular trade which their respective edicts prescribe, but, lest the ingenuity of our merchants should enable them to evade their operation, to make submission doubly sure, the American government virtually re-enact the edicts of the belligerents, and abandon all the trade which, notwithstanding the practical effects of their edicts, remains to us. The same conclusion will result if we consider our embargo in relation to the objects of this belligerent policy. France, by her edicts, would compress Great Britain by destroying her commerce and cutting off her supplies. All the continent of Europe, in the hand of Bonaparte, is made subservient to this policy. This embargo law of the United States, in its operation, is a union with the continental coalition against British commerce at the very moment most auspicious to its success.

Can anything be in more direct subserviency to the views of the French Emperor? If we consider the orders of Great Britain, the result will be the same. I proceed at present on the supposition of a perfect impartiality in our administration towards both belligerents, so far as relates to the embargo law. Great Britain has two objects in issuing her orders. First, to excite discontent in the people on the Continent, by depriving them of their accustomed colonial supplies. Second, to secure to herself that commerce of which she deprived neutrals. Our embargo co-operates with the British view in both respects. By our dereliction of the ocean, the Continent is much more deprived of the advantages of commerce than it would be possible for the British navy to effect, and by removing our competition all the commerce of the Continent which can be forced is wholly left to be reaped by Great Britain. The language of each sovereign is in direct conformity with these ideas. Napoleon tells the American minister, virtually, that we are very good Americans; that although he will not allow the property he has in his hands to escape him, nor desist from burning and capturing our vessels on every occasion, yet that he is, thus far, satisfied with our co-operation. And what is the language of George III., when our minister presents to his consideration the embargo laws? Is it *Le roy s'avisera*? "The King will reflect upon them." No, it is the pure language of royal approbation, *Le roy le veut*—"The King wills it." Were you colonies, he could expect no more. His subjects will as inevitably get that commerce which you abandon as the water will certainly run into the only channel which remains after all the others are obstructed. In whatever point of view you consider these embargo laws in relation to those edicts and decrees, we shall find them co-operating with each belligerent in its policy. In this way, I grant, our conduct may be partial. But what has become of our American rights to navigate the ocean? They are abandoned in strict conformity to the decrees of both belligerents. This resolution declares that we will no longer submit to such degrading humiliation. Little as I relish it, I will take it as the harbinger of

QUINCY, JOSIAH

a new day—the pledge of a new system of measures.

Perhaps, here, in strictness, I ought to close my observations. But the report of the committee, contrary to what I deem the principle of the resolution, unquestionably recommends the continuance of the embargo laws. And such is the state of the nation, and in particular that portion of it which, in part, I represent, under their oppression, that I cannot refrain submitting some consideration on that subject.

When I enter on the subject of the embargo, I am struck with wonder at the very threshold. I know not with what words to express my astonishment. At the time I departed from Massachusetts, if there was an impression which I thought universal, it was that at the commencement of this session an end would be put to this measure. The opinion was not so much that it would be determined, as that it was then at an end. Sir, the prevailing sentiment, according to my apprehension, was stronger than this—even that the pressure was so great that it could not possibly be longer endured; that it would soon be absolutely insupportable. And this opinion, as I then had reason to believe, was not confined to any one class, or description, or party—even those who were friends of the existing administration, and unwilling to abandon it, were yet satisfied that a sufficient trial had been given to this measure. With these impressions, I arrive in this city. I hear the incantation of the great enchanter. I feel his spell. I see the legislative machinery begin to move. The scene opens, and I am commanded to forget all my recollections, to disbelieve the evidence of my senses, to contradict what I have seen, and heard, and felt. I hear that all this discontent was merely party clamor—electioneering artifice; that the people of New England are able and willing to endure this embargo for an indefinite, unlimited period; some say for six months, some a year, some two years. The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Macon) told us that he preferred three years of embargo to a war. And the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Clopton) said expressly, that he hoped we should never allow our vessels to go upon the ocean

again, until the orders and decrees of the belligerents were rescinded. In plain English, until France and Great Britain should, in their great condescension, permit. Good Heavens! Mr. Chairman, are men mad? Is this House touched with that insanity which is the never-failing precursor of the intention of Heaven to destroy? The people of New England, after eleven months' deprivation of the ocean, to be commanded still longer to abandon it, for an undefined period, to hold their inalienable rights at the tenure of the will of Great Britain or of Bonaparte! A people commercial in all respects, in all their relations, in all their hopes, in all their recollections of the past, in all their prospects of the future—a people, whose first love was the ocean, the choice of their childhood, the approbation of their manly years, the most precious inheritance of their fathers—in the midst of their success, in the movement of the most exquisite perception of commercial prosperity, to be commanded to abandon it, not for a time limited, but for a time unlimited—not until they can be prepared to defend themselves there (for that is not pretended), but until their rivals recede from it—not until their necessities require, but until foreign nations permit! I am lost in astonishment, Mr. Chairman. I have not words to express the matchless absurdity of this attempt. I have no tongue to express the swift and headlong destruction which a blind perseverance in such a system must bring upon this nation. . . .

Mr. Chairman, other gentlemen must take their responsibilities—I shall take mine. This embargo must be repealed. You cannot enforce it for any important period of time longer. When I speak of your inability to enforce this law, let not gentlemen misunderstand me. I mean not to intimate insurrections or open defiance of them. Although it is impossible to foresee in what acts that "oppression," will finally terminate, which, we are told, "make wise men mad," I speak of an inability resulting from very different causes.

The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Macon) exclaimed the other day, in a strain of patriotic ardor, "What! shall not our laws be executed? Shall their

QUINCY, JOSIAH

authority be defied? I am for enforcing them at every hazard." I honor that gentleman's zeal; and I mean no deviation from that true respect I entertain for him, when I tell him that in this instance "his zeal is not according to knowledge."

I ask this House, is there no control to its authority? Is there no limit to the power of this national legislature? I hope I shall offend no man when I intimate that two limits exist—nature and the Constitution. Should this House undertake to declare that this atmosphere should no longer surround us, that water should cease to flow, that gravity should not hereafter operate, that the needle should not vibrate to the pole, I do suppose, Mr. Chairman,—Sir, I mean no disrespect to the authority of this House, I know the high notions some gentlemen entertain on this subject—I do suppose—sir, I hope I shall not offend—I think I may venture to affirm, that, such a law to the contrary notwithstanding, the air would continue to circulate, the Mississippi, the Hudson, and the Potomac would hurl their floods to the ocean, heavy bodies continue to descend, and the mysterious magnet hold on its course to its celestial cynosure.

Just as utterly absurd and contrary to nature is it to attempt to prohibit the people of New England, for any considerable length of time, from the ocean. Commerce is not only associated with all the feelings, the habits, the interests, and relations of that people, but the nature of our soil and of our coast, the state of our population and its mode of distribution over our territory, render it indispensable. We have 500 miles of sea-coast, all furnished with harbors, bays, creeks, rivers, inlets, basins—with every variety of invitation of the sea—with every species of facility to violate such laws as these. Our people are not scattered over an immense surface; at a solemn distance from each other, in lordly retirement, in the midst of extended plantations and intervening wastes. They are collected on the margin of the ocean, by the sides of the rivers, at the heads of bays, looking into the water or on the surface of it for the incitement and the reward of their industry. Among a people thus situated, thus educated, thus numerous, laws prohibiting them

from the exercise of their natural rights will have a binding effect not one moment longer than the public sentiment supports them. . . .

I ask in what page of the Constitution you find the power of laying an embargo? Directly given it is nowhere. You have it, then, by construction, or by precedent. By construction of the power to regulate. I lay out of the question the commonplace argument, that regulation cannot mean annihilation, and that what is annihilated cannot be regulated. I ask this question—Can a power be ever obtained by construction which had never been exercised at the time of the authority given—the like of which had not only never been seen, but the idea of which had never entered into human imagination, I will not say in this country, but in the world? Yet such is this power, which by construction you assume to exercise. Never before did society witness a total prohibition of all intercourse like this in a commercial nation. Did the people of the United States invest this House with a power of which at the time of investment that people had not and could not have had any idea? For even in works of fiction it had never existed.

But it has been asked in debate, "Will not Massachusetts, the cradle of liberty, submit to such privations?" An embargo liberty was never cradled in Massachusetts. Our liberty was not so much a mountain as a sea-nymph. She was as free as air. She could swim, or she could run. The ocean was her cradle. Our fathers met her as she came, like a goddess of beauty, from the waves. They caught her as she was sporting on the beach. They courted her while she was spreading her nets upon the rocks. But an embargo liberty, a handcuffed liberty, a liberty in fetters, a liberty traversing between four sides of a prison, and beating her head against the walls, is none of our offspring. We abjure the monster. Its parentage is all inland.

The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Macon) exclaimed the other day, "Where is the spirit of '76?" Ay, sir; where is it? Would to Heaven that at our invocation it would condescend to alight on this floor. But let gentlemen remember that the spirit of '76 was not a spirit

QUINCY, JOSIAH

of empty declamation, or of abstract propositions. It did not content itself with non-importation acts, or non-intercourse laws. It was a spirit of active preparation, of dignified energy. It studied both to know our rights and to devise the effectual means of maintaining them. In all the annals of '76 you will find no such degrading doctrine as the one maintained in this report. It never presented to the people of the United States the alternative of war or a suspension of our rights, and recommend the latter rather than to incur risk of the former. What was the language of that period in one of the addresses of Congress to Great Britain? "You attempt to reduce us by the sword to base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we rely for protection." In that day there were no alternatives presented to dishearten—no abandonment of our rights under the pretence of maintaining them—no gaining the battle by running away. In the whole history of that period there are no such terms as "embargo—dignified retirement—trying who can do each other the most harm." At that time we had a navy—that name so odious to the influences of the present day. Yes, sir, in 1776, though but in our infancy, we had a navy scouring our coasts, and defending our commerce, which was never for one moment wholly suspended. In 1776 we had an army also; and a glorious army it was; not composed of men halting from the stews, or swept from the jails, but of the best blood, the real yeomanry of the country, noble cavaliers, men without fear, and without reproach. We had such an army in 1775, and Washington was at its head. We have an army in 1808, and a head to it.

I will not humiliate those who lead the fortunes of the nation at the present day by any comparison with the great men of that period. But I recommend the advocates of the present system of public measures to study well the true spirit of 1776 before they venture to call it in aid of their purposes. It may bring in its train some recollections not suited to give ease or hope to their bosoms. I beg gentlemen who are so frequent in their recurrence to that period to remember, that among the causes which led to a separation from Great Britain the following are

enumerated. Unnecessary restrictions upon trade; cutting off commercial intercourse between the colonies; embarrassing our fisheries; wantonly depriving our citizens of necessities; invasion of private property by governmental edicts; the authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him of the brigadier-general, being rendered supreme in the civil government; the commander-in-chief of the army made governor of a colony; citizens transferred from their native country for trial. Let the gentlemen beware how they appeal to the spirit of '76; lest it come with the aspect, not of a friend, but of a tormenter—lest they find a warning when they look for support, and instead of encouragement they are presented with an awful lesson. . . .

Let me ask, Is embargo independence? Deceive not yourselves. It is palpable submission. Gentlemen exclaim, Great Britain "smites us on one cheek." And what does Administration? "It turns the other also." Gentlemen say, Great Britain is a robber, she "takes our cloak." And what says Administration? "Let her take our coat also." France and Great Britain require you to relinquish a part of your commerce, and you yield it entirely. Sir, this conduct may be the way to dignity and honor in another world, but it will never secure safety and independence in this.

At every corner of this great city we meet some gentlemen of the majority, wringing their hands and exclaiming, "What shall we do? Nothing but embargo will save us. Remove it, and what shall we do?" Sir, it is not for me, an humble and uninfluential individual, at an awful distance from the predominant influences, to suggest plans of government. But to my eye the path of our duty is as distinct as the milky way—all studded with living sapphires, glowing with cumulating light. It is the path of active preparation, of dignified energy. It is the path of 1776. It consists, not in abandoning our rights, but in supporting them, as they exist, and where they exist—on the ocean as well as on the land. It consists in taking the nature of things as the measure of the right of your citizens, not the orders and decrees of imperious foreigners. Give what protection you can.

QUINCY—QUITMAN

Take no counsel of fear. Your strength will increase with the trial, and prove greater than you are now aware.

But I shall be told, "This may lead to war." I ask, "Are we now at peace?" Certainly not, unless retiring from insult be peace—unless shrinking under the lash be peace. The surest way to prevent war is not to fear it. The idea that nothing on earth is so dreadful as war is inculcated too studiously among us. Disgrace is worse. Abandonment of essential rights is worse.

Sir, I could not refrain from seizing the first opportunity of spreading before this House the sufferings and exigencies of New England under this embargo. Some gentlemen may deem it not strictly before us. In my opinion—it is necessarily. For, if the idea of the committee be correct, and embargo is resistance, then this resolution sanctions its continuance. If, on the contrary, as I contend, embargo is submission, then this resolution is a pledge of its repeal.

On the Right of Secession and the Admission of New States.—In an address delivered Jan. 14, 1811, on the admission of Louisiana as a State, Quincy expressed his deliberate opinion that it would be a virtual dissolution of the Union, freeing the States composing it from their moral obligation of adhesion to each other, and making it the right of all, as it would become the duty of some, to prepare definitely for separation; amicably if they might, forcibly if they must.

Quincy proceeded to declare "that he had uttered the statement which had so startled the House, not for agitation, but as a warning; not from hostility to the Union, but out of an earnest desire to preserve it. The clause in the Constitution authorizing the admission of new States must, from the context, be understood to relate only to the formation of new States within the limits of the Union as then existing. . . . Nowadays there was no limit to our ambitious hopes. We were about to cross the Mississippi; the Missouri and the Red River were but roads upon which our imagination travelled to new lands and new States, to be erected and admitted under a power now about to be usurped. The debates on the federal Constitution would show

that the effect of slave representation, and of the transfer of power to the West, were subjects of great jealousy to some of the best patriots of the Northern and Eastern States. Had it been foreseen that, besides all that, the population of a world beyond the Mississippi was to come in, to change all existing proportions of political weight and influence—to make our laws, control our actions, and decide our destiny—would such an arrangement, such a throwing of our rights, liberties, and property into hotch-potch with the wild men on the Missouri, have been listened to for a moment? The admission of Louisiana must be under an amendment of the Constitution authorizing that admission, and that only."

Quincy, JOSHUA PHILLIPS, lawyer; born in Boston, Nov. 29, 1829; graduated at Harvard, 1850; admitted to Suffolk bar in 1854. Among his works are *Double Taxation in Massachusetts; Tax Exemption No Excuse for Spoliation; The Protection of Majorities*, etc.

Quint, ALONZO HALL, clergyman; born in Barnsley, N. H., Nov. 22, 1828; graduated at Dartmouth in 1864; pastor of Mather Church in Roxbury, Mass., 1858; chaplain of the 2d Massachusetts Infantry in 1861. Among his writings are *The Potomac and the Rapidan; The Record of the 2d Massachusetts Infantry; The First Parish in Dover, N. H.*; etc. He died in Boston, Mass., Nov. 4, 1896.

Quintard, CHARLES TODD, clergyman; born in Stamford, Conn., Dec. 22, 1824; graduated at the University of the City of New York in 1847; removed to Georgia and Tennessee; became a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1856; chaplain in the Confederate army from 1862 to 1865; elected Bishop of Tennessee in 1865. He died in Meridian, Ga., Feb. 15, 1898.

Quitman, JOHN ANTHONY, military officer; born in Rhinebeck, N. Y., Sept. 1, 1799; became a lawyer, and settled in Natchez in 1823, where he engaged in cotton-planting and the practice of law, in which profession he soon became distinguished. From 1826 to 1831 he was chancellor of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, and again from 1832 to 1834. Quitman served in both branches of the State legislature, and was governor *pro tem.* in

QUO WARRANTO ACT—QUORUM

1835. In the struggle of Texas for independence he was distinguished. In 1839 he became judge of the State high court of errors and appeals, and in 1846 the President of the United States appointed him brigadier-general of volunteers. He served with distinction through the war against Mexico, and was appointed by General Scott military governor of the city of Mexico. In 1850 he was elected governor of Mississippi, and was in Congress from 1856 to 1858, at the head of the military committee. General Quitman was a devoted disciple of Calhoun in his political creed. He favored the annexation of Cuba to the United States, and was accused of complicity in the Lopez filibustering expedition. He was held for trial, but the jury disagreeing he was released. He died in Natchez, Miss., July 17, 1858.

Quo Warranto Act. By it a writ may be directed to any person to inquire by what authority he assumes to hold any

office or franchise. On the accession of James II. he planned to procure a surrender of the patents of the New England colonies and to form North America into twelve provinces with a governor-general over all. Writs of *quo warranto* were issued, July, 1685, requiring the several colonies to appear by representatives before the council to show by what right they exercised certain powers and privileges. Notwithstanding petitions and remonstrances, the charters were annulled, and SIR EDMUND ANDROS (*q. v.*) appointed governor-general. See CONNECTICUT.

Quorum. The United States Constitution requires the presence of one-half of the House to constitute a quorum. Until 1890 this was held to be evidenced by the number of votes cast, but in that year Speaker T. B. REED (*q. v.*) ruled that the mere bodily presence of the required number would constitute a quorum, even though some of them did not vote.

R.

Race Problem, THE. See LAMAR, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS.

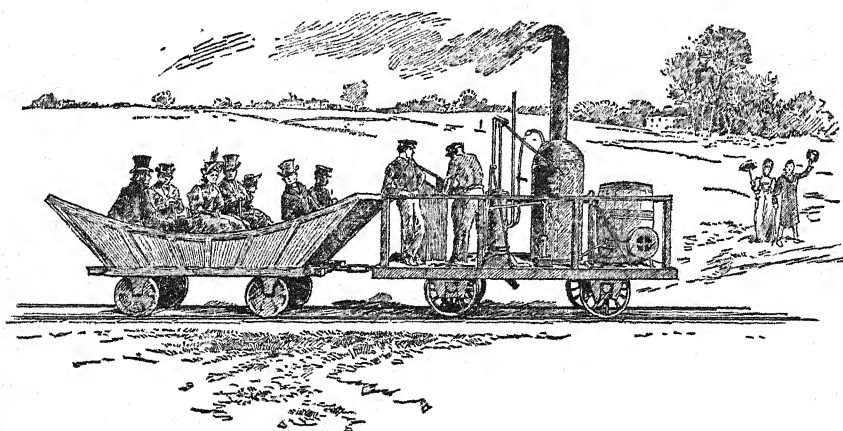
Radcliffe College, an educational institution for women exclusively, in Cambridge, Mass.; established in 1878 by a society for the collegiate instruction of women, and made a part of Harvard University in the following year. In 1893-94 it was established as a separate institution, although in affiliation with Harvard University, and given its present name in honor of Annie Radcliffe, the first woman who made a donation of money for the founding of Harvard University. At the close of 1903 it reported: Professors, 108; students, 443; library, 18700 vols.; funds, \$300,000; value of buildings, \$490,000; income, \$96,537; gradu-

by the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads, in March, 1861 (see MONITOR AND MERRIMAC). In the attacks of Porter's squadron on Fort Fisher, Radford commanded the *New Ironsides*. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1866; commanded the European Squadron in 1869-70; retired March 1, 1870. He died in Washington, D. C., Jan. 8, 1890.

Rafeix, PIERRE. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Raids. See MORGAN, JOHN HUNT.

Railroads. The steam-carriage was dimly shadowed by Evans's "Oracter Amphibolis." It suggested the locomotive. His drawings and specifications, sent to England in 1787 and 1794-95, were copied there, and became the basis of all subsequent inventions of that nature. In



PETER COOPER'S TRAIN.

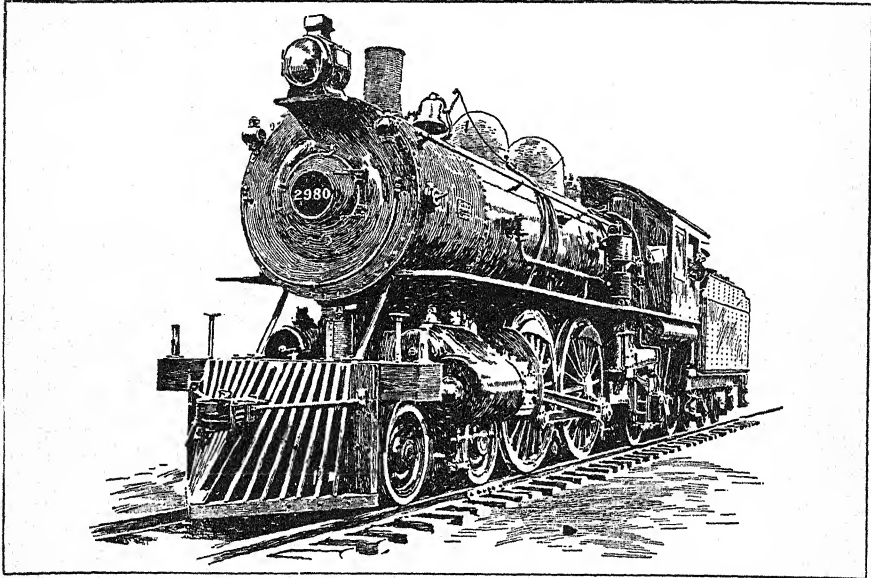
ates, 574; president, Le Baron R. Briggs, LL.D.

Radford, WILLIAM, naval officer; born in Fincastle, Va., March 1, 1808; entered the navy as midshipman in March, 1825; served on the Mexican coast, as lieutenant, in the war against Mexico, and was in command of the *Cumberland* when sunk

1804 Evans said, "The time will come when a steam-carriage will set out from Washington in the morning, the passengers will breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia, and sup in New York." The prophecy is fulfilled. The first railroad charter granted in America was given by the legislature of New York to the Mo-

RAILROADS

hawk and Hudson Railroad Company in railway, costing, in round numbers, \$12,1825. The road was completed in the 000,000,000. The gross earnings of the fall of 1831. The next charter was given roads in that year were \$2,000,000,000.



A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE DESIGNED FOR FAST PASSENGER SERVICE.

by the legislature of Maryland (1827) to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. The same year Horatio Allen was sent to England by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company to buy for them locomotives and iron for a railway which they built in 1828 from Honesdale to the coal-mines. Allen, in the latter part of 1829, put the first locomotive on an American railway. The first locomotive built in the United States was by Peter Cooper, at his iron-works near Baltimore, in 1830. It was a small machine, and drew an open car on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, filled with directors, from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills, at the rate of 18 miles an hour. The multiplication of railways in the United States kept pace with the marvellous increase in population, wealth, and inland commerce, until, in 1890, the mileage was greater than that of all other railway systems in the world combined. In 1830 there were in the country 23 miles of passenger railways. On Jan. 1, 1905, there were 206,876 miles of completed

The number of locomotive engines was 44,529, and the number of cars, 1,562,980, of which 28,648 were in passenger service. The total number of men employed on the railways was nearly 1,000,000.

The following statistics show the extent and condition of the steam railroad systems of the United States in 1903:

Mileage of railroads.....	199,684.64
Side tracks and sidings.....	75,150.75
Total track.....	274,835.39
Steel rails in track.....	257,437.11
Iron rails in track.....	17,398.28
Locomotive engines, number.....	41,626
Cars, passenger.....	27,364
“ baggage, mail, etc.....	9,726
“ freight.....	1,503,949
Total cars.....	1,541,039

LIABILITIES.

Capital stock.....	\$6,078,290,596
Bonded debt.....	6,465,290,839
Unfunded debt.....	310,345,867
Current accounts.....	479,957,935
Sinking and other funds....	140,679,814
Total liabilities.....	\$13,474,565,051

RAILROADS—RAILWAY

ASSETS.

Cost of railroad and equipment	\$10,865,682,376
Other investments	2,345,515,940
Sundry assets	455,053,773
Current accounts	287,854,720

Total assets..... **\$13,954,107,818**

Excess of assets over liabilities

\$479,542,767

Miles of railroad operated...	197,887.36
Passenger train mileage.....	403,213,178
Freight train mileage.....	508,210,140
Mixed train mileage.....	22,990,130

Total **934,413,448**

Passengers carried.....	655,130,236
Passenger mileage.....	19,706,908,785
Tons of freight moved.....	1,192,136,510
Freight mileage.....	156,624,166,024

TRAFFIC EARNINGS.

Passengers	\$396,513,412
Freight	1,197,212,452
Miscellaneous	127,089,036

Total traffic revenue..... **\$1,720,814,900**

Net earnings..... **\$560,026,277**

Receipts from other sources.. **77,663,483**

Total available revenue... **\$637,689,760**

PAYMENTS.

Interest on bonds.....	\$222,614,909
Other interest.....	9,733,560
Dividends on stock.....	151,019,537

PAYMENTS—Continued.

Carried forward.....	\$383,368,006
Miscellaneous	57,408,351
Rentals—Interest	40,622,542
Dividends	27,154,215
Miscellaneous	19,970,212

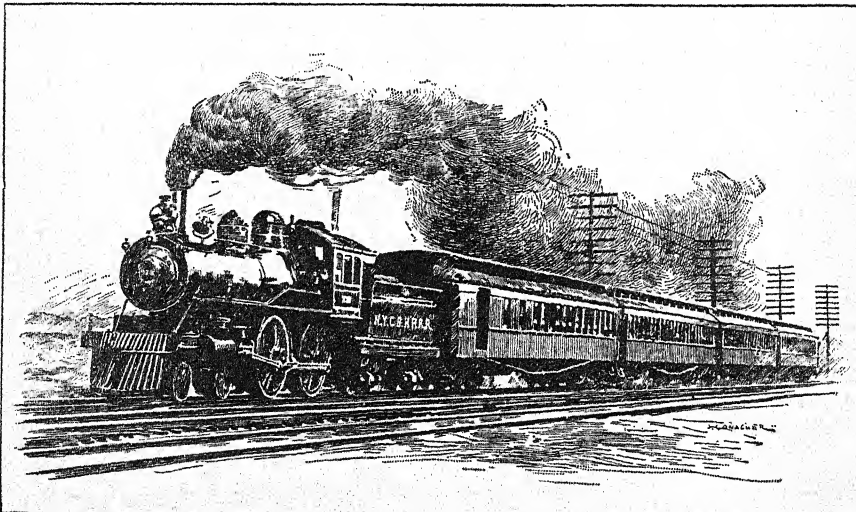
Total payments..... **\$528,523,326**

Surplus **\$109,166,434**

See STATE REGULATION OF RAILWAYS.

Rail-splitter, a popular nickname for Abraham Lincoln.

Railway, THE INTERCONTINENTAL, or "THREE AMERICAS."—One of the results of the international conference held in Washington in 1889-90 was its recommendation that an international commission be created to ascertain the feasibility, the cost, and the location for a railroad connecting South and Central America with Mexico and the United States. This was endorsed by Secretary Blaine and by President Harrison, who transmitted it to Congress, asking that an appropriation be made to commence the surveys. In the same act which authorized the establishment of the bureau of the American republics—the diplomatic and consular appropriation act of July 14, 1890—the Intercontinental Railway Commission was created. In this act it was provided that three commissioners on the part of the



A RAILROAD TRAIN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

RAILWAY—RALE

United States should be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, who were to act with representatives of the other American republics to devise plans for carrying out the objects recommended by the international American conference. The commission organized Dec. 4, 1890, and at once set about equipping surveying parties to make a topographical examination. The United States representatives on the commission were practical railroad men—A. J. Cassatt, Henry G. Davis, and R. C. Kerens, and eleven other republics were represented on the commission. The report issued in March, 1899 (4 volumes), is accompanied with four sets of maps and profiles, exhibiting the surveys and examination of the country that were made from Mexico through Central America to Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, in South America.

An estimate is given of the cost for grading, masonry, and bridges of that portion of the line, which must be constructed to complete the connections, which amount to \$174,290,271.84.

As surveyed (1899), from New York City to Buenos Ayres, the railway would be 10,221 miles long, and to finish and equip it would cost at least \$200,000,000. This length and cost would also be increased when the line is extended through Patagonia to the southern limits of South America. Complete surveys prove that a practical route can be had, and the road built in a reasonable time. The route of this road can be traced on a railroad map, while the following table shows the distances, the miles built, and the gaps to be filled:

Countries.	Built.	Proposed.	Total.
United States.....	2,094	...	2,094
Mexico.....	1,183	461	1,644
Total in North America.....	3,277	461	3,738
Guatemala.....	43	126	169
San Salvador.....	64	166	230
Honduras.....	...	71	71
Nicaragua.....	103	106	209
Costa Rica.....	...	360	360
Total in Central America...	210	829	1,039
Colombia.....	...	1,354	1,354
Ecuador.....	...	658	658
Peru.....	151	1,633	1,784
Bolivia.....	195	392	587
Argentina.....	936	125	1,061
Total in South America....	1,282	4,769	5,444
Grand total.....	4,769	5,452	10,221

Raines Law, an act for the regulation of liquor traffic in New York State, by which all local excise boards are abolished and the traffic is placed under the supervision of the State. By this act liquor dealers were subjected to an annual license tax of \$800 in New York City, \$650 in Brooklyn, and smaller sums, decreasing according to the size of the city or town, from \$500 to \$100. Two-thirds of the proceeds of this tax are apportioned to the locality in which the same is collected, one-third to the State.

Rains, GABRIEL JAMES, military officer; born in Craven county, N. C., in June, 1803; graduated at West Point in 1827; served with distinction in the Seminole War, in which he was severely wounded, and was brevetted major for gallantry. In 1855 he was brigadier-general of volunteers in Washington Territory, and was lieutenant-colonel in the National army in the summer of 1861, when he resigned and became a brigadier-general of the Confederate army. In the battle of WILSON'S CREEK (*q. v.*) he led the advance division. He also commanded a division in the battles at Shiloh and Perryville. He died in Aiken, S. C., Sept. 6, 1881.

Rains, JAMES EDWARD, military officer; born in Nashville, Tenn., April 10, 1833; was a staunch Union man before the war, and, at one time, edited the *Daily Republican Banner*, at Nashville. He was also attorney-general of the State, but resigned, joined the Confederate army, and was for a time in command at Cumberland Gap. He was a brigadier-general; acted with bravery in the battles of Shiloh and Perryville, and was killed in the battle of Stone River, near Murfreesboro, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862.

Raisin River. See FRENCHTOWN, MASSACRE AT; RIVER RAISIN.

Rale, SEBASTIAN, Jesuit missionary; born in France in 1658. In the fall of 1689 he went to Quebec, and was first stationed as a missionary among the Abenake Indians, near the Falls of the Chaudière. Then he was sent to the Illinois country, and as early as 1695 he established a mission among the Abenakes at Norridgewock, on the Kennebec River. He acquired great influence over the Indians, accompanying them on their hunt-

RALEIGH

ing and fishing excursions. The English accused him of instigating savage forays on the New England frontiers, and a price was set upon his head. They burned his mission church in 1705. It was rebuilt, and in 1722 Raleigh's cabin and church were plundered by New England soldiers, who carried away his *Dictionary of the Abenake Language*, which is preserved in manuscript in the library of Harvard University. It has been printed (1833) by the Academy of Arts and Sciences. On Aug. 12, 1724, Father Raleigh was shot at the mission cross, Norridgewock, Me., by some New-Englanders with

educated at Oxford; and at the age of seventeen went as a soldier to France to assist the Huguenots. He afterwards fought in the Netherlands, and returning to England found that his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had just obtained a patent for establishing a plantation in America. Raleigh joined him, and they sailed for the Western Continent in 1579, but were turned back by the loss of one ship and the crippling of the others in a fight with Spanish cruisers. After serving in the suppression of a rebellion in Ireland, he was admitted to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, who conferred honors

upon him. These favors were won by his gallantry in spreading his scarlet cloak over a miry place for the Queen to walk upon.

Through his influence he obtained another patent for Gilbert, and they again proposed to sail for America. Accident kept Raleigh at home, but Gilbert sailed from Plymouth with five ships in 1583, and landing in Newfoundland he took possession of the island in the name of the Queen. Off the coast of Maine the squadron was dispersed, and the vessel in which Gilbert sailed was lost in a storm with all on board. Afterwards Raleigh obtained for himself a patent as lord proprietor of the country extending from Delaware Bay to the mouth of the Santee River, to plant a colony there; and in 1584 he sent two ships thither under the respective commands of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow (see AMIDAS, PHILIP). They entered Ocracoke Inlet, off the coast of North Carolina, in July; explored Pamlico and Albemarle sounds; discovered Roanoke Island, and, waving over its soil the banner of England, took possession of it in

the name of the Queen. On their return to England in the autumn they gave glowing accounts of the country they had discovered, and as a memorial of her un-

a number of Indians. In August, 1833, Bishop Fenwick (R. C.) erected a monument to his memory.

Raleigh, SIR WALTER, navigator; born in Hayes, Devonshire, England, in 1552;

married state, it is said, the Queen gave



W Raleigh

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER

serving alwayes to us, our heires and successors, for all services, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained: All which lands, Countreys, and territories shall for ever be holden of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without especial liking and licence of the sayd Walter Raleigh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayd (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all manner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Raleigh, or his heires, or assignes, as afore-

sayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countreys, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heires and successors. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to every of their heires, that they, and every or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countreys, and Territories, with such licence (as aforesayd) shall and may have all the privileges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as afore-

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER

said, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civill quietnesse eche with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill, wee for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give & grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes for ever that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as civill, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shal from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabit any such lands, countreies, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabit within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, government, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heires and successors, as their immediate Sovereigne under God.

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsaillour Sir

high Treasurer of England, and to the Lorde Treasurer of England for us, our heires and successors, for the time being, and to the privie Counsaile of us, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them, for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Attornies, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and servants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

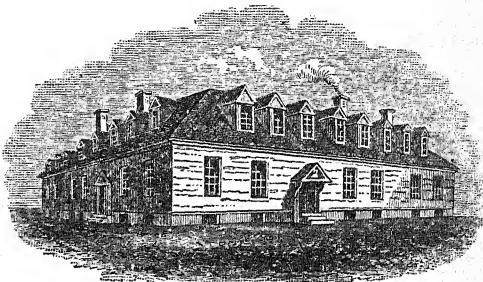
Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of unjust or unlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Governours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successors, and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Governour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the sayde Walter

RALEIGH TAVERN—RAMBOUILLET DECREE

herents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the termes to be limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heires and successors, to put the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostility, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In wittnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Wittnesse our selves, at Westminster the five and twentieth day of March, in the sixe and twentieth yeere of our Reigns.

Raleigh Tavern, THE, in Williamsburg, Va., was, with its famous Apollo Room, the cradle of liberty in Virginia, as Faneuil Hall was in Massachusetts. It was there that the patriots of the Vir-

ginia House of Burgesses met when Governor Dunmore dissolved that House in 1774; appointed delegates to the first Continental Congress; devised schemes for local self-government, and defied the power



RALEIGH TAVERN.

of the royal representative. The old tavern was yet standing when the Civil War broke out. In 1850, over the door of the main entrance to the building was a wooden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Rall, JOHANN GOTTLIEB, Hessian military officer; born in Hesse-Cassel, about 1720; led a regiment of Germans hired by the British government to fight the Americans; landed at Staten Island in June, 1776; took part in the battle of White Plains and the capture of Fort Washington, and was killed in the battle of Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776.

Ralph, JULIAN, author; born in New York City, May 27, 1853; was on the staff of the *New York Daily Graphic*, *New York Sun*, *New York Journal*, *Harper's Weekly*, and the *London Daily Mail*, and was also a contributor to the magazines. Among his works are *Our Great West*; *On Canada's Frontier*; *Chicago and the World's Fair*; *Alone in China*; and *The War with the Boers*. He died in New York, Jan. 20, 1903.

Rambouillet Decree. Professing to be indignant at what seemed to be partiality shown to England by the Americans in their restrictive acts, Napoleon caused the seizure and confiscation of many American vessels and their cargoes. John Armstrong, then United States minister to France, remonstrated, and when he learned that several vessels were to be sold, he offered to the French government a vigorous protest, in which he recapitulated

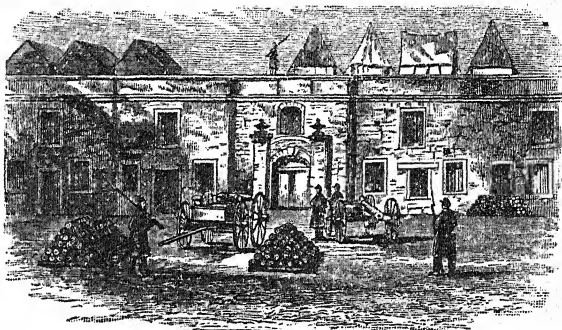
RAMONA—RAMSEY

the many aggressions which American commerce had suffered from French cruisers. This remonstrance was answered by a decree framed at Rambouillet March 23, 1810, but not issued until May 1, that ordered the sale of 132 American vessels which had been seized, worth, with their cargoes, \$8,000,000, the proceeds to be placed in the French military chest. It also ordered that "all American vessels which should enter French ports, or ports occupied by French troops, should be seized and sequestered."

Ramona. See JACKSON, HELEN MARIA FISKE.

Ramsay, DAVID, historian; born in Lancaster, Pa., April 2, 1749; began the practice of medicine in Charleston, S. C., where he ardently espoused the cause of the patriots, became active in the provisional free government, council of safety, etc., and when the Revolutionary War broke out became a surgeon in the military service. He was among the prisoners captured at Charleston in 1780, and was closely confined in the fort at St. Augustine. Dr. Ramsay was a member of Congress from 1782 to 1786, and was president of

American Revolution in 1789. Both were translated into the French language and published in France. In 1801 he published



FORT MARION, ST. AUGUSTINE.

a *Life of Washington*, and in 1809 a *History of the United States* to the close of the colonial period. He also published some minor works. He died in Charleston, S. C., May 8, 1815.

Ramsay, FRANCIS MUNROE, naval officer; born in Washington, April 5, 1835; joined the navy Oct. 5, 1850; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1856; served through the Civil War, taking part in actions at Haines's Bluff, Yazoo River, Milliken's Bend, on the Mississippi River, etc. He was appointed chief of the bureau of navigation in 1889; promoted rear-admiral in 1894; and retired on account of age in 1897. In September, 1901, he was appointed a member of the Schley court of inquiry, in place of Rear-Admiral Howison, who had been challenged by Rear-Admiral Schley and released from service on the court.

Ramsey, ALEXANDER; was born near Harrisburg Pa., Sept. 8, 1815; was clerk of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1841, and a member of Congress in 1843-47. President Taylor appointed him first governor of the Territory of Minnesota in 1849, when it contained a civilized population of nearly 5,000 white people and half-breed Indians. He remained in that office until 1853, and made treaties with the Indians by which cessions of large tracts of land were made to the national government. He was chosen the first mayor of St. Paul, the capital in



DAVID RAMSAY.

that body for a year. His *History of the Revolution in South Carolina* was published in 1785.

RAMSEY—RANDOLPH



ALEXANDER RAMSEY.

in 1860-64; United States Senator in 1864-75; and Secretary of War in 1879-81. He died in St. Paul, Minn., April 22, 1903.

Ramsey, JAMES GATTYS MCGREGOR, historian; born in Knox county, Tenn., in 1796. He published the *Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. During the Civil War he was a financial agent for the Confederacy. He died in Knoxville, Tenn., in 1884.

Randall, ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, statesman; born in Ames, N. Y., Oct. 31, 1819; removed to Wisconsin in 1840; elected governor of Wisconsin in 1857 and 1859; appointed minister to Italy in 1861; Postmaster-General in 1866. He died in Elmira, N. Y., July 25, 1872.

Randall, JAMES RYDER, song writer; born in Baltimore, Md., Jan. 1, 1839. He is the author of the famous Confederate song *Maryland, My Maryland*, and *The Battle-cry of the South*.

Randall, SAMUEL JACKSON, legislator; born in Philadelphia, Pa., Oct. 10, 1828; was educated for a mercantile career, and entered politics early in life. In 1862 he was elected to Congress as a Union Democrat from the old 1st District in Philadelphia, and held the seat continuously till his death. In 1876, 1877, and 1879 he was elected speaker of the House, in which office he established a high reputation as a parliamentarian. During his congressional service he was best known for his work as chairman of the committee on appropriations, and as a member of the committee on banking and cur-

rency, and on retrenchment. In the various debates on the tariff he was recognized as a leader of the protection wing of his party. He opposed the Morrison and Mills tariff bills, and antagonized some of the strongest members of his party by his independent course. He died in Washington, D. C., April 13, 1890.

Randolph, EDMUND (JENNINGS), statesman; born in Williamsburg, Va., Aug. 10, 1753; son of John Randolph, attorney-general of Virginia. Educated for a lawyer, he had entered upon its practice while the storm of the Revolution was brewing. He was a warm patriot—opposed to his father—and in August, 1775, became an aide to Washington. He was a delegate to the Virginia convention held at Williamsburg in May, 1776, and in July became the attorney-general of the State. From 1779 to 1782 he occupied a seat in Congress, and from 1786 to 1788 was governor of Virginia. He took a leading part in the convention that framed the national Constitution, in which he in-



EDMUND RANDOLPH.

troduced the "Virginia plan." He voted against and refused to sign the Constitution, but urged its acceptance by the Virginia ratification convention. Washington appointed him Attorney-General of the United States in 1789, and in January, 1794, he succeeded Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State.

Soon afterwards M. Fouchet, the French minister, in a private despatch to his government concerning the WHISKEY IN-

RANDOLPH

SURRECTION (*q. v.*), written some time in August, 1794, said that as soon as the disturbance in western Pennsylvania was known Randolph came to his lodgings and requested a private conversation. He stated that civil war was imminent; that four influential men might save it; but these being debtors of English merchants, would be deprived of their liberty if they should take the smallest step. He asked Fouchet if he could lend them funds immediately to shelter them from English persecution. In his despatch in October following, Fouchet returned to the subject. He gave a sketch of the rise of opposing parties in the United States, in which he represented that the disturbances had grown out of political hostility to Hamilton, and Hamilton himself as taking the advantage which they afforded to make the President regard as a blow to the Constitution what, in fact, was only a protest against the Secretary of the Treasury. He says Randolph informed him that the persistence in enforcing the excise was a scheme of Hamilton's to mislead the President into unpopular courses and to introduce absolute power—in other words, a monarchy—under pretext of giving energy to the government.

Such, according to Fouchet, was the origin of the expedition into the western counties of Pennsylvania. He then freely commented upon the characters of several leading men in the government, and made it appear that venality was a strong motive of action among the politicians of the United States, especially of those of the Federal party. This opinion appears to have been formed from information given him by Randolph, who, two or three days before Washington's proclamation to the insurgents was issued, came to him to borrow money. This despatch, which revealed the inimical relations of the Secretary of State to the government he was serving, was intercepted on its way to France by a British cruiser, and, through Lord Grenville, was transmitted to Mr. Hammond, the British minister at Philadelphia. That functionary, ascribing the delay in ratifying Jay's treaty to Randolph, communicated Fouchet's despatch to Wolcott, as going to show what intrigues the Secretary of State had carried on with the late French minister.

Wolcott consulted with other friends of the government, and a message was sent to the President, at Mount Vernon, requesting his immediate return to Philadelphia.

On his arrival the despatch was presented to him (Aug. 12, 1795). A cabinet council was held the next day, when the question was propounded. "What shall be done with the treaty?" Randolph opposed the ratification vehemently. The other members were in favor of it, and on Aug. 18 the President signed it. When copies of the treaty had been signed by Randolph as Secretary of State, Washington presented to him the intercepted despatch of Fouchet in the presence of the other members, with a request to read it and to make such explanations as he might think fit. After reading it, he commenced commenting upon it. He could not tell, he said, what Fouchet referred to when he spoke of Randolph as asking for money for himself and some brother patriots. Perceiving that his explanations were unsatisfactory, he proposed to put the remainder of his observations in writing, and immediately tendered his resignation. He requested that the despatch might be kept secret till he should be able to prepare his explanations, for which purpose he proposed to visit Fouchet, who was at Newport, R. I., and about to sail for France. Fouchet gave to Randolph an explanatory letter that was very unsatisfactory. Randolph published a "vindication," but it, too, was very unsatisfactory, and he retired from office under the shadow of a cloud. He died in Clarke county, Va., Sept 13, 1813.

Randolph, EDWARD, British official; born in England, about 1620; was sent to the New England colonies in 1675. He first appeared in Boston, in June, 1676, as bearer of an order from the privy council citing Massachusetts to defend her title to Maine. He reappeared in 1678 as a messenger from the privy council with a new oath of allegiance and to inquire concerning the non-observance of the navigation laws. In July, 1680, he came again, with the returning agents sent to England by Massachusetts, bearing a commission as collector of the royal customs for New England and inspector for enforcing the acts of trade. He presented his commission to the General Court. They took no

RANDOLPH

notice of it. He posted a notice of his appointment at the public exchange, but it was torn down by order of the magistrates. The General Court erected a naval office, at which all vessels were required to enter and clear, and so superseded Randolph's authority. But Randolph seized vessels for the violation of the acts of trade. The whole population were against him, and he was soon involved in an overwhelming number of lawsuits.

In 1682 he obtained leave to go to England, but soon returned with a royal letter complaining of these obstructions to law and demanding the immediate appointment of agents empowered to consent to a modification of the colonial charter. Disobedience was no longer safe. The King threatened a writ of *quo warranto*, and agents were sent to England. Randolph's commission was ordered to be enrolled, and the General Court assumed a submissive attitude. The theocratic party, with Increase Mather at their head, held out, but could not resist the tempest. Randolph was again in England, when he filed articles of high misdemeanor against Massachusetts. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued, and the indefatigable enemy of Massachusetts again crossed the ocean, this time in a royal frigate, and himself served the writ on the magistrates (November, 1683). There was delay, and before action was taken a default was recorded. Judgment was entered (November, 1684) pronouncing the charter void. Massachusetts became a royal province. The reign of theocracy was ended. Randolph was a member of the council during the administration of Andros, and in 1689 was imprisoned as a traitor. Released, he went to the West Indies, where he died, presumably after 1694.

Randolph, JOHN, statesman; born in Chesterfield county, Va., June 2, 1773; was a descendant of Pocahontas, and a great-grandson of William Randolph, the colonist. Delicate in health at his birth, he was so all through life. He studied both at Princeton and Columbia colleges. In 1799 he entered Congress as a delegate

from the Charlotte district, which he represented until 1829, excepting three years while holding a seat in the United States Senate—1825 to 1827. He was an adherent of the State supremacy doctrine, and in Congress often stood alone, for he opposed measures of the Democratic party, to which he belonged. He was sarcastic in debate; often eloquent; frequently indulged in the grossest insults of his opponents; and fought a duel with Henry Clay in 1826. He supported Jackson for the Presidency, and in 1831 was sent to Russia as American minister. He soon returned home in feeble health, and ex-



JOHN RANDOLPH

pressed his sympathy with the South Carolina nullifiers. When about to depart for Europe again, he died in Philadelphia, Pa., June 24, 1833. In politics and social life Mr. Randolph was like an Ishmaelite—"his hand against every man's, and every man's hand against him."

Randolph, PEYTON, statesman; born in Williamsburg, Va., in 1723. Educated at the College of William and Mary, he went to England, and there studied law at the Temple. Afterwards (1748) he was made king's attorney for Virginia, and was elected to a seat in the House of Bur-

RANDOLPH—RAPPAHANNOCK STATION

gesses, wherein he was at the head of a committee to revise the laws of the colony. He was the author of an address of the House to the King, in opposition to the Stamp Act, and in April, 1766, was chosen speaker, when he resigned the office of



PEYTON RANDOLPH.

attorney. Early espousing the cause of the colonists, he was a leader in patriotic movements in Virginia, and was made chairman of the committee of correspondence in 1773. Appointed president of the First Continental Congress, he presided with great dignity. In March, 1775, he was president of a convention of delegates at Richmond to select delegates for the Second Continental Congress. For a short time he acted as speaker of the House, and on May 10 resumed his seat in Congress, and was re-elected its president. He died in Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1775.

Randolph, SARAH NICHOLAS, author; born in Edgehill, Va., Oct. 12, 1839; granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson; is the author of *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson; Life of Stonewall Jackson; Famous Women of the Revolution; The Kentucky Resolutions in a New Light*, etc.

Randolph, THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, statesman; born in New Brunswick, N. J., June 24, 1816; member of the State legislature, 1859-65; governor of New Jersey, 1869-71; United States Senator, 1871-75. He died in Morristown, N. J., Nov. 7, 1883.

Randolph, THOMAS JEFFERSON, author; born in Monticello, Va., Sept. 12, 1792; grandson of Thomas Jefferson. As literary executor of Jefferson he published *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson* (4 volumes). He also wrote *Sixty Years' Reminiscences of the Currency of the United States*. He died in Edgehill, Va., Oct. 8, 1875.

Rankin, THOMAS, clergyman; born in Scotland in 1738; became a Methodist preacher in 1761. He presided over the first Methodist conference held in the United States, in July, 1773. During the Revolution he sympathized with Great Britain, and was obliged to return to London, where he died May 17, 1810.

Ransom, MATTHEW WHITAKER, diplomatist; born in Warren county, N. C., Oct. 8, 1826; attorney-general of the State, 1852-55; member of the State legislature, 1858-61; attained the rank of major-general in the Confederate army; United States Senator, 1872-95; and minister to Mexico, 1895-97. He died in Garrysburg, N. C., Oct. 8, 1904.

Ransom, THOMAS EDWARD GREENFIELD, military officer; born in Norwich, Vt., Nov. 29, 1834. When the Civil War broke out he became lieutenant-colonel of the 11th Illinois Volunteers. He was wounded at Charlestown, Mo., in 1861; took part in the capture of Fort Henry and in the attack on Fort Donelson. He was again wounded at the battle of Shiloh. Ransom was in Banks's Red River expedition, and was severely wounded in the battle at Sabine Cross-roads. He was brevetted major-general of volunteers, Sept. 1, 1864. He died near Rome, Ga., Oct. 29, 1864.

Rapp, GEORGE, reformer; born in Würtemberg, Germany, in 1770; was the founder of the HARMONISTS (*q. v.*). He died in Economy, Pa., Aug. 7, 1847. See NEW HARMONY; OWEN, ROBERT.

Rapp, WILHELM, editor; born in Germany, July 14, 1828; imprisoned for a year on account of participation in the German Revolution of 1848; emigrated to the United States in 1852; was connected with several German newspapers, and since 1891 has been chief editor of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*.

Rappahannock Station, BATTLE AT. In the pursuit of Lee, in his retreat towards Richmond from the vicinity of Bull

RASLE—RAWLINS

Run, in October, 1863, the 6th Corps, under General Sedgwick, found the Confederates strongly intrenched in works cast up by the Nationals on the north side of the Rappahannock, at Rappahannock Station. They were about 2,000 in number. Sedgwick advanced (Nov. 7, 1863) upon each flank of the works, with the division of Gen. D. A. Russell marching upon the centre. The first brigade, under Col. P. C. Ellmaker, was in the van of Russell's division, and just before sunset, in two columns, stormed the works with fixed bayonets. The van of the stormers rushed through a thick tempest of canister-shot and bullets, followed by the remainder of the brigade, and after a struggle of a few moments the strongest redoubt was carried. At the same time two regiments of Upton's brigade charged the rifle-pits, drove the Confederates from them, and, sweeping down to the pontoon bridge, cut off the retreat of the garrison. The National loss was about 300 killed and wounded. Sixteen hundred prisoners, 4 guns, 8 battle-flags, 2,000 small-arms were captured.

Rasle, SEBASTIAN. See **RALE, SEBASTIAN.**

Raum, GREEN BERRY, lawyer; born in Golconda, Ill., Dec. 3, 1829; admitted to the bar in 1853; took part in the Civil War, entering as major and being mustered out as brigadier-general. He was elected to Congress in 1867 and appointed commissioner of internal revenues in 1876, and commissioner of pensions in 1889. He is the author of *History of Illinois Republicanism; The Existing Conflict*, etc.

Rawdon, LORD FRANCIS, military officer; born in County Down, Ireland, Dec. 9, 1754; was a son of the Earl of Moira; entered the British army in 1771, and embarked for America as a lieutenant of infantry in 1775. After the battle of Bunker Hill he became aide to Sir Henry Clinton, and was distinguished in several battles near New York City in 1776. In 1778 he was made adjutant-general of the army under Clinton, and raised a corps called the Volunteers of Ireland. He was distinguished for bravery in the battle at Monmouth, and was afterwards, when Charleston fell before Clinton, placed in command of one of the divisions of the

army to subjugate South Carolina. He bravely defended Camden against Greene, and relieved Fort Ninety-six from siege by that officer. Soon afterwards he went to



FRANCIS RAWDON (From an English print.)

Charleston, and sailed for England. While on a return voyage, he was captured by a French cruiser. On March 5, 1783, he was created a baron, and made aide-de-camp to the King, and in 1789 he succeeded to the title of his uncle, the Earl of Huntingdon. In 1793 he became Earl of Moira and a major-general, and the next year served under the Duke of York in the Netherlands. In 1808 he inherited the baronies of Hastings and Hungerford, and in 1812 he was intrusted with the formation of a ministry, and received the Order of the Garter and the governor-generalship of India, which he held nine years. In 1824 he was made governor and commander-in-chief of Malta, but failing health compelled him to leave. He died on his voyage homeward near Naples, Italy, Nov. 28, 1826.

Rawlins, JOHN AARON, military officer; born in East Galena, Ill., Feb. 13, 1831; was a farmer and charcoal-burner until 1854, but, studying law, was admitted to the bar at Galena in 1855. When Sumter fell he gave his zealous support to his government, going on the staff of General Grant in September, 1861, as assistant adjutant-general, with the rank of captain. He remained with General Grant throughout the war; was promoted brigadier-general in August, 1863; and major-general in March, 1865. President Grant called Rawlins to his cabinet in the spring

RAYMBAULT-RAYNAL

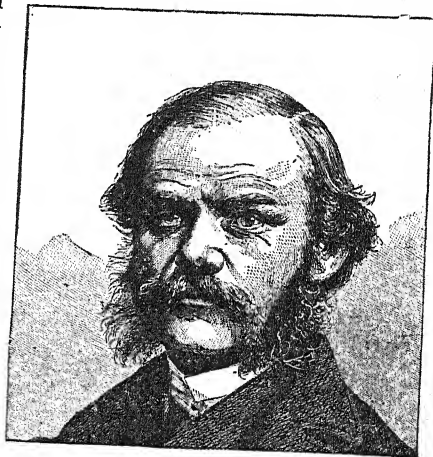
of 1869 as Secretary of War, which post he held until his death, in Washington, D. C., Sept. 9 following. After his death a popular subscription of \$50,000 was made to his family, and a bronze statue was erected to his memory in Washington.

Raymbault, CHARLES. See JESUIT MISSIONS.

Raymond, BATTLE OF. Gen. W. T. Sherman was called from operations in the Yazoo region (see HAINES'S BLUFF) by General Grant. He marched down the western side of the Mississippi River, crossed at Hard Times, and on the following day (May 8, 1863) joined Grant on the Big Black River. Grant had intended to send down troops to assist Banks in an attack upon Port Hudson, but circumstances compelled him to move forward from Grand Gulf and Port Gibson. He made for the important railway connecting Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, with Vicksburg. His army moved in parallel lines on the eastern side of the river. These were led respectively by Generals McClelland and McPherson, and each was followed by portions of Sherman's corps. When, on the morning of April 12, the van of each column was approaching the railway near Raymond, the county seat of Hinds county, the advance of McPherson's corps, under Logan, was attacked by about 6,000 Confederates under Generals Gregg and Walker. It was then about 10 A.M. Logan received the first blow and bore the brunt of the battle. Annoyed by Michigan guns, the Confederates dashed forward to capture them and were repulsed. McPherson ordered an advance upon their new position, and a very severe conflict ensued, in which the Nationals lost heavily. The Confederates maintained an unbroken front until Colonel Sturgis, with an Illinois regiment, charged with fixed bayonets and broke their line into fragments, driving the insurgents in wild disorder. They rallied and retreated in fair order through Raymond towards Jackson, cautiously followed by Logan. The National loss was 442, of whom 69 were killed. The Confederate loss was 825, of whom 103 were killed.

Raymond, HENRY JARVIS, journalist; born in Lima, N. Y., Jan. 24, 1820; graduated at the University of Vermont in 1840; studied law; became assistant edi-

tor of the New York *Tribune* at its commencement in April, 1841. He was the first editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*; and in September, 1851, issued the first number of the New York *Daily Times*. In 1854 he was elected lieutenant-governor of the State of New York, and was prominent in the organization of the Republican party in 1854-56. In 1861 he was elected a member and speaker of the New York Assembly, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1863. He was elected to Congress in 1864. He visited Europe a third time in 1868, and his career was suddenly termi-



HENRY JARVIS RAYMOND.

nated by death in New York City, June 18, 1869. His publications include *Political Lessons of the Revolution*; *History of the Administration of President Lincoln*; *Life and Services of Abraham Lincoln*, with his *State Papers, Speeches, Letters*, etc.

Raynal, GUILLAUME THOMAS FRANÇOIS, usually called ABBÉ, historian; born in St. Geniez, France, April 12, 1713. His philosophic and political history of the two Indies appeared in Paris in 1770. It was an indictment of royalty, while it praised the people of the United States of America as models of heroism such as antiquity boasted of, and spoke of New England in particular as a land that knew how to be happy "without kings and without

READ—REAVIS

priests." He spoke of philosophy as wishing to see "all peoples happy," and said, "If the love of justice had decided the Court of Versailles to the alliance of a monarchy with a people defending its liberty, the first article of its treaty with the United States should have been that all oppressed peoples have the right to rise against their oppressors." Raynal was indicted, and fled to Holland. He subsequently came to the United States. He died in Paris, France, March 6, 1793.

Read, GEORGE, signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Cecil county, Md., Sept. 7, 1733; was admitted to the bar in 1752, and began practice in 1754. He became attorney-general of Delaware in 1763, and held the office until 1774. From 1774 to 1777 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and one of its first naval committee (1775). In 1777 he became vice-president of Delaware, and afterwards acting president. He was the author of the first constitution of Delaware, and a delegate to the convention that framed the national Constitution. In 1782 he was appointed judge of the Court of Appeals in admiralty cases. He was United States Senator from 1789 to 1793, and from 1793 until his death chief-justice of Delaware. He died in Newcastle, Del., Sept. 21, 1798.

Read, GEORGE CAMPBELL, naval officer; born in Ireland, about 1787; entered the United States navy as midshipman in April, 1804. His gallantry was conspicuous in the battle between the *Constitution* and *Guerrière* (see CONSTITUTION), and he was appointed to receive the surrendered sword of Captain Dacres. He was also in the action between the *United States* and *Macedonia* (see UNITED STATES). Read was lieutenant in 1810; promoted commander in 1816; captain in 1825, and rear-admiral in 1862. At the time of his death he was superintendent of the Philadelphia Naval Asylum. He died in Philadelphia, Aug. 22, 1862.

Read, THOMAS BUCHANAN, poet; born in Chester county, Pa., March 12, 1822; studied art and became well known as a painter and sculptor. He published several volumes of poems, but is best known as the author of the stirring lyric *Sheridan's Ride*. He died in New York City, May, 11, 1872.

Reagan, JOHN HENNINGER, jurist; born in Sevier county, Tenn., Oct. 8, 1818; held several local offices in Texas; and was judge of the district court in Texas, to which State he emigrated after its independence. From 1857 to 1861 he was in Congress, and, joining the Confederacy, was appointed Postmaster-General, and was for a short time Secretary of its Treasury Department. He was captured with Jefferson Davis and was sent to Fort Warren. In 1874 he was elected to Congress, and in 1887 to the United States Senate, on retiring from which he became chairman of the Texas State railroad commission. He died in Palestine, Texas, March 6, 1905.

Ream's Station, BATTLE AT. When, in 1864, Warren proceeded to strike the Weldon road, Hancock, who had been called from the north side of the James, followed close in his rear, and on Aug. 21 struck the railway north of Ream's station and destroyed the track for several miles. He formed an intrenched camp at Ream's, and his cavalry kept up a vigilant scout in the direction of the Confederate army. On the 25th Hancock was struck by Hill. The latter was repulsed. Hill struck again, and was again repulsed with heavy loss. Hill then ordered Heth to carry the National works at all hazards, upon which a concentrated fire of artillery was opened. This was followed by a desperate charge, which broke the National line. Three National batteries were captured. A fierce struggle for the possession of the works and guns ensued. In this the Nationals were partly successful. The Nationals were finally defeated, and withdrew. Hancock lost 2,400 of his 8,000 men and five guns. Of the men, 1,700 were made prisoners. Hill's loss was not much less; and he, too, withdrew from Ream's station. See WELDON ROAD.

Reavis, LOGAN URIAH, editor; born in Sangamon Bottom, Ill., March 26, 1831; purchased an interest in the *Beardstown Gazette* which he afterwards changed to the *Central Illinoisian*. He removed to St. Louis, Mo., in 1866, and became prominent as an advocate for the removal of the seat of government from Washington to St. Louis. He is the author of the *Life of Horace Greeley*; *The Life of William S. Harney*; *St. Louis, the Future Great City*

REBELLION—RECONSTRUCTION

of the World; A Change of National Empire; The New Republic, or the Transition Complete; etc. He died in St. Louis, Mo., April 25, 1889.

Rebellion, BACON'S. See BACON, NATHANIEL; DORR, THOMAS WILSON; MORMONS; SHAYS, DANIEL; WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

Reciprocity, in commercial relations, a mutual arrangement between nations to secure reciprocal trade, and involving a modification of regular tariff rates.

The following is a list of the reciprocity treaties and agreements which have been in force between the United States and foreign countries since 1850:

Civil War. A deep-seated social system had been overthrown, and in a number of the States business of every kind, public and private, had become deranged. It was necessary for the national government to put forth its powers for the reconstruction of the Union politically, as a preliminary measure for its peaceful and healthful progress. President Johnson took a preliminary step towards reconstruction by proclaiming (April 29, 1865) the removal of restrictions upon commercial intercourse among all the States. A month later (May 29) he issued a proclamation stating the terms by which the people of the late Confederate States

Countries with which Reciprocity Treaties and Agreements have been Made.	Signed.	Took Effect.	Terminated.
British North American possessions (treaty).....	June 5, 1854	March 16, 1855	March 17, 1866
Hawaiian Islands (treaty).....	Jan. 30, 1875	Sept. 9, 1876	April 30, 1900
Brazil (agreement).....	Jan. 31, 1891	April 1, 1891	
Santo Domingo (agreement)...	June 4, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891	
Great Britain:			
Barbados (agreement).....	Feb. 1, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	
Jamaica (agreement).....	"	"	
Leeward Islands (agreement)	"	"	
Trinidad (including Tobago) (agreement).....	"	"	
Windward Islands (excepting Grenada) (agreement)...	"	"	Aug. 27, 1894
British Guiana (agreement)...	"	April 1, 1892	
Salvador (agreement).....	Dec. 30, 1891	Feb. 1, 1892 (provisional)	
Nicaragua (agreement).....	March 11, 1892	March 12, 1892	
Honduras (agreement).....	April 29, 1892	May 25, 1892 (provisional)	
Guatemala (agreement).....	Dec. 30, 1891	May 30, 1892	
Spain, for Cuba and Porto Rico (agreement).....	June 16, 1891	Sept. 1, 1891 (provisional)	
Switzerland (treaty of 1850)...		June 1, 1892 ^a	March 23, 1900
Austria-Hungary (agreement)...	May 25, 1892	May 26, 1892	Aug. 27, 1894
France (agreement).....	May 28, 1898	June 1, 1898	Still in force
Germany (agreement).....	{ Jan. 30, 1892	Feb. 1, 1892	Aug. 24, 1894
	{ July 10, 1900	July 13, 1900	Still in force
Portugal and Azores and Madeira Islands (agreement)...	May 22, 1900	June 12, 1900	"
Italy (agreement).....	Feb. 8, 1900	July 18, 1900	"
Cuba (agreement).....	Dec. 17, 1903	Dec. 27, 1903	"

^a Under "most-favored-nation" clause of treaty of 1850, proclaimed Nov. 9, 1855.

Reconcentrados. Cubans concentrated in places which were the headquarters of a division of the Spanish army by order of Captain-General Weyler, Feb. 16, 1896. This inhuman order, which was enforced to the utmost of his power, practically condemned these people to a living death by starvation and disease. Food and supplies were sent to them by direction of the United States government shortly before the declaration of war (1898).

Reconstruction. Several of the State governments were paralyzed and disorganized by the convulsions produced by the

might receive full amnesty and pardon (see AMNESTY PROCLAMATIONS; JOHNSTON, ANDREW). This was soon followed by the appointment by the President of provisional governors for the seven States which originally formed the "CONFEDERATE STATES" (*q. v.*), with authority to assemble loyal citizens in convention to reorganize State governments and secure the election of representatives in the national Congress.

The President's plan was to restore to the States named their former position in the Union without any provision for securing to the emancipated slaves the

RECONSTRUCTION—RED CROSS

right to the exercise of citizenship which an amendment to the national Constitution (see CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES), then before the State legislatures for consideration, would entitle them to. The President's provisional governors were active in carrying out his plan of reconstruction before the meeting of Congress, fearing that body might interfere with it. Meanwhile the requisite number of States ratified the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Late in June the order for a blockade of southern ports was rescinded; most of the restrictions upon interstate commerce were removed in August; State prisoners were paroled in October; and the first act of Congress after its meeting in December, 1865, was the repealing of the act authorizing the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Five of the Confederate States had then ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, caused the formation of State constitutions, and elected representatives thereunder; and the President had directed the newly elected governors (some of whom had been active participants in the Confederacy) to take the place of the provisional governors. These events greatly disturbed the loyal people. To many it seemed evident that the President, in violation of his solemn pledges to the freedmen and the nation, was preparing to place the public affairs of the United States under the control of those who had sought to destroy the Union. Within six months after his accidental elevation to the Presidential chair he was at open war with the party whose suffrages had given him his high honors. He had usurped powers which the Constitution conferred exclusively upon Congress. That body clearly perceived the usurpation, and their first business of moment was to take up the subject of reconstruction. On the first day of the session (Dec. 4, 1865) Congress appointed what was called a reconstruction committee. It was composed of nine members of the House and six of the Senate. Their duties were to "inquire into the condition of the States which had formed the Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, were entitled to be represented in Congress. It was resolved that until such

report should be made, representatives from those States should not take seats in Congress. This was a virtual condemnation of the President's acts. The angry chief magistrate resented it, and denounced by name members of Congress who opposed his will. He uniformly vetoed acts passed by Congress, but his vetoes were impotent for mischief, for the bills were passed over them by very large majorities. His conduct so estranged his cabinet ministers that they all resigned in March, 1866, excepting the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton), who retained his post at that critical time for the public good. Congress pressed forward the work of reconstruction in spite of the President's opposition. Late in July Tennessee was reorganized, and took its place in the councils of the nation. The President's official acts finally caused his impeachment, when, after a trial, he was acquitted by one vote. Finally, the disorganized States, having complied with the requirements of Congress, the Union was fully restored in May, 1872. On the 23d of that month every seat in Congress was filled for the first time since the winter of 1860-61, when members from several of the slave-labor States abandoned them. See CIVIL RIGHTS BILL; FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

Recovery, FORT, DEFENCE OF. General Wayne succeeded St. Clair in command of the troops in the Northwest, and on the site of the latter's defeat (1791) he erected a fort, and called it Recovery. In June, 1794, the garrison, under Maj. William M'Mahon, were attacked by many Indians. M'Mahon and 22 others were killed, and 30 were wounded. The Indians were repulsed. On Aug. 20 the Indians were defeated by Wayne at the MAUMEE RAPIDS (*q. v.*).

Red Bank, the site of Fort Mercer, on the New Jersey shore of the Delaware River. See MERCER, FORT.

Red Cross, AMERICAN NATIONAL, THE, a humane organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, Oct. 1, 1881; reincorporated, April 17, 1893, for the relief of suffering by war, pestilence, famine, flood, fires, and other calamities of sufficient magnitude to be deemed national in extent. The organization acts under the Geneva treaty, the provi-

RED JACKET

sions for which were made in international convention at Geneva, Switzerland, Aug. 22, 1864, and since signed by nearly all civilized nations, including the United States, which gave its adhesion by act of Congress March 1, 1882; ratified by the Congress of Berne, June 9, 1882; proclaimed by President Arthur July 26, 1882; headquarters, Washington, D. C. In 1904 the American National Red Cross Association was radically reorganized, Miss Clara Barton and a majority of the old officers resigned, and ex-Surgeon-General W. K. Van Ruyphen and Surgeon-General Walter Wyman were elected president and vice-president, respectively. This action was the outgrowth of an investigation of its affairs by a committee of its friends. The scheme of reorganization embraced the procuring of a new charter from Congress, the appointment of a governing board by the President of the United States, and of the organization of State branches, with representation on the board. See BARTON, CLARA.

Red Jacket (SAGoyewatha), Seneca Indian, chief of the Wolf tribe; born near Geneva, N. Y., in 1751. He was swift-footed, fluent-tongued, and always held great influence over his people. During the Revolutionary War he fought for the British King with his eloquence in arousing his people, but seems not to have been very active as a soldier on the war-path. Brant spoke of him as a coward and not

always honest. He first appears conspicuous in history at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784. It was on that occasion that



RED JACKET.

Red Jacket's fame as an orator was established. In all the dealings with white people concerning the lands in western New York, Red Jacket was always the defender of the rights of his people. His paganism never yielded to the influences of Christianity, and he was the most inveterate enemy of the missionaries sent to his nation. It was under his leadership that the Senecas became the allies of the Americans against the British in the War of 1812-15, and in the battle of Chippewa he behaved well as a soldier.

For many years he was the head of the Seneca nation. He became so intemperate late in life that he was deposed by an act, in writing, signed by twenty-six of the leading men among



RED-JACKET'S MEDAL.

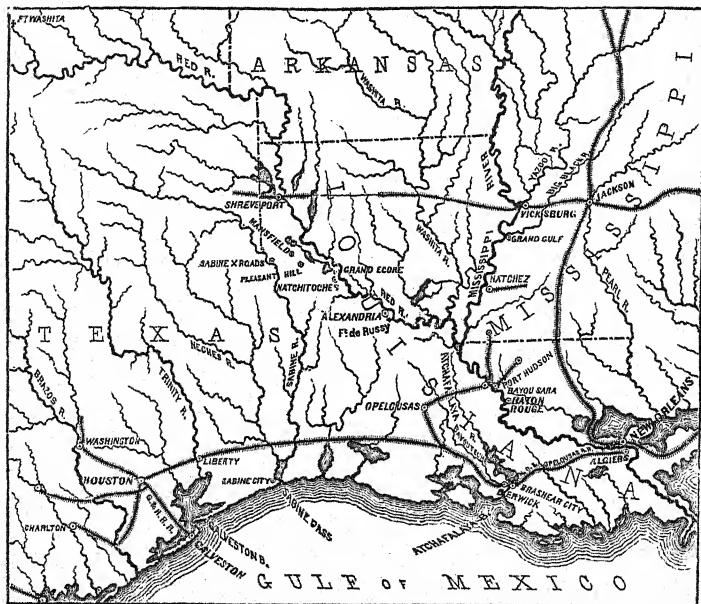
RED LEGS—RED RIVER EXPEDITION

the Senecas. He died in Seneca Village, N. Y., Jan. 30, 1830. The name of Red Jacket was given him from the circumstance that towards the close of the Revolution a British officer gave the young chief a richly embroidered scarlet jacket, which he wore with satisfaction. In 1792 President Washington, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace and amity between the United States and the Six Nations, gave Red Jacket a medal of solid silver, with a heavy rim, the form of which, with the devices, is seen in the engraving. The medal is seven inches in length and five inches in breadth.

Red Legs. See JAYHAWKERS.

Red River Expedition. At the be-

Ark., was ordered to co-operate with the expedition. Banks's column, led by General Franklin, moved from Brashear City, La. (March 13), by way of Opelousas, and reached Alexandria, on the Red River, on the 26th. Detachments from Sherman's army, under Gen. A. J. Smith, had already gone up the Red River on transports, captured Fort de Russy on the way, and taken possession of Alexandria (March 10). They were followed by Porter's fleet of gunboats. From that point Banks moved forward with his whole force, and on April 3 was at Natchitoches, near the river, 80 miles above Alexandria, by land. At that point Porter's vessels were embarrassed by low water, and his larger



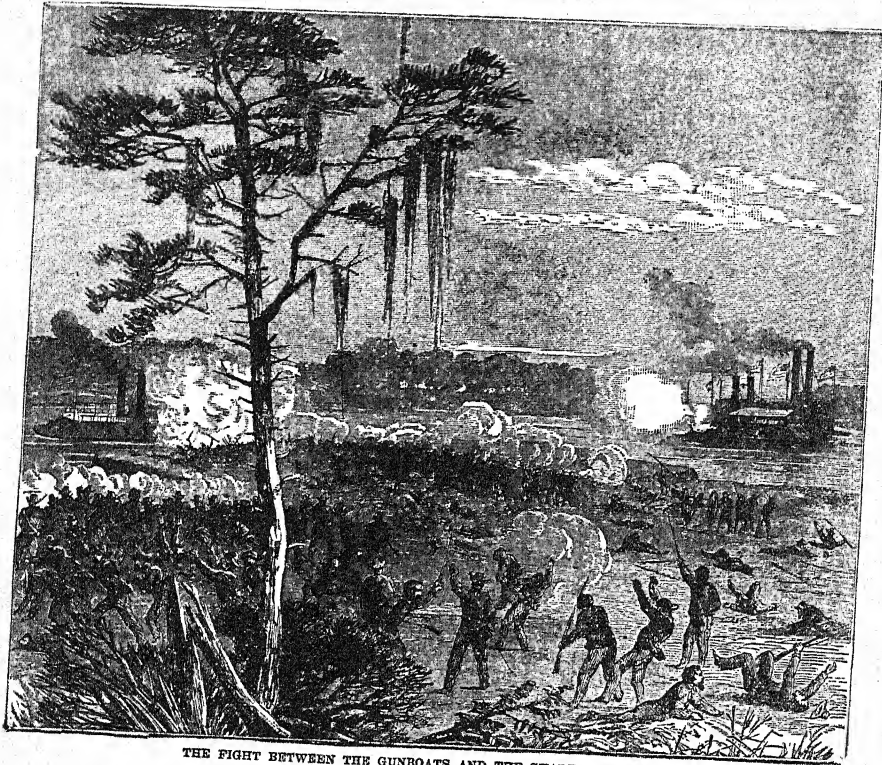
MAP OF THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

ginning of 1864 another attempt was made to repossess Texas by an invasion by way of the Red River and Shreveport. General Banks was directed to organize an expedition for that purpose at New Orleans, and General Sherman was ordered to send troops to aid him. Admiral Porter was also directed to place a fleet of gunboats on the Red River to assist in the enterprise, and General Steele, at Little Rock,

ones could proceed no farther than Grand Ecore. A depot of supplies was established at Alexandria, with a wagon-train to transport them around the rapids there, if necessary.

The Confederates had continually retreated before the Nationals as the latter advanced from Alexandria, frequently stopping to skirmish with the vanguard. From Grand Ecore Banks pushed on tow-

RED RIVER EXPEDITION



THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE GUNBOATS AND THE SHARP-SHOOTERS.

ards Shreveport, 100 miles beyond Natchitoches, and Porter's lighter vessels proceeded up the river with a body of troops under Gen. Thomas K. Smith. At that time the Confederates from Texas and Arkansas under Generals Taylor, Price, Green, and others were gathering in front of the Nationals to the number of about 25,000, with more than seventy cannon. So outnumbered, Banks would have been justified in proceeding no farther, but he and Smith, anxious to secure the object of the expedition, pressed forward. The Confederates fell back until they reached Sabine Cross Roads, 54 miles from Grand Ecore, where they made a stand. It was now evident that the further advance of the Nationals was to be obstinately contested. The Trans-Mississippi army, under Gen. E. Kirby Smith, was there 20,000 strong. A fierce battle occurred (April 8), which resulted in disaster to the Nationals.

The shattered columns of Franklin's advance fell back 3 miles, to Pleasant Grove, where they were received by the fine corps of General Emory, who was advancing, and who now formed a battle line to oppose the pursuers. There another severe battle was fought, which ended in victory for the Nationals (see PLEASANT GROVE, BATTLE AT). Although victorious, Banks thought it prudent to continue his retreat to Pleasant Hill, 15 miles farther in the rear, for the Confederates were within reach of reinforcements, while he was not certain that Smith, then moving forward, would arrive in time to aid him. He did arrive on the evening of the 8th. The Confederates, in strong force, had followed Banks, and another heavy battle was fought (April 9) at Pleasant Hill, which resulted in a complete victory for the Nationals (see PLEASANT HILL, BATTLE AT). Then, strengthened in numbers and encour-

RED RIVER EXPEDITION

aged by victory, Banks gave orders for an advance on Shreveport; but this was countermanded. In the meanwhile the gunboats, with Gen. Thomas K. Smith's troops, had proceeded as far as Loggy Bayou, when they were ordered back to Grand Ecore. In that descent they were exposed to the murderous fire of sharpshooters on the banks. With these the Nationals continually fought on the way. There was a very sharp engagement at Pleasant Hill Landing on the evening of the 12th. The Confederates were repulsed, and Gen. Thomas Green, the Confederate commander, was killed.

Meantime, Banks and all the land troops had returned to Grand Ecore, for a council of officers had decided that it was more prudent to retreat than to advance. The army was now again upon the Red River. The water was falling. With difficulty the fleet passed the bar at Grand Ecore (April 17). From that point the army moved on the 21st, and encountered 8,000 Confederates, on the 22d, with sixteen guns, under General Bee, strongly posted on Monet's Bluff, at Cane River Ferry. On the morning of the 23d the van of the Nationals drove the Confederates across

the stream, and after a severe struggle during the day, General Birge, with a force of Nationals, drove the Confederates from the ferry, and the National army crossed. Its retreat to Alexandria was covered by the troops under Gen. Thomas K. Smith, who skirmished at several points on the way—severely at Clouterville, on the Cane River, for about three hours. The whole army arrived at Alexandria on April 27. At that place the water was so low that the gunboats could not pass down the rapids.

It had been determined to abandon the expedition against Shreveport and return to the Mississippi. To get the fleet below the rapids was now urgent business. It was proposed to dam the river above and send the fleet through a sluice in the manner of "running" logs by lumbermen. Porter did not believe in the feasibility of the project; but LIEUT.-COL. JOSEPH BAILEY (*q. v.*) performed the service successfully. The whole expedition then proceeded towards the Mississippi, where Porter resumed the service of patrolling that stream. The forces of Banks were placed under the charge of Gen. E. R. S. Canby, on the Atchafalaya, and Gen. A. J. Smith's



THE FLEET PASSING THE DAM.

REDEMPTIONERS—REED

troops returned to Mississippi. A strong confronting force of Confederates had kept Steele from co-operating with the expedition. He had moved from Little Rock with 8,000 men, pushed back the Confederates, and on April 15 had captured the important post at Camden, on the Wachita River; but after a severe battle at Jenkinson's Ferry, on the Sabine River, he had abandoned Camden and returned to Little Rock. So ended the disastrous Red River campaign.

Redemptioners. From the beginning of the English colonies in America the importation of indentured white servants was carried on. Sometimes immigrants came as such, and were sold, for a term of years, to pay the expenses of their transportation. This arrangement was voluntarily entered into by the parties and was legitimate. The limits of the time of servitude was fixed, seldom exceeding seven years, except in cases of very young persons. In all the colonies were rigorous laws to prevent them from running away, and the statutes put them on the level with the slave for the time. This class of servants came to be known as "redemptioners," in distinction from slaves; and at the end of their terms of service they were merged into the mass of the white population without any special taint of servitude. Even as late as with in the nineteenth century a law still remained in force in Connecticut by which debtors, unable to meet claims against them, might be sold into temporary servitude for the benefit of their creditors.

Redfield, WILLIAM, C., meteorologist; born near Middletown, Conn., March 26, 1789. Engaging in steamboat navigation, he removed to New York in 1825. He thoroughly investigated the whole range of the subject of steam navigation, its adaptation to national defence, and methods of safety in its uses. He was the originator of the "safety barges," or "tow-boats," on the Hudson River, and first suggested (1828) the importance of a railway system between the Hudson River and the Mississippi. He was a skillful meteorologist, and first put forth the circular theory of storms. He published sixty-two pamphlets, of which forty were on the subject of meteorology. He died in New York City, Feb. 12, 1857.

Redpath, JAMES, abolitionist; born in Scotland, Aug. 24, 1833; was connected with the *New York Tribune* as editor in 1852; took an active part in the KANSAS (*q. v.*) troubles. After the war he established a lecture bureau which for a time was very successful. The *New York Tribune* sent him to Ireland in 1881 to investigate the conditions in the famine district, and on his return to the United States he founded *Redpath's Weekly*. Among his works are *Hand-Book to Kansas*; *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*; *Life of John Brown*; *Southern Notes*; etc. He died in New York, Feb. 10, 1891.

Reed, JAMES, military officer; born in Woburn, Mass., in 1724; served in the French and Indian War under Abercrombie and Amherst. In 1765 he settled in New Hampshire and was an original proprietor and founder of the town of Fitzwilliam. He commanded the 2d New Hampshire Regiment at Cambridge in May, 1775, and fought with it at Bunker (Breed's) Hill. Early in 1776 he joined the army in Canada, where he suffered from small-pox, by which he ultimately lost his sight. In August, 1776, he was made a brigadier-general, but was incapacitated for further service. He died in Fitchburg, Mass., Feb. 13, 1807.

Reed, JOSEPH, statesman; born in Trenton, N. J., Aug. 27, 1741; graduated at Princeton in 1757; studied law in London; began practice in Trenton in 1765, and became Secretary of the Province of New Jersey in 1767. He was an active patriot, a member of the committee of correspondence, and, having settled in Philadelphia in 1770, was made president of the first Pennsylvania Convention in January, 1775. He was a delegate to the Second Congress (May, 1775), and went with Washington to Cambridge, in July, as his secretary and aide-de-camp. He was adjutant-general during the campaign of 1776, and was appointed chief-justice of Pennsylvania and also a brigadier-general, in 1777, but declined both offices. Reed was a volunteer in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and in 1778, as a member of Congress, signed the Articles of Confederation. He was president of Pennsylvania from 1778 to 1781, and was chiefly instrumental in the detection of the ill-practices of General Arnold and in

REED—REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH



bringing him to trial. Mr. Reed aided in founding the University of Pennsylvania, and was an advocate of the gradual abolition of slavery. Charges of wavering in his support of the American cause created much bitter controversy a few years ago, but an accidental discovery by Adj.-Gen. William S. Stryker, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, proved the utter groundlessness of the accusation. Reed died in Philadelphia, Pa., March 5, 1785.

Reed, THOMAS BRACKETT, lawyer; born in Portland, Me., Oct. 18, 1839; graduated



THOMAS BRACKETT REED.

at Bowdoin College in 1860; studied law; served in both branches of the Maine legislature; and from 1870 to 1873 was attorney-general of the State. He entered the national House of Representatives as a Republican in 1877, and continued there uninterruptedly till the close of 1899, when he declined further election, and removed to New York City to engage in law practice. In Congress he soon acquired reputation as a forceful debater, and was speaker of the House during several terms. The Fifty-first Congress (1889-91), besides passing the McKinley tariff, was noted for the Reed code of rules ("counting a quorum"), which was adopted in February, 1890. In 1892 and 1896 he was a candidate for the nomination for President. Mr. Reed was for many years a contributor to the magazines and reviews. He died in Washington, D. C., Dec. 7, 1902. See NICARAGUA CANAL.

Reeder, ANDREW HORATIO, lawyer; born in Easton, Pa., Aug. 6, 1807; was a practitioner in Easton, where he spent the most of his life. In 1854 he accepted the office of (first) governor of Kansas from President Pierce, where he endeavored in vain to prevent the election frauds in that territory in 1855. He would not countenance the illegal proceedings of Missourians there, and (July, 1855) the President removed him from office. The anti-slavery people immediately elected him a delegate to Congress for Kansas; and afterwards, under the legal constitution, he was chosen United States Senator. Congress did not ratify that constitution, and he never took his seat. His patriotic course won for him the respect of all law-abiding citizens. He was one of the first to be appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers at the outbreak of the Civil War, but declined the honor. Three of his sons served in the army. He died in Easton, Pa., July 5, 1864. See KANSAS.

Referendum. See INITIATIVE and REFERENDUM.

Reformed Episcopal Church. In 1872 a schism occurred in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, under the lead of the Right Rev. George David Cummins, D.D., assistant bishop of the diocese of Kentucky. He and several presbyters and laymen withdrew from the Church, be-

REGENCY BILL—REGICIDES

believing that in some of its teachings there was a tendency towards erroneous doctrines and practices, such as—1. That the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; 2. That Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are a "royal priesthood"; 3. That the Lord's table is an altar on which the oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; 4. That the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of bread and wine; and, 5. That regeneration is inseparably connected with baptism. Rejecting these views, they formed a new Church organization, called the "Reformed Episcopal Church," and held a first general council in New York, Dec. 2, 1873, at which Bishop Cummins presided. He addressed the council, setting forth the causes which impelled to the movement, reviewing the history of the Church from 1785, and said: "We are not schismatic (no man can be schismatic who does not deny the faith); we are not disorganizers; we are restorers of the old, repairers of the breaches, reformers." The council elected standing committees, adopted provisional rules, and chose the Rev. Charles Edward Cheney, D.D., missionary bishop for the Northwest. They also adopted a "Declaration of Principles," which were reaffirmed May 18, 1874, at which time a constitution and canons of the "Reformed Episcopal Church" were also adopted. The bishop of the diocese of Kentucky, having been informed that Bishop Cummins had abandoned the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, gave him notice, on Nov. 22, 1873, that unless he should, within six months, make declaration that the statement was untrue, he should be deposed from the ministry of the church. Bishop Cummins did not respond, and on June 24, 1874, he was formally deposed by Bishop Smith of Kentucky, the senior bishop of the Church, with the consent of thirty-five bishops. In 1904 this Church reported 100 ministers, 78 church edifices, and a membership of 9,282.

Regency Bill. In the early years of his reign, George III. had symptoms of insanity. In April, 1765, his illness was publicly announced, but its nature was

kept a secret. The heir to the throne was then an infant only two years of age, and the subject of a regency in the event of the King's disability or death occupied the thoughts of the ministry for a time, to the exclusion of schemes for taxing the Americans. As soon as the King had sufficiently recovered, he gave orders to four of his ministers to prepare a bill for a regency. It was done; and by it the King was allowed the nomination of a regent, provided it should be restricted to the Queen and royal family. The presentation of the bill by the Earl of Halifax to the House of Lords excited much debate in that body, especially on the question, "Who are the royal family?" The matter led to family heart-burnings and political complications and a change of ministry, and Pitt was brought again into the office of premier of England. It did more—it made the stubborn young King submit to the ministry; and, in the pride of power, they perfected their schemes for oppressing the American colonies.

Regicides, **TRE,** a term applied to the judges who tried, condemned, and signed the death-warrant of Charles I. The same ship which brought to New England the news of the restoration of monarchy in Old England bore, also, Edward Whalley and William Goffe, high officers in Cromwell's army. Many of the "regicides" were arrested and executed. Whalley and his son-in-law (Goffe), with Col. John Dixwell, another "regicide," fled to America to save their lives. Whalley was descended from an ancient family, and was a cousin of Cromwell and Hampden. He had been the custodian of the royal prisoner, and he and Goffe had signed the King's death-warrant. They arrived in Boston in July, 1660, and made their abode at Cambridge. They were speedily followed by a proclamation of Charles II. offering a liberal reward for their arrest. The King also sent officers to arrest them and take them back to England. Feeling insecure at Cambridge, the "regicides" fled to New Haven, where the Rev. Mr. Davenport and the citizens generally did what they could to protect them. Learning that their pursuers were near, they hid in caves, in clefts of rocks, in mills, and other obscure places, where their

REGULATING ACT—REID

friends supplied their wants. There is still to be seen in New Haven the cave, known as "the Judges' Cave," wherein they took refuge from the King's officers. Finally, in 1664, they went to Hadley, Mass., where they remained, in absolute seclusion, in the house of Rev. Mr. Russell, for about fifteen years. Dixwell was with Whalley and Goffe most of the time until they died—the former in 1678, and the latter in 1679—and were buried at New Haven. Dixwell lived at New Haven under the assumed name of James Davids. He was twice married, leaving three children. He died in New Haven, March 18, 1689, in the eighty-second year of his age. In the burying-ground in the rear of the Central Church small stones, with brief inscriptions, mark the graves of the three "regicides." See GOFFE, WILLIAM; WHALLEY, EDWARD.

Regulating Act, an act of the British Parliament for the subversion of the charter of Massachusetts, the principle of which was the concentration of the executive power, including the courts of justice, in the hands of the royal governor. It took from Massachusetts, without notice and without a hearing, by the arbitrary will of Parliament and the King, rights and liberties which the people had enjoyed from the foundation of the colony, excepting in the reign of James II. It utterly uprooted the town-meeting, the dearest institution in the political scheme of Massachusetts. On Aug. 6, 1774, General Gage received an official copy of the new law, and at once prepared to put it into operation. The people of Massachusetts, in convention, decided that the act was unconstitutional, and firmly declared that all officers appointed under it, who should accept, would be considered "usurpers of power and enemies to the province," even though they bore the commission of the King. A provisional congress was proposed, with large executive powers. Gage became alarmed, stayed his hand, and the regulating act became a nullity. Courts convened, but the judges were compelled to renounce their office under the new law. Jurors refused to serve under the new judges. The army was too small to enforce the new laws, and the people agreed, if Gage should send troops to Worcester to sustain the judges

there, they should be resisted by 20,000 men from Hampshire county and Connecticut. Gage's council, summoned to meet at Salem in August, dared not appear, and the authority of the new government vanished.

Regulators. To feed the rapacity of rulers, the people of North Carolina were very heavily taxed. They finally formed an association to resist this taxation and extortion, and, borrowing the name of Regulators from the South Carolinians (see SOUTH CAROLINA), they soon became too formidable to be controlled by local magistrates. They became actual insurgents, against whom Governor Tryon led a force of volunteers from the seaboard. The opposing parties fought a battle, May 16, 1771, near the Allemanee Creek, in Allemanee county, when nearly forty men were killed. The Regulators were beaten and dispersed, but not subdued, and many of them were among the most earnest soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Indeed, the skirmish on the Allemanee is regarded by some as the first battle in the war. Tryon marched back in triumph to Newbern, after hanging six of the Regulators for treason (June 19). These events caused fierce hatred of British rule in the region below the Roanoke.

After the close of the Cherokee War, the western districts of South Carolina were rapidly settled by people of various nationalities, but mostly by Scotch-Irish, Germans, and immigrants from the Northern provinces. Among these was a lawless class, for the summary punishment of which the better sort of people associated themselves under the name of Regulators. This "vigilance committee," or "Lynch" law, was strongly protested against, for the people claimed the right of trial by jury. Governor Montague sent a commissioner in 1766 to investigate the matter, who arrested some of the Regulators and sent them to Charleston. Two parties were formed, and nearly came to blows. They were pacified by the establishment of district courts, but ill-feeling continued, and the opponents of the Regulators, taking sides with Parliament in the rising disputes, formed the basis of the Tory party in South Carolina.

Reid, SAMUEL CHESTER, naval officer; born in Norwich, Conn., August 25, 1783;

REID—RELIGION

went to sea when only eleven years of age, and was captured by a French privateer and kept a prisoner six months. Acting midshipman under Commodore Truxtun, he became enamoured of the naval service, and when the War of 1812-15 broke out he began privateering. He commanded the *General Armstrong* in 1814, and with her fought one of the most remarkable of recorded battles, at Fayal (see GENERAL ARMSTRONG, THE). Captain Reid was appointed sailing-master in the navy, and held that office till his death. He was also warden of the port of New York. Captain Reid was the inventor of the signal telegraph that communicated with Sandy Hook from the Narrows, and it was he who designed the present form of the United States flag. He died in New York City, Jan. 28, 1861.

Reid, WHITELOW, journalist; born near Xenia, O., Oct. 27, 1837; graduated at Miami University in 1856; edited the *Xenia News* 1858-9. As war correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* he attracted attention by his graphic and accurate

tion with the *New York Tribune*. He succeeded Horace Greeley in 1872 in the editorship, and soon became the chief



WHITELOW REID.



SAMUEL CHESTER REID.

descriptions over the signature of AGATE. After a short experience in cotton-planting, he began, in 1868, his long associa-

owner. He accepted the position of United States minister to France in 1889. Returning in 1892, he was associated with Benjamin Harrison on the Republican ticket as candidate for Vice-President; was a special commissioner at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897; one of the American peace commissioners at the close of the war of 1898; and special ambassador for the coronation of King Edward VII. in 1902. In 1905 he succeeded Joseph H. Choate as ambassador to England. He wrote *Ohio in the War*, *Some Consequences of the Last Treaty of Paris*, *Our New Duties*, *A Continental Union*, *Problems of Expansion*, etc.

Religion. The United States, being the land of religious freedom, presents a constantly increasing number of denominations or sects. In 1904 there were more than 29,000,000 people enrolled on various church lists. The following is the annual compilation of the number of ministers, church edifices, and communicants or members by *The Independent* for the calendar year 1900:

RELIGION

NUMBER OF MINISTERS, CHURCH EDIFICES, AND COMMUNICANTS.

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches.	Members.
Adventists:			
Seventh Day.....	372	1,470	55,316
Life and Advent Unio.....	60	33	3,000
Arminians.....	15	21	8,500
Baptists:			
Regular (North).....	7,415	9,374	975,820
Regular (South).....	12,058	18,963	1,608,413
Regular (Colored).....	14,351	15,654	1,864,600
Seventh Day.....	119	115	8,991
Freewill.....	1,619	1,436	85,109
General.....	450	550	28,000
Separate.....	113	103	6,470
Brethren in Christ (River).....	152	78	4,000
Catholics:			
Roman Catholics.....	11,636	12,062	8,610,226
Independent Catholics:			
Polish branch.....	19	18	15,000
Old Catholic.....	6	5	10,000
Catholics: Reformed.....	6	6	1,500
Christians.....	1,248	1,520	111,835
Christian Catholic (Dowie).....	55	50	40,000
Christian Scientists.....	12,000	600	1,000,000
Church of God.....	460	580	38,000
Church of the New Jerusalem.....	143	173	7,679
Congregationalists.....	5,614	5,604	629,874
Disciples of Christ.....	6,528	10,528	1,149,982
Dunkards:			
German Baptists (Conservative).....	2,612	850	95,000
German Baptists (Old Order).....	150	100	3,500
German Baptists (Progressive).....	231	173	12,787
Episcopalians:			
Protestant Episcopal.....	4,961	6,686	716,431
Reformed Episcopal.....	103	104	9,743
Evangelical Bodies:			
Evangelical Association.....	1,052	1,806	118,865
United Evangelical Church.....	478	985	60,993
Friends: Orthodox.....	1,279	820	91,868
German Evangelical Synod.....	909	1,129	203,574
Greek Church:			
Greek Orthodox.....	4	4	20,000
Russian Orthodox.....	41	58	45,000
Jews.....	301	570	211,627
Latter Day Saints:			
Mormons.....	1,700	796	300,000
Reorganized Church.....	2,200	600	45,500
Lutherans:			
General Synod.....	1,226	1,568	194,442
United Synod in the South.....	215	300	38,639
General Council.....	1,156	2,019	370,409
Synodical Conference.....	2,029	2,650	581,029
Independent Synods.....	2,084	4,496	481,359
Mennonites:			
Mennonite.....	418	288	22,443
Amish.....	365	124	13,051
Reformed.....	43	34	1,680
General Conference.....	138	79	10,395
Bundes Conference.....	41	16	3,050
Defenceless.....	20	11	1,176
Brethren in Christ.....	45	82	2,953
Methodists:			
Methodist Episcopal.....	17,521	26,021	2,716,437
Union American M. E.....	63	61	2,675
African M. E.....	5,659	5,775	673,504
African Union Methodist Protestant.....	80	70	2,000
African M. E. Zion.....	3,155	2,906	536,271
Methodist Protestant.....	1,647	2,400	181,316
Wesleyan Methodist.....	587	506	17,201
Methodist Episcopal South.....	6,041	14,244	1,457,864
Congregational Methodist.....	210	240	20,000
Colored M. E.....	2,187	1,300	199,206
Primitive Methodist.....	65	92	6,470
Free Methodist.....	944	1,123	28,588
Evangelist Missionary.....	87	13	4,600
Moravians.....	118	111	14,817
Presbyterians:			
Presbyterian in United States (Northern).....	7,335	7,469	973,433
Cumberland Presbyterian.....	1,734	2,957	180,192
Cumberland Presbyterian (Colored).....	400	150	39,000
Welsh Calvinistic.....	105	185	12,000

RELIGION

NUMBER OF MINISTERS, CHURCH EDIFICES, AND COMMUNICANTS—Continued.

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches.	Members.
Presbyterians.—Continued.			
United Presbyterian.....	918	911	115,901
Presbyterians in United States (South).....	1,461	2,959	225,890
Associate Reformed Synod of the South.....	104	131	11,344
Reformed Presbyterian in United States (Synod).....	124	113	9,790
Reformed Presbyterian in North America (General Synod).....	33	36	5,000
Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanted).....	1	1	40
Reformed Presbyterian in United States and Canada.....	1	1	608
Reformed Presbyterian (Russellites).....	....	....	2,500
Reformed:			
Reformed in America (Dutch).....	698	619	107,594
Reformed in United States (German).....	1,082	1,660	243,545
Christian Reformed.....	96	145	18,096
Salvation Army.....	2,689	753	40,000
United Brethren:			
United Brethren in Christ.....	1,897	4,229	243,841
United Brethren (Old Constitution).....	670	817	226,643
Unitarians.....	550	459	71,000
Universalists.....	735	764	48,426

BODIES CONCERNING WHICH NO RELIABLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE.

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches.	Members.
Adventists:			
Evangelical.....	34	30	1,147
Advent Christians.....	883	580	25,816
Church of God.....	19	29	647
Church of God in Jesus Christ.....	94	95	2,872
Baptists:			
Six Principle.....	14	18	937
Original Freewill.....	118	167	11,864
United.....	25	204	13,209
Church of Christ.....	80	152	8,254
Primitive.....	2,040	3,222	121,347
Old Two-seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian.....	300	473	12,851
Brethren (River):			
Old Order, or Yorker.....	7	8	214
United Zion's Children.....	20	25	525
Brethren (Plymouth):			
Brethren (1).....	....	109	2,289
Brethren (2).....	....	88	2,419
Brethren (3).....	....	86	1,235
Brethren (4).....	....	31	718
Catholic Apostolic.....	....	10	1,394
Chinese Temples.....	95	47	....
Christadelphians.....	....	63	1,277
Christian Missionary Association.....	....	13	754
Christian Union.....	10	294	18,214
Church Triumphant (Schweinfurth).....	183	12	384
Communitistic Societies:			
Shakers.....	....	15	1,728
Amana.....	....	7	1,600
Harmony.....	....	1	250
Separatists.....	....	1	200
New Icaria.....	....	1	21
Altruists.....	....	1	25
Adonal Shomo.....	....	1	20
Church Triumphant (Koresban Ecclesia).....	....	5	205
Dunkards (Seventh Day).....	5	6	194
Friends (Hicksite).....	115	201	21,992
Friends (Wilburite).....	38	52	4,329
Friends (Primitive).....	11	9	232
Friends of the Temple.....	4	4	340
German Evangelical Protestant.....	44	52	36,156
Mennonites:			
Bruederhoef.....	9	5	352
Old Amish.....	71	22	2,038
Apostolic.....	2	2	209
Church of God in Christ.....	18	18	471
Old (Wisler).....	17	15	610
Methodists:			
Congregational (Colored).....	5	5	319
Zion Union Apostolic.....	30	27	2,346
Independent.....	8	14	2,569
New Congregational Methodist.....	20	17	1,059

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

BODIES CONCERNING WHICH NO RELIABLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE—Continued.

Denominations.	Ministers.	Churches.	Members.
Presbyterians:			
Associate Church of North America.....	12	31	1,053
Schwenkfeldians	3	4	306
Social Brethren	17	20	913
Spiritualists .....	....	334	45,030
Theosophical Society.....	....	40	695
Society of Ethical Culture.....	....	4	1,064
Waldenstromians	140	150	20,000
Independent Congregations.....	54	156	14,126

Religious Freedom. The provisions of the first constitutions of the States betrayed a struggle between ancient bigotry and growing liberality. When the Revolutionary War broke out, Congregationalism constituted the established religion in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. The Church of England enjoyed a similar civil support in all the Southern colonies, and partially so in New York and New Jersey. Only in Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Delaware was the equality of all Protestant sects acknowledged, caused by the lasting impressions given by Roger Williams and William Penn. In the last two colonies this equality was extended to the Roman Catholic Church.

The constitution of Massachusetts seemed to guarantee entire freedom of religious opinions and the equality of all sects, yet the legislature was expressly authorized and implicitly required to provide for the support of ministers, and to compel attendance on their services—a clause against which the people of Boston protested and struggled in vain. The legislature was quick to avail itself of the constitutional requirement and permission. It passed laws subjecting to heavy penalties any who might question received notions, as to the nature, attributes, and functions of the Deity, or the divine inspiration of any book of the Old or New Testament, reviving, in part, the old colonial laws against blasphemy. Similar laws remained in force in Connecticut (under the charter) and were re-enacted in New Hampshire.

In those three States Congregationalism continued to enjoy the prerogatives of an established Church, and to be supported by taxes from which it was not easy for dissenters to escape, nor possible except by contributing to the support of some other Church which they regularly attend-

ed. The ministers, once chosen, held their places for life, and had a legal claim for their stipulated salaries, unless dismissed for cause deemed sufficient by a council mutually chosen from among the ministers and members of the neighboring churches.

A great majority of the members of the Church of England were loyalists during the Revolution, and the Church lost the establishment it had possessed in the Southern colonies. In South Carolina the second constitution declared the "Christian Protestant religion" to be the established religion of the State. All persons acknowledging one God and a future state of rewards and punishments were to be freely tolerated; and if in addition they held Christianity to be the true religion, and the Old and New Testaments to be inspired, they might form churches of their own entitled to be admitted as a part of the establishment. In Maryland a "general and equal tax" was authorized for the support of the Christian religion, but no Assembly ever exercised the power to lay such tax. The constitutions of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia expressly repudiated the compulsory system in religious matters, and in the constitution of Virginia no mention was made of the matter. By act, in 1785, all religious tests in Virginia were abrogated. This act was framed by the earnest efforts of Jefferson and Madison, seconded by the Baptists, Presbyterians, and other dissenters. It was to prevent an effort, favored by Washington, Patrick Henry, and others, to pass a law in conformity to the ecclesiastical system in New England, compelling all to contribute to the support of some minister.

By the constitutions of New York, Delaware, and Maryland, priests or ministers of religion were disqualified from

REMEY—RENSSELAERWYCK

holding any political office whatever. In Georgia they could not be members of the Assembly. All gifts for pious uses were prohibited by the constitution of Maryland, except grants of land not exceeding 2 acres each, as sites for churches and church-yards. In several of the States religious tests were maintained. The old prejudices against the Roman Catholic Church could not be easily laid aside. In New Hampshire, New Jersey, North and South Carolina, and Georgia the chief officers of State were required to be Protestants. In Massachusetts and Maryland all officers were required to declare their belief in the Christian religion; in South Carolina in a future state of punishments and rewards; in North Carolina and Pennsylvania to acknowledge the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments; and in Delaware to believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. In 1784 Rhode Island repealed a law so repugnant to its charter, by which Roman Catholics were prohibited from becoming voters. The old colonial laws for the observance of Sunday as a day of rest continued in force in all the colonies. The national Constitution (article vi., clause 3) declared that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." At the first session of the First Congress, held March 4, 1789, many amendments to the Constitution were offered, and ten of them were adopted and ratified by the required number of State legislatures in December, 1791. The first amendment was as follows "Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This was a direct blow at the clauses dictated by bigotry in several of the State constitutions, and was effectual in time.

Remey, GEORGE COLLIER, naval officer; born in Burlington, Ia., Aug. 10, 1841; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1859; served with distinction during the Civil War; was with the North and South Atlantic blockading squadrons in 1862-63; participated in a number of actions, including the siege of Battery Wagner and the attack on Fort Sumter, in 1863; was captured during the assault on the latter. When the war with Spain broke out he was placed

in command of the naval base at Key West, Fla.; was promoted rear-admiral in November, 1898, and appointed commandant of the Portsmouth navy-yard. In March, 1900, he was given command of the Asiatic Station, and in this capacity directed the operations of the United States naval forces in CHINA (*q. v.*).

Remington, FREDERICK, artist; born in St. Lawrence county, N. Y., Oct. 4, 1861; educated at Yale Art School and Art Students' League, New York City. He is one of the foremost black-and-white artists of the day and is also well known as a painter and sculptor. He is the author of *Pony Tracks*; *Crooked Trails*; *Frontier Sketches*, etc.

Remonetization of Silver. See MORRILL, JUSTIN SMITH.

Reno, JESSE LEE, military officer; born in Wheeling, W. Va., June 20, 1823; graduated at West Point in 1846. He served through the war with Mexico, and was severely wounded in the battle of Chapultepec; was appointed Professor of Mathematics at West Point in 1849; chief of ordnance in the Utah expedition of 1857-59. He took part in the attack on Fort Bartow and the battles of Newbern, Camden, Manassas, and Chantilly. At the battle of South Mountain he commanded the 9th Corps, and while leading an assault was killed Sept. 14, 1862.

Rensselaerwyck, the seat of Patroon Van Rensselaer, in New York, equalled in population in 1638 the rest of the province of New Netherland. It did not include Fort Orange (Albany), which was under the direct control of the Dutch West Indian Company through the director at Fort Amsterdam. The government was vested in two commissaries, one of whom acted as president, and two councillors, assisted by a secretary, schout-fiscal, and marshal. The commissaries and councillors composed a court for the trial of all cases, civil and criminal, from which, however, an appeal lay to the director and council at Fort Amsterdam. The code was the Roman-Dutch law as administered in Holland. The population consisted principally of farmers, who emigrated at their own expense, other husbandmen sent out by the patroon to establish and cultivate boweries, or farms, on shares or by rent,

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

and farm-servants indentured for a term of years. From the very foundation of the "Colonie," as it was called, there were disputes between the patroon and his tenants, and for a long time there was a clashing of authority between the director of the province and the commissary of the "Colonie." See ANTI-RENT PARTY; PATROONS.

Representative Government. The government of Massachusetts colony, in its popular branch, was purely democratic until 1634. The freemen, dissatisfied by the passage of obnoxious laws by the magistrates and clergy, sent a delegation, composed of two representatives from each town, to request a sight of the charter. Its inspection satisfied them that to the freemen, and not to the magistrates, belonged the legislative power. They asked the governor's opinion. He replied that the freemen were now too many (not over 300) to meet as a legislature, and also gave an opinion that the "commons" were not yet furnished with a body of men fit to make laws. He proposed that a certain number of freemen should be appointed yearly, not to make laws, but to prefer grievances to the Court of Assistants, whose consent might also be required to all assessments of money or grants of lands. They insisted upon less restricted power; and when the General Court, composed of freemen, met, that body claimed for itself all the powers which the charter clearly granted them. The magistrates were compelled to yield; and it was arranged that while all the freemen should assemble annually for the choice of officers, they should be represented by delegates elected by the people in the other three sessions of the court to "deal on their behalf in the public affairs of the commonwealth," and for that purpose "to have devised to them the full voice and power of all the said freemen." By this political revolution representative government was first established in Massachusetts. The first representative legislature, composed of three delegates from each of the eight principal plantations, met with the magistrates in May, 1634. This was the second government of the kind established in America. See MASSACHUSETTS.

The germs of representative government

were planted in New Netherland when, in 1641, Governor Kieft summoned all the masters and heads of families to meet at Fort Amsterdam to bear with him the responsibility of making an unrighteous war on the Indians. When they met, Kieft submitted the question whether a murder lately committed by an Indian on a Hollander, for a murder committed by a Hollander on an Indian many years before, ought not to be avenged; and, in case the Indians would not give up the murderer, whether it would not be just to destroy the whole village to which he belonged? The people chose twelve of their number to represent them. These were Jacques Bertyn, Maryn Adriaensen, Jan Jansen Dam, Hendrick Jansen, David Pietersen de Vries, Jacob Stoffelsen, Abram Molenaar, Frederick Lubbertsen, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Gerrit Dircksen, George Rapelje, and Abraham Planck—all Hollanders. The action of the twelve was contrary to Kieft's wishes, and he afterwards dissolved the first representative assembly and forbade the assembling of another. An appalling crisis in 1643 caused Kieft to call for popular counsellors, and the people chose eight men to represent them. This second representative assembly consisted of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Dam, Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Isaac Allerton (a Puritan who came over in the *Mayflower*, and was then a merchant in New Amsterdam), Thomas Hall (another Englishman), Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelius Meylyn, the patroon of Staten Island.

On the arrival of Stuyvesant as governor of New Netherland, he organized a council of nine men, who in a degree represented the people. A circumstance now favored the growth of republicanism in the colony. The finances were in such a low state that taxation was absolutely necessary. The principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny" had prevailed in Holland since 1477. Stuyvesant was compelled to respect it, for he feared the States-General; so he called a convention of citizens (1647), and directed them to choose eighteen of their best men from whom he might select nine as representatives of the tax-payers. He hedged this representative assembly as tightly as

REPRESENTATIVES—REPUBLICAN ARMY

possible with restrictions. The first nine were to choose their successors, so that he need not go to the people again. They nourished the prolific seed of democracy then planted. Stuyvesant tried to stifle its growth; persecution promoted it. Settlers from New England were now many among the Dutch, and imbibed their republican sentiments. Finally, late in the autumn of 1653, nineteen delegates, who represented eight villages or communities, assembled at the City Hall in New Amsterdam, without the governor's consent, to take measures for the public good. They demanded that "no new laws shall be enacted but with the consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, and that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."

Stuyvesant, angered by what he called their impertinence, ordered them to disperse on pain of punishment, saying: "We derive our authority from God and the Company, not from a few ignorant subjects." The deputies paid very little attention to the wishes or commands of the irate governor, who was an honest despot. When they adjourned they invited the governor to a collation, but he would not sanction their proceedings by his presence. They bluntly told him there would be another convention soon, and he might prevent it if he could. He stormed, but prudently yielded to the demands of the people for another convention, and issued a call. The delegates met (Dec. 10, 1653) in New Amsterdam. Of the eight districts represented, four were Dutch and four English. Of the nineteen delegates, ten were Dutch and nine English. Baxter, English secretary of the colony, led the English delegates. He drew up a remonstrance against the tyrannous rule of the governor. Stuyvesant met the severe document with his usual pluck, denouncing it and the Assembly, and until the end of his administration (1664) he was at "swords' points" with the representatives of the people, who gradually acquired greater power.

Representatives, HOUSE OF. See **SPEAKER OF CONGRESS, THE**, by Gen. A. W. Greeley, including ex-Speaker T. B. Reed's article *How the House Does Business*.

Reprisal, LETTERS OF, in national law, the authorization of the capture of property belonging to the subjects of a foreign power in satisfaction of losses sustained by a citizen of the capturing state.

Reprisal, THE. The ship that carried Franklin to France, having replenished in the port of Nantes, cruised off the French coast and captured several prizes from the English. The American privateers were permitted to enter French ports in cases of extreme emergency, and there to receive supplies only sufficient for a voyage to their own ports; but the *Reprisal* continued to cruise off the French coast after leaving port, and captured the English royal packet between Falmouth and Lisbon. With this and five other prizes, she entered the harbor of L'Orient, the captain saying he intended to send them to America. Stormont, the English ambassador to Paris, hurried to Vergennes to demand that the captain, with his crews, cargoes, and ships, should be given up. "You have come too late," said the minister; "orders have already been sent that the American ship and her prizes must immediately put to sea." The *Reprisal* continued to cruise in European waters until captured in the summer of 1777.

Republican Army, the name given the American army that invaded Canada in 1776. Gen. John Thomas was sent to take the command of the patriot troops in Canada. He arrived at Quebec May 1, 1776, and found 1,900 soldiers, one-half of whom were sick with small-pox and other diseases. Some of them were also clamorous for a discharge, for their term of enlistment had expired. He was about to retreat up the St. Lawrence, when reinforcements for Carleton arrived, and the garrison of Quebec sallied out and attacked the Americans, who in their weakness fled far up the river to the mouth of the Sorel. There General Thomas died of small-pox (June 2), when the command devolved on General Sullivan. After meeting with disaster at Three Rivers, the latter was compelled to fly up the Sorel before an approaching force under Burgoyne, and he pressed on by Chambly to St. John. Arnold, at Montreal, seeing approaching danger, abandoned that city and joined Sullivan at Chambly; and on June 17 all the American troops in Canada were at that

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT—REPUBLICAN PARTY

post. They were in a most pitiable plight. Nearly one-half of them were sick; all were half-clad, and were scantily fed with salted meat and hard bread. The force was too weak to make a stand at St. John against the slowly pursuing army of Burgoyne, and they continued their flight to Crown Point in open boats, without awnings, exposing the sick to the fiery sun and drenching rain. Terrible were their sufferings at Crown Point. Every spot and every thing seemed infected with disease. For a short time the troops were poorly housed, half-naked, and inadequately fed, their daily rations being raw salted pork, hard bread, and unbaked flour. During two months the Northern army lost, by sickness and desertion, fully 5,000 men, and 5,000 were left, and were at Crown Point in June, 1778. So ended, in disaster, this remarkable invasion.

Republican Government. When the 6,000 white inhabitants of Louisiana heard of the cession of their domain by France to Spain, by the treaty of 1763, they formed an assembly of representatives of each parish in the colony, which resolved to ask the King of France to observe their loyalty, and not sever them from his dominions. They sent John Milhet, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, as their envoy to Paris, to present their petition to Choiseul; but that minister said, "It may be France cannot bear the charge of supporting the colony's precarious existence." On July 10, 1765, Antonio de Ulloa wrote a letter in Havana to New Orleans, and announced to the authorities there that he had received orders to take possession of Louisiana in the name of the Spanish monarch. He landed there on March 5, 1766, with civil officers, three Capuchin monks, and eighty soldiers. The colonists received him coldly. The French garrison of 300 soldiers refused to enter the Spanish service, nor would the inhabitants consent to give up their nationality. Ulloa could only direct a Spanish commissary to defray the expenses of government at the cost of Spain, and to administer it under the French flag, by old French officers.

Very soon the Spanish restrictive commercial system was applied to Louisiana. The merchants of New Orleans remon-

strated. "The extension and freedom of trade," they said, "far from injuring states and colonies, are their strength and support." The ordinance was suspended, and very little Spanish jurisdiction was exercised in Louisiana. The conduct of Ulloa, the derangement of business, and a sense of vassalage aroused the whole colony at the end of two years, and it was proposed to make New Orleans a republic like Holland or Venice, with a legislative body of forty men, and a single executive. The people of the country parishes filled the city, and, joining those of New Orleans, formed a numerous assembly, in which John Milhet, his brother, Lafrenière, and one or two others were conspicuous. They adopted an address to the Superior Council, Oct. 25, 1768, rehearsing their grievances, and in their Petition of Rights they claimed freedom of commerce with the ports of France and America, and demanded the expulsion of Ulloa from the colony. The address was signed by nearly 600 names. It was adopted by the council (Oct. 26); and when the French flag was displayed on the public square, women and children kissed its folds, and 900 men raised it amid shouts of "Long live the King of France; we will have no king but him." Ulloa fled to Havana, while the people of Louisiana made themselves a republic as an alternative to their renewed political connection with France. They elected their own treasurer, and syndics to represent the mass of the colony. They sent envoys to Paris bearing a memorial to the French monarch (Louis XV.), asking him to intercede between them and the King of Spain. Du Chatelet, the French ambassador in London, wrote to Choiseul, Feb. 24, 1769: "The success of the people of New Orleans in driving away the Spaniards is at least a good example for the English colonies; may they set about following it." See CHOISEUL, ÉTIENNE FRANÇOIS; NEW ORLEANS.

Republican Party. The Anti-federalists formed the basis of the Republican party after Jefferson entered the cabinet of President Washington. During the discussion on the national Constitution before it was adopted the difference of opinion became more and more decidedly marked, until, at the time when the ratification was consummated, the views of

REPUBLICAN PARTY

the supporters and opposers of the Constitution, called Federalists and Anti-federalists, gradually crystallized into strongly opposing creeds. Jefferson came from France to take his seat in the cabinet, filled with the radical sentiments of the best of the French revolutionists, who had begun the work which afterwards assumed the aspect of revolution and the Reign of Terror. He came home glowing with the animus of French democracy, and was shocked by the apparent indifference of Washington, Hamilton, Adams, and others to the claims of the struggling French people to the sympathy of the Americans. He sympathized with the ultra-republicans of France, and was an enthusiastic admirer of a nation of enthusiasts. His suspicious nature caused him to suspect those who differed with him in his political views as enemies of republicanism; and he had scarcely taken his seat in Washington's cabinet before he declared his belief that some of his colleagues held monarchical views, and that there was a party in the United States secretly and openly in favor of the overthrow of the republic. He did not hesitate to designate Hamilton as a leader among them, and Washington was soon alarmed and mortified to find that he had personal and political enemies in his cabinet. These two men soon became the acknowledged leaders of opposing parties in the nation—Federalists and Anti-federalists—Hamilton of the first, Jefferson of the second. The latter party took the title of Republican, or, later, Democratic-Republican. They called their opponents the "British party." The latter retorted by calling the Republicans the "French party." In the Presidential contest in 1800 the Republicans defeated the Federalists, and, after a struggle for about twenty years for political supremacy, the Federal party disappeared. *Fenno's Gazette* was considered Hamilton's organ, and an opposition journal, called the *National Gazette*, was started, with Philip Freneau, a poet and translating-clerk in the office of Mr. Jefferson, at its head. The Republican members of Congress were mostly from the Southern States, and the Federalists from the Northern and Eastern.

The place of the birth of the modern Republican party, like that of Homer, is

claimed by several communities. It is a matter of date to be settled. Michigan claims that it was at a State convention assembled at Jackson, July 6, 1854, a call for which was signed by more than 10,000 persons. The "platform" of the convention was drawn up by Jacob M. Howard (afterwards United States Senator), in which the extension of slavery was opposed and its abolition in the District of Columbia agitated. The name of "Republican" was adopted by the convention as that of the opposition party. Conventions that took a similar course were held in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Vermont on July 13, and in Massachusetts on July 19, 1854.

For some time previous to the canvass for President in 1856 there were very apparent signs of the formation of a new party. The anti-slavery element in all political parties began more than a year before to crystallize into a party opposed to the further extension of slavery into the Territories of the Union. It rapidly gathered force and bulk as the election approached. It assumed giant proportions in the fall of 1856, and was called the Republican party. That party nominated John C. Frémont, of California, for President. He was defeated by James Buchanan; but the party still increased in power, and in 1860 elected its candidate—Abraham Lincoln.

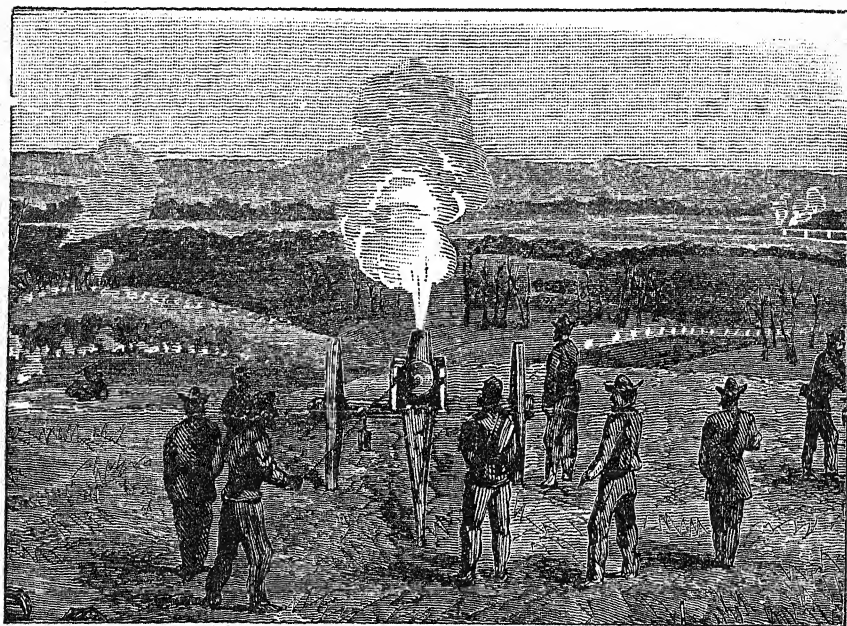
The party held control of the national executive for twenty-four consecutive years, under the administrations of Presidents Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur. It had previous to 1885 lost control now of the Senate, now of the House of Representatives. After an interval of four years the Republicans in 1889 returned to power with full control of all departments; from the executive they were displaced in 1893, having previously lost control of Congress. The Republicans in recent years have generally, but not universally, supported a high protective tariff and federal supervision of elections. On other questions, like finance and civil-service reform, they have been less united. The election of 1893 appeared to indicate a reaction in their favor. In 1896 the Republican party won a great popular victory, the issue being financial, when the party stood for the gold standard of currency, the Demo-

RESACA

crats and Populists uniting for free silver. Besides electing a President, the House and Senate became Republican. In 1900 the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Presidency were renominated, and the Republican (McKinley) was re-elected. In 1901 the Republicans controlled both Houses of Congress. See BRYAN, WILLIAM JENNINGS; MCKINLEY, WILLIAM.

Resaca, BATTLE OF. In his campaign in Georgia in 1864, General Sherman, instead of attacking General Johnston at Dalton, flanked him and caused him to leave Dalton and take post at Resaca, on the Oostenaula River, where the railway between Chattanooga and Atlanta crosses that stream. In so doing, General Thomas had quite a sharp en-

arrival of the main army. On May 11 the whole army was marching westward of Rocky-face Ridge for Snake Creek Gap and Resaca. Johnston, closely pursued by Howard, had taken position behind a line of intrenchments at Resaca. From the Gap, McPherson, preceded by Kilpatrick's cavalry, pushed towards the same place. The latter was wounded in a skirmish. McPherson drove in the Confederate pickets, and took post on a ridge of bald hills, with his right on the Oostenaula River and his left abreast the village. Very soon the Confederate intrenchments were confronted by other National troops. On the 14th Sherman ordered a pontoon bridge to be laid across the Oostenaula at Lay's Ferry, and directed Sweeny's di-



SCENE AT THE BATTLE OF RESACA.

agement at Buzzard's Roost Gap on May 7. Meanwhile the Army of the Ohio (Schofield) pressed heavily on Johnston's right, and the Army of the Tennessee (McPherson) appeared suddenly before the Confederate works at Resaca. The latter were so strong that McPherson fell back to Snake Creek Valley to await the

vision to cross and threaten Calhoun, farther south. At the same time Garrard's cavalry moved towards Rome. Meanwhile Sherman was severely pressing Johnston at all points, and there was a general battle at Resaca during the afternoon and evening of May 15, in which Thomas, Hooker, and Schofield took a

RESACA DE LA PALMA—RESERVATIONS

principal part. Hooker drove the Confederates from several strong positions and captured four guns and many prisoners. That night Johnston abandoned Resaca, fled across the Oostenaula, firing the bridges behind him, and leaving as spoils a 4-gun battery and a considerable amount of stores. The Nationals, after taking possession of Resaca pushed on in pursuit. After briefly resting at two or three places, Johnston took a strong position at ALLATOONA PASS (*q. v.*).

Resaca de la Palma, BATTLE OF. At 2 A.M. on May 9, 1846, the little army of General Taylor, which had fought the Mexicans the day before at PALO ALTO (*q. v.*), were awakened from their slumbers on the battle-field to resume their march for Fort Brown. The cautious leader prepared for attack on the way, for the smitten foe had rallied. He saw no traces of them until towards evening, when, as the Americans emerged from a dense thicket, the Mexicans were discovered strongly posted in battle order in a broad ravine about 4 feet deep and 200 feet wide, the dry bed of a series of pools, skirted with palmetto-trees, and called "Resaca de la Palma." Within that natural trench the Mexicans had planted a battery that swept the road over which the Americans were approaching. Taylor pressed forward, and, after some severe skirmishing, in which a part of his army was engaged, he ordered Captain May, leader of dragoons, to charge upon the battery. Rising in his stirrups, May called out to his troops, "Remember your regiment! Men, follow!" and, dashing forward in the face of a shower of balls from the battery, he made his powerful black horse leap the parapet. He was followed by a few of his men, whose steeds made the fearful leap. They killed the gunners, and General La Vega, who was about to apply a match to one of the pieces, and 100 men were made prisoners by the troops and marched in triumph within the American lines. The battle grew fiercer every moment. The chaparral, an almost impenetrable thicket near, was swarming with Mexicans and blazing with the fire of their muskets. Finally, after a fearful struggle, the camp and headquarters of General Arista were captured and the Mexicans completely routed.

Arista fled, a solitary fugitive, and escaped across the Rio Grande. So sudden had been his discomfiture that his plate and correspondence, with arms, equipments, and ammunition for several thousand men, besides 2,000 horses, fell into the hands of the victors. La Vega and some other captive officers were sent to New Orleans on parole. The Mexicans having been reinforced during the night of the 8th, it was estimated that they had 7,000 men on the battle-field; the Americans less than 2,000. The former lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 1,000; the latter, 110. The Mexican army was broken up. See MEXICO, WAR WITH.

Reservations, INDIAN. In 1900 the Indian reservations in the United States comprised the following:

Blackfeet.....	Montana.
Cheyenne and Arapahoe....	Oklahoma.
Cheyenne River.....	South Dakota.
Colorado River.....	Arizona.
Colville.....	Washington.
Crow.....	Montana.
Crow Creek.....	South Dakota.
Devil's Lake.....	North Dakota.
Eastern Cherokee.....	North Carolina.
Flathead.....	Montana.
Fort Apache.....	Arizona.
Fort Belknap.....	Montana.
Fort Berthold.....	North Dakota.
Fort Hall.....	Idaho.
Fort Peck.....	Montana.
Grande Ronde.....	Oregon.
Green Bay.....	Wisconsin.
Hoopa Valley.....	California.
Hualapai.....	Arizona.
Kiowa.....	Oklahoma.
Klamath.....	Oregon.
La Pointe.....	Wisconsin.
Lemhi.....	Idaho.
Lower Brule.....	South Dakota.
Mackinac.....	Michigan.
Mescalero.....	New Mexico.
Mission-Tule River.....	California.
Navajo.....	New Mexico.
Neah Bay.....	Washington.
Nevada.....	Nevada.
New York.....	New York.
Nez Percés.....	Idaho.
Omaha and Winnebago.....	Nebraska.
Osage.....	Oklahoma.
Pima.....	Arizona.
Pine Ridge.....	South Dakota.
Ponca, Pawnee, Otoe, and Oakland.....	Oklahoma.
Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha.....	Kansas.
Pueblo and Jicarilla.....	New Mexico.
Puyallup.....	Washington.
Quapaw.....	Indian Territory.
Rosebud.....	South Dakota.
Round Valley.....	California.
Sac and Fox.....	Iowa.
Sac and Fox.....	Oklahoma.

RESOLUTIONS OF '98

San Carlos.....	Arizona.
Santee.....	Nebraska.
Seminole.....	Florida.
Shoshone.....	Wyoming.
Siletz.....	Oregon.
Sisseton.....	South Dakota.
Southern Ute.....	Colorado.
Standing Rock.....	North Dakota.
Tongue River.....	Montana.
Tulalip.....	Washington.
Utah and Ouray.....	Utah.
Umatilla.....	Oregon.
Union.....	Indian Territory.
Walker River Reservation.....	Nevada.
Warm Springs.....	Oregon.
Western Shoshone.....	Nevada.
White Earth.....	Minnesota.
Yakima.....	Washington.
Yankton.....	South Dakota.

Resolutions of '98. The famous "Kentucky Resolutions" (see KENTUCKY) and "Virginia Resolutions" of 1798 afforded ground for the doctrine of State supremacy down to the breaking-out of the Civil War in 1861. The organization of a provisional army to fight France, and the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws of the summer of 1798, brought forward into prominence bold men, leaders in communities, who were ready to support secession and nullification schemes. Among these was John Taylor, of Caroline, a Virginia statesman, who boldly put forth his advanced views. Mr. Jefferson finally sympathized with him, and at a conference held at Monticello, towards the close of October, 1798, between the latter and George and Wilson C. Nicholas, they determined to engage Kentucky to join Virginia in an "energetic protestation against the constitutionality of those laws." Mr. Jefferson was urged to sketch resolutions accordingly, which W. C. Nicholas, then a resident of Kentucky, agreed to present to the legislature. Having obtained the solemn assurance of the Nicholas brothers that it should not be known from whence the resolutions came, Jefferson drafted them.

The first declared that the national Constitution is a compact between the States, as States, by which is created a general government for special purposes, each State reserving to itself the residuary mass of power and right, and "that, as in other cases of compact between parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and meas-

ure of redress." Then followed five resolutions practically applying to three acts of Congress—one to punish counterfeiters of bills of the United States Bank, and one to the Alien and Sedition laws. For various reasons assigned, these acts were pronounced "not law, but altogether void, and of no force." Another asserted the right of the States to judge of infractions and their remedy, not merely as matter of opinion, but officially and constitutionally, as parties of the compact, and as the foundation of important legislation. The seventh resolution postponed "to a time of greater tranquillity" the "revisal and correction" of sundry other acts of Congress alleged to have been founded upon an unconstitutional interpretation of the right to impose taxes and excise, and to provide for the common defence.

The eighth resolution directed the appointment of a committee of correspondence, to communicate the resolutions to the several States, and to inform them that the State of Kentucky, with all her esteem for her "co-States" and for the Union, was determined "to submit to undelegated, and, consequently, unlimited powers, in no man or body of men on earth; that in the case of an abuse of the delegated powers, the members of the general government being chosen by the people, a change by the people would be the constitutional remedy; but when powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy; and that every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits." The resolution authorized and instructed the committee of correspondence to call upon the "co-States," "to concur in declaring those acts void and of no force, and each to take measures of its own for providing that neither these acts, nor any other of the general government, not plainly and intentionally authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories."

The first resolution teaches the doctrine that the Constitution, instead of being a form of government, as it purports to be, is simply a compact or treaty; and, secondly, that the parties to it are not, as

RESTRAINING ACTS—REVENUE

the Constitution itself expressly declares, "the people of the United States," but only the States as political corporations. The logical effect of this doctrine, practically, would be to destroy the Union, and relegate it to the barren desert of the Articles of Confederation, or anarchy under the name of government. These resolutions—the last two modified by Nicholas—passed the Kentucky legislature, Nov. 14, 1798, with only two or three dissenting votes. These nullification doctrines were echoed by the Virginia legislature, Dec. 24, in a series of resolutions drafted by Madison, and offered by John Taylor, of Caroline, who, a few months before, had suggested the idea of a separate confederacy, to be composed of Virginia and North Carolina. Madison's resolutions were more general in their terms, and allowed latitude in their interpretation. They were passed, after a warm debate, by a vote of 100 to 63 in the House of Delegates, and 14 to 3 in the Senate. They were sent to the other States, accompanied by an address, drawn, probably, by Madison, to which an answer was soon put forth, signed by fifty-eight of the minority. Neither the Senators nor Representatives in Congress from Kentucky ventured to lay the nullifying resolutions before their respective Houses; nor did the resolutions of Kentucky or Virginia find favor with the other legislatures. See KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS.

Restraining Acts. Alarmed by the proceedings of the Continental Congress, late in 1774, and the movements in New England, the British ministry, early in 1775, took vigorous measures to assert its power in coercing the English-American colonies into submission. Lord North, the premier, introduced into Parliament a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies, and to prohibit them from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland and other places, under certain conditions and for a limited time. The bill was adopted by a large majority. Soon afterwards, on being assured that the rest of the colonies upheld the New-Englanders in their rebellious proceedings, a second bill was passed, similar to the first, for re-

straining all the other provinces, excepting three, in their trade and commerce. The three exempted colonies, regarding the exception as a bribe to induce them to oppose the measures of the other colonies, spurned the proffered favor, and submitted to the restraints imposed upon their neighbors. The excepted colonies were New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. The ministers were disappointed in their calculations on the moderation of New York, for at that time its Assembly was preparing to assert the rights of the colony in the very important matter of taxation.

Retaliation. THE. Lieutenant Bainbridge, in the *Retaliation*, was cruising off Guadeloupe, W. I., late in 1798, when he fell in with a French squadron, which he took to be British vessels. When he discovered his mistake it was too late to avoid trouble, and two French frigates (*Volontaire* and *L'Insurgente*) attacked and captured the *Retaliation*. The *Insurgente* was one of the swiftest vessels on the ocean. She immediately made chase after two American ships. Bainbridge was a prisoner on the *Volontaire*. "What are the armaments of the two vessels?" asked the French commander, as he and Bainbridge were watching the *Insurgente* gaining on the Americans. He quickly replied, "Twenty-eight 12's and twenty 9's." This was double the force, and startled the commander, who was senior captain of the *Insurgente*. He immediately signalled his vessel to give up the chase, and the Americans escaped. Bainbridge's deceptive reply cost him only a few curses. The *Retaliation* was the first vessel captured during the war. See BAINBRIDGE, WILLIAM.

Reuterdaahl, HENRY, artist; born in Sweden, Aug. 12, 1871. He was a war correspondent during the progress of the American-Spanish War, and has been a contributor to the magazines. He is well known through his pictures of the naval battles of the American-Spanish War.

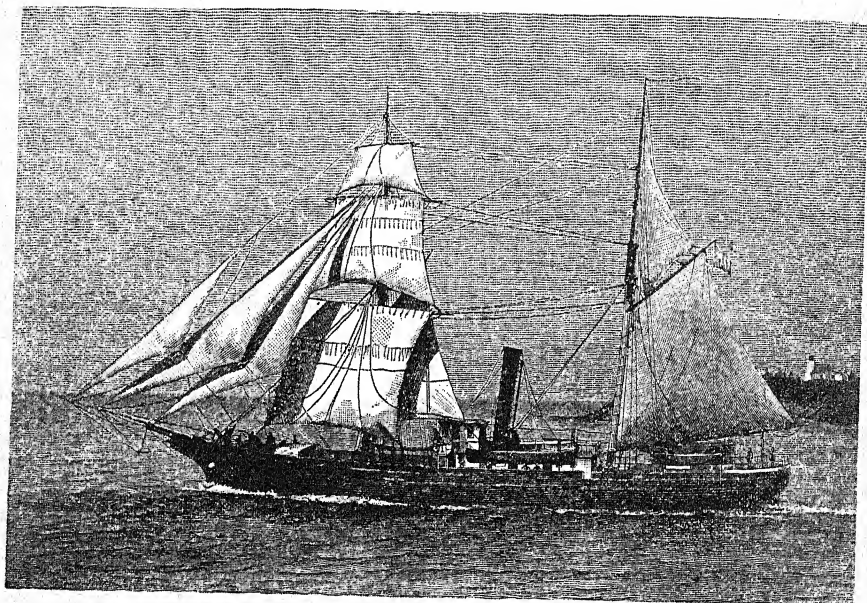
Revenue, PUBLIC. In 1764 the increase of smuggling became so prejudicial to the British revenue that the government made a regulation requiring the commanders of vessels stationed on the coasts of England, and even those ships

REVENUE, PUBLIC

destined for the English-American colonies, to perform the functions of revenue officers, and to conform themselves to the rules established for the protection of the customs. The oppressions practised under this law called forth loud complaints in all the colonies. In the execution of it naval commanders seized and confiscated the cargoes prohibited and those that were not, indiscriminately. The law soon destroyed a lucrative and honest commerce between the English, Spanish, and French colonies. When the English colonies felt the disastrous effects of the law, they resolved not to purchase, in future, any English stuffs with which they had been accustomed to clothe themselves, and, as far as possible, to use only domestic manufactures. So faithfully was this resolution adhered to in Boston that the consumption of British merchandise was diminished, in 1764, more than \$50,000.

The all-important subject of a public revenue to replenish the empty treasury of the United States was acted upon by the first Congress, before the inauguration

of Washington. On April 8, 1789, Mr. Madison offered a resolution for laying specific duties on imported rum and other spirituous liquors, wines, tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, and pepper, the amount being left blank; and imposing *ad valorem* duties



A UNITED STATES REVENUE-CUTTER.

on all other articles imported, and a tonnage duty on all vessels, with a discrimination in favor of all vessels owned wholly in the United States, and an additional discrimination between foreign vessels, favorable to those countries having commercial treaties with the United States. The debates on this question revealed much information concerning the industries of the Americans; and the tariff which grew out of it still lies at the bottom of our existing revenue system. At that time, however, the idea of levying duties for the protection of American industry was not put forth; it was simply for revenue. The question of the ability of the United States to coerce foreign nations by means of commercial restrictions, as in the case of non-importation agreements before the Revolution, was earnestly discussed at this time.

REVERE

The public revenue of the United States is now derived from three general sources. The sources and amounts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, were: Customs, \$262,013,079; internal revenue, \$232,873,721; and miscellaneous, \$46,628,843—total, \$541,515,644. Under the war revenue act, which went into effect on July 13, 1898, and was greatly modified on July 1, 1901, the sum of \$310,053,363 was collected up to June 1, 1901. The sources of internal revenue and their several amounts in 1903-04 were as follows: From spirits, \$135,779,720; tobacco, \$44,655,801; fermented liquors, \$49,083,458; and miscellaneous, \$46,628,843. In 1900-01 the total revenue was \$587,685,337, which included \$40,194,641 of war stamp taxes.

Revere, JOSEPH WARREN, grandson of Paul Revere; born in Boston, May 17, 1812; was an officer in the United States navy, 1828-50. During the Civil War he became colonel of a New Jersey regiment, and was promoted brigadier-general in 1862. He was court-martialled in 1863, but the sentence was revoked by President Lincoln in 1864. Revere retired to private life in 1864, and died in Hoboken, N. J., April 20, 1880.

Revere, PAUL, patriot; born in Boston, Mass., Jan. 1, 1735. Was descended from the Huguenots, and was educated in his father's trade of goldsmith. In the French and Indian War he was at Fort Edward, on the upper Hudson, as a lieutenant of artillery, and on his return he established himself as a goldsmith, and, without instruction, became a copper-plate engraver. He was one of four engravers in America when the Revolutionary War broke out. He had engraved, in 1766, a print emblematic of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in 1767 another called "The Seventeen Rescinders." He published a print of the Boston massacre, in 1770, and from that time became one of the most active opponents of the acts of Parliament. Revere engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of credit, or paper money, of Massachusetts, issued in 1775; he also engraved the plates for the "Continental money." He was sent by the Sons of Liberty, of Boston, to confer with their brethren in New York and Philadelphia. Early in 1775 the Provincial

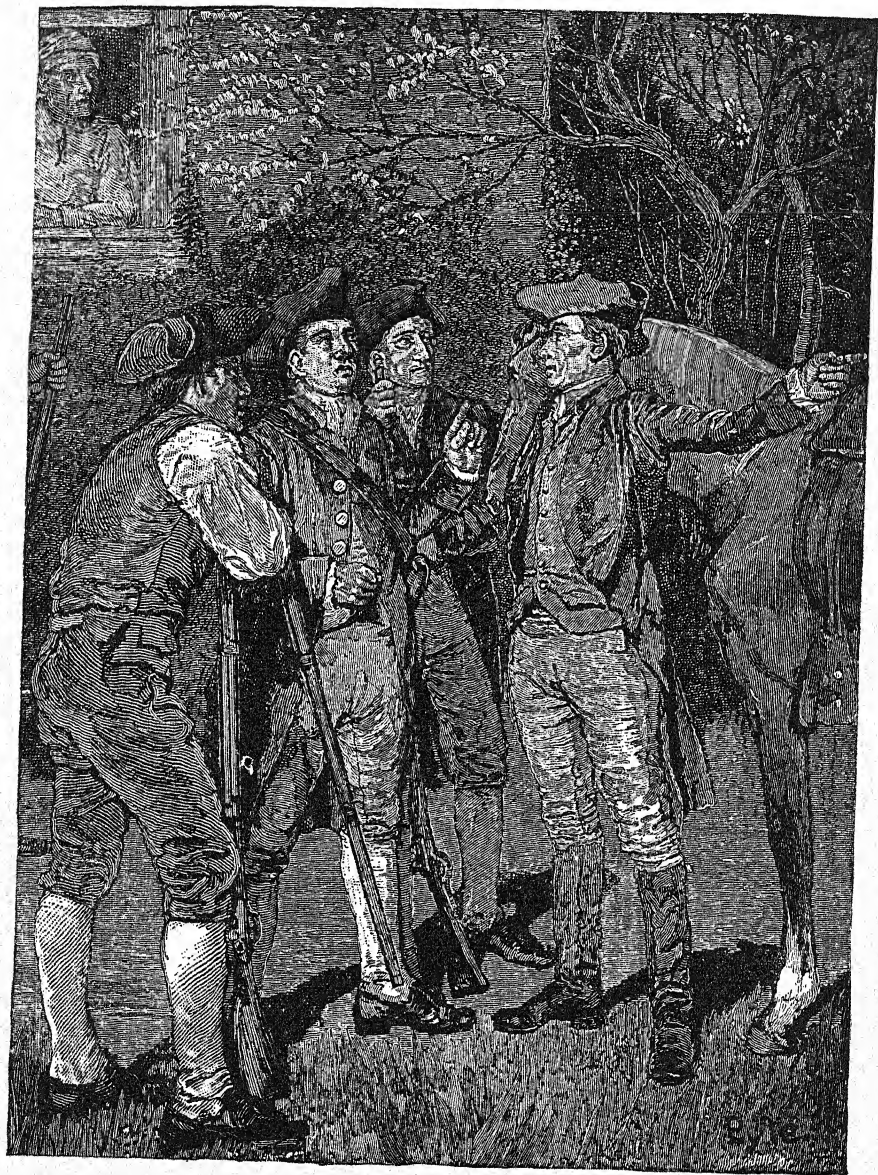
Congress sent him to Philadelphia to learn the art of making powder, and on his return he set up a mill. The president of the Congress (Joseph Warren) chose Revere as one of his trusted messengers to warn the people of Lexington and Concord of the expedition sent thither by Gage (April 18, 1775), and to tell Adams and Hancock of their danger. He was made a prisoner while on his way from Lexington towards Concord, but was soon



PAUL REVERE.

released. Longfellow made Revere's midnight ride the subject of his well-known poem. He served in the military corps for the defence of his State, and after the war he cast church bells and cannon; and he founded the copper-works at Canton, Mass., afterwards carried on by the Revere Copper Company. He was the first in the United States to smelt copper ore and roll it into sheets. In 1795 Revere, as grand master of the masonic order, laid the corner-stone of the State-house in Boston. He died in Boston, Mass., May 10, 1818.

REVOLUTION



PAUL REVERE AT LEXINGTON.

Revolution, DIPLOMACY OF THE. As Americans began to contemplate the necessity of foreign aid, material and moral. the practical shape of a resolution and The Congress appointed a secret committee of correspondence for the purpose, the declaration adopted by Congress, the

REVOLUTION, DIPLOMACY OF THE

and sent Silas Deane upon a half-commercial, half-diplomatic mission to France. Franklin was at first opposed to seeking foreign alliances. "A virgin State," he said, "should preserve the virgin character, and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others." But Franklin soon became the chief suitor in Europe, for in the autumn of 1776 he was sent as "commissioner" to France to seek an alliance and material aid. The aid was furnished through Beaumarchais, at first secretly, and afterwards by the government openly. The American commissioners proposed a treaty of alliance with France, but the French government hesitated, for it did not then desire an open rupture with England; but when the news of the defeat and capture of Burgoyne's army, late in 1777, reached France, the King no longer hesitated, and a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance was consummated in February, 1778.

The recognition of the independence of the United States involved France in war with England, and the latter sent commissioners to negotiate with the Americans for peace. The terms were not satisfactory, and the mission failed. The French government pressed Spain to join in espousing the cause of the Americans, but that power hesitated, because a support of such a republican system in America might be dangerous to the integrity of her own colonial system in that part of the world. In this feeling France had been alike cautious, and for the same reasons. They had agreed that while it would not be politic to invade the rights of the British crown, they would evade the obligations of treaties, for both had a mischievous intent to foment the disturbances between England and her American colonies. While doing this secretly, they held the language of honest neutrality. When, therefore, France had determined openly to espouse the cause of the Americans, Spain was urged to do likewise; but the Spanish Court could not be persuaded to go beyond a certain point. The French minister, with keen prescience, saw ultimate independence for America, while the Spanish Court dreaded such a result.

Meanwhile the Continental Congress had sent John Jay as ambassador to Spain, to win the active friendship of that power. He could effect nothing; and it was well he did not, as subsequent events manifested. From the time of the treaty of alliance with France, the action of Spain towards the United States was selfish, hypocritical, and often sullen. She declared war against England for her own selfish purpose, but it worked in favor of the Americans by keeping British troops employed elsewhere than in America. The Count d'Aranda, the Spanish minister in France, who had watched the course of events with keen vision from the beginning to the end of the American war for independence, suggested to his sovereign, as an antidote to American independence, the formation of the Spanish-American colonies into independent Spanish monarchies. He said, in reference to the treaty of peace in 1783: "The independence of the English colonies has been, then, recognized. It is for me a subject of grief and fear. France has but few possessions in America; but she was bound to consider that Spain, her most intimate ally, had many, and that she now stands exposed to terrible reverses. From the beginning France has acted against her true interests in encouraging and supporting this independence, and so I have often declared to the ministers of this nation."

When the armed neutrality was proposed in 1780, the Americans gladly joined the European powers with their moral influence (all they could then give), for it would aid themselves by weakening England. Its results were disappointing to the other powers, but it added to the open enemies of England. The Congress, in instructions to Dana at St. Petersburg, had said: "You will readily perceive that it must be a leading and capital point, if these United States shall be formally admitted as a party to the convention of the neutral maritime powers for maintaining the freedom of commerce." Thus early, while yet fighting for independence, the American statesmen assumed the dignity and used the language of the representatives of a powerful nation, which they certainly expected to form.

The Americans had opened negotiations with the States-General of Holland

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

for a treaty as early as 1778. William, brother of Richard Henry and Arthur Lee, had begun the discussion of such a treaty with Van Berkel, the pensionary of Amsterdam. This negotiation with a single province was made in secret. Lee had no authority to sign a treaty, nor could the expression of a single province bind the Dutch Republic. Finally, Henry Laurens was sent by Congress to negotiate a treaty with the States-General, but was captured while crossing the Atlantic, and imprisoned in England. Then John Adams was sent for the purpose to The Hague. Early in 1782, through the joint exertions of Mr. Adams and the French minister at The Hague, the provinces, one after another, consented to the public recognition of Mr. Adams, and so openly recognized the independence of the United States. He was publicly introduced to the Prince of Orange on April 22, 1782. In October

following he had completed the negotiation of a treaty with Holland, and signed it with great satisfaction. It was a "Treaty of Alliance between their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands and the United States of America." This treaty was not altogether dependent upon the alliance of the United States with France, and was a step forward in the march of the former towards independent national existence. The final great act in the diplomacy of the Revolution was the negotiation of a treaty of peace with England. In their foreign diplomacy the Congress had been greatly aided at almost every step by the enlightened wisdom, prudence, and firmness of Count Gravier de Vergennes, who was a faithful servant of his King, while he earnestly desired the boon of the enjoyment of rational liberty for all peoples. He died soon after the peace.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Revolutionary War, the popular name of the struggle of the American colonies against Great Britain for independence in 1775-83; also known in American history as the first war for independence. For a detailed statement of causes the reader is referred to DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. The following is a chronological record of the war:

Battle of Lexington, Mass., at dawn of April 19, 1775
Col. Samuel H. Parsons and Benedict Arnold plan, at Hartford, Conn., the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y. April 27, 1775
Arnold leads his company from New Haven to Boston, arriving..... April 29, 1775
Fort Ticonderoga captured by Ethan Allen May 10, 1775
Crown Point, N. Y., captured by Americans..... May 12, 1775
Americans under Benedict Arnold capture St. John, Canada..... May 16, 1775
British Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrive at Boston from England with troops..... May 25, 1775
Congress votes to raise 20,000 men... June 14, 1775
George Washington is unanimously elected by Congress commander-in-chief of the American forces. June 15, 1775
Battle of Bunker Hill, June 16-17; and burning of Charlestown.... June 17, 1775
Resolved by Congress, "That a sum not

exceeding two million of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by Congress in bills of credit for the defence of America."..... June 22, 1775
Washington takes command of the army at Cambridge..... July 3, 1775
Declaration by Congress, the causes and necessity for taking up arms... July 6, 1775
First provincial vessel commissioned for naval warfare in the Revolution, sent out by Georgia..... July 10, 1775
Importation of gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, and fire-arms permitted by act of Congress..... July 15, 1775
Georgia joins the United Colonies.... July 20, 1775
Franklin's plan of confederation and perpetual union, "The United Colonies of North America," considered by Congress..... July 21, 1775
Congress resolves to establish an army hospital..... July 27, 1775
British vessel, the *Betsy*, surprised by a Carolina privateer off St. Augustine bar, and 111 barrels of powder captured Aug., 1775
King issues a proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition in the colonies..... Aug. 23, 1775
American troops under Gen. Richard Montgomery sent into Canada to cut off British supplies..... Sept., 1775
Col. Benedict Arnold, with a force of about 1,100 men, marches against Quebec via Kennebec River.... Sept., 1775
English ship seized off Tybee Island, Ga., by the Liberty people, with 250 barrels of powder..... Sept. 17, 1775

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- British capture Col. Ethan Allen and thirty-eight men near Montreal..... Sept. 25, 1775
- Bristol, R. I., bombarded.....Oct. 7, 1775
- Gen. William Howe supersedes General Gage as commander of the British army in America, who embarks for EnglandOct. 10, 1775
- Falmouth, Me., burned by British.... Oct. 18, 1775
- St. John, Canada, surrenders to Americans under Montgomery.....Nov. 2, 1775
- Congress orders a battalion to protect GeorgiaNov. 4, 1775
- British fleet repulsed at Hampton, Va., Oct. 25, 1775, and Lord Dunmore declares open war.....Nov. 7, 1775
- Night attack of the British vessels *Tamar* and *Cherokee* on the schooner *Defence*, in Hog Island Channel, S. C.Nov. 12, 1775
- Americans under Montgomery capture MontrealNov. 13, 1775
- Benjamin Harrison, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Johnson, John Dickinson, and John Jay, appointed by Congress a committee for secret correspondence with friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and other foreign nations.....Nov. 29, 1775
- Battle of Great Bridge, Va...Dec. 9, 1775
- Congress appoints Silas Deane, John Langdon, and Christopher Gadsden, a committee to fit out two vessels of war, Nov. 25, orders thirteen vessels of war built and appoints Esek Hopkins commander.....Dec. 13, 1775
- British vessels driven from Charleston Harbor, S. C., by artillery company under Colonel Moultrie, stationed on Haddrell's Point.....Dec., 1775
- American forces united under Montgomery and Arnold repulsed at Quebec; General Montgomery killed.... Dec. 31, 1775
- Washington unfurls the first Union flag of thirteen stripes at Cambridge, Mass.Jan. 1, 1776
- Norfolk, Va., partly burned by Governor Dunmore.....Jan. 1, 1776
- Battle of Moore's Creek, N. C.; McDonald's loyalists routed by militia; seventy killed and wounded..Feb. 27, 1776
- Silas Deane appointed political agent to the French Court.....March 2, 1776
- Howe evacuates Boston.....March 17, 1776
- Congress authorizes privateering..... March 23, 1776
- Congress orders the ports open to all nationsApril 6, 1776
- North Carolina declares for independenceApril 22, 1776
- American forces under Gen. John Thomas retire from the siege of QuebecMay 6, 1776
- Rhode Island, May 4; Massachusetts, May 10; and Virginia, May 14, declare for independence..... 1776
- Congress advises each colony to form a government independent of Great BritainMay 15, 1776
- Resolution introduced in Congress by Richard Henry Lee, that "the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved"..... June 7, 1776
- Committee appointed by Congress to prepare a form of confederation.... June 11, 1776
- Committee appointed by Congress to draw up a Declaration of IndependenceJune 11, 1776
- Board of war and ordnance appointed by Congress, consisting of five members, viz.: John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Harrison, James Wilson, and Edward Rutledge; Richard Peters elected secretary.....June 12, 1776
- American forces under General Sullivan retire from Canada to Crown Point, N. Y.....June 18, 1776
- Unsuccessful attack on Fort Moultrie by British fleet under Sir Peter ParkerJune 28, 1776
- Declaration of Independence adopted by CongressJuly 4, 1776
- Declaration of Independence read to the army in New York by order of General Washington.....July 9, 1776
- British General Lord Howe lands 10,000 men and forty guns near Gravesend, L. I.....Aug. 22, 1776
- Battle of Long Island.....Aug. 27, 1776
- Washington withdraws his forces from Long Island to the city of New York.Aug. 29-30, 1776
- Congress resolves "that all Continental commissions in which heretofore the words 'United Colonies' have been used, bear hereafter the words 'United States'".....Sept. 9, 1776
- Americans evacuate New York City.. Sept. 14, 1776
- British repulsed at Harlem Heights... Sept. 16, 1776
- Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee appointed ambassadors to the Court of France.....Sept. 22, 1776
- Nathan Hale executed as a spy at New YorkSept. 22, 1776
- Battle on Lake Champlain; British victoryOct. 11-13, 1776
- Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Pole, arrives; recommended to Washington by Dr. Franklin; appointed colonel of engineers by Congress.....Oct. 18, 1776
- Battle of White Plains, N. Y.; British victoryOct. 28, 1776
- Franklin sails for France in the *Reprisal*, of sixteen guns, one of the new Continental frigates, the first national vessel to appear in the Eastern Hemisphere.....Oct., 1776
- Congress authorizes the raising of \$5,000,000 by lottery for expenses of the next campaign.....Nov. 1, 1776
- Fort Washington on the Hudson captured by the British.....Nov. 16, 1776

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- Americans evacuate Fort Lee, Nov. 18, and retreat across New Jersey to Pennsylvania Nov., 1776
- Eight thousand British troops land and take possession of Rhode Island.... Nov. 28, 1776
- Washington with his forces crosses the Delaware into Pennsylvania.... Dec. 8, 1776
- Sir Peter Parker takes possession of Rhode Island, and blockades the American fleet at Providence Dec. 8, 1776
- Maj.-Gen. Charles Lee captured by British at Baskingridge, N. J. Dec. 12 1776
- Battle of Trenton, N. J. Dec. 26, 1776
- Congress resolves to send commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany Dec. 30, 1776
- Battle of Princeton. Jan. 3, 1777
- Washington's army encamps for the winter at Morristown. Jan., 1777
- Americans under General Maxwell capture Elizabethtown, N. J. Jan. 23, 1777
- Letters of marque and reprisal granted by England against American ships.. Feb. 6, 1777
- Five vessels belonging to a British supply fleet are sunk near Amboy, N. J. Feb. 26, 1777
- Vermont declares itself an independent State, Jan., 1777, and presents a petition to Congress for admission into the confederacy, which was denied.. April 8, 1777
- Danbury, Conn., destroyed by troops under ex-Governor Tryon.... April 26, 1777
- Colonel Meligs, with whale-boats from Guilford, attacks the British forces at Sag Harbor, destroying vessels and stores and taking ninety prisoners... May 23, 1777
- Stars and Stripes adopted by Congress. June 14, 1777
- British under General Howe evacuate New Jersey, crossing to Staten Island. June 30, 1777
- British under Burgoyne appear before Ticonderoga July 1, 1777
- American garrison withdraw from New York. July 6, 1777
- Battle of Hubbardton, Vt. July 7, 1777
- British Gen. Richard Prescott surprised and captured near Newport by Lieutenant-Colonel Barton. July 10, 1777
- Miss Jane McCrea captured by Indians in British employ at Fort Edward, N. Y., and shot and scalped.. July 27, 1777
- On the approach of Burgoyne General Schuyler evacuates Fort Edward, and retreats down the Hudson Valley... July 29, 1777
- General Lafayette, who volunteers his services to Congress, is commissioned major-general. July 31, 1777
- Lafayette introduced to Washington in Philadelphia, and attached to his personal staff. Aug. 3, 1777
- Battle of Oriskany, N. Y. Aug. 6, 1777
- Battle of Bennington, Vt. Aug. 16, 1777
- Gen. Philip Schuyler succeeded by Gen. Horatio Gates in command of the Northern army. Aug. 19, 1777
- General Arnold sent to relieve Fort Schuyler, invested by British under St. Leger, who retreats and returns to Montreal. Aug. 22, 1777
- Battle of Brandywine, Washington defeated Sept. 11, 1777
- Count Pulaski commissioned brigadier-general by Congress. Sept. 15, 1777
- Battle of Stillwater, N. Y.; indecisive... Sept. 19, 1777
- Three hundred of Wayne's troops slaughtered at Paoli. Sept. 20-21, 1777
- British army occupies Philadelphia.... Sept. 27, 1777
- Battle of Germantown; Americans repulsed Oct. 4, 1777
- Forts Clinton and Montgomery captured by the British. Oct. 6, 1777
- Battle of Saratoga, N. Y. Oct. 7, 1777
- General Burgoyne's army surrenders.. Oct. 17, 1777
- Successful defence of Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer. Oct. 22-23, 1777
- Congress creates a new board of war, General Gates presiding. Oct., 1777
- Articles of Confederation adopted.... Nov. 15, 1777
- Forts Mifflin and Mercer besieged by the British and captured. Nov. 16-20, 1777
- Congress recommends to the several States to raise by taxes \$5,000,000 for the succeeding year. Nov., 1777
- Howe leaves Philadelphia with 14,000 men to drive Washington from his position at Whitemarsh, but does not attack Dec. 4, 1777
- Howe hurriedly returns to Philadelphia. Dec. 8, 1777
- American army goes into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill Dec. 18, 1777
- Gen. Charles Lee released in exchange for General Prescott. Dec., 1777
- Battle of the Kegs. Jan. 5, 1778
- Louis XVI. acknowledges the independence of the colonies, and signs a treaty of alliance and commerce.. Feb. 6, 1778
- Baron Steuben joins the camp at Valley Forge Feb., 1778
- Bill introduced by Lord North in Parliament concerning peace negotiations with America reaches Congress April 15, and is rejected. April 22, 1778
- French treaty reaches Congress by messenger May 2, 1778
- Deane's treaty with France ratified.. May 4, 1778
- Mischianza, a festival, is given at Philadelphia by the British officers in honor of Sir William Howe (who had been succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton), six days before his return to England May 18, 1778
- Affair at Barren Hill. May 20, 1778
- British raid in Warren and Bristol, R. I. May 25, 1778
- Col. Ethan Allen, released from im-

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- prisonment, returns to Bennington, Vt. May 31, 1778
- Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden, appointed peace commissioners to America, with Prof. Adam Ferguson as secretary. June 10, 1778
- British evacuate Philadelphia and retire across the Delaware into New Jersey June 18, 1778
- Americans break camp at Valley Forge and follow. June 18, 1778
- Battle of Monmouth Court-house, N. J., British retreat. June 28, 1778
- "Molly Pitcher" commissioned sergeant by Washington for bravery at Monmouth June 29, 1778
- Massacre of inhabitants in Wyoming Valley, Pa., by Indians and Tories. July 4, 1778
- Expedition from Virginia under Maj. George Rogers Clarke captures the British fort at Kaskaskia. July 4, 1778
- Articles of Confederation signed by delegates from eight States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and South Carolina. July 9, 1778
- Delegates from North Carolina sign them. July 21, 1778
- Delegates from Georgia sign them. July 24, 1778
- French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, enters Narraganset Bay. July 29, 1778
- M. Gerard, minister from France to America, received in Congress. Aug. 6, 1778
- Congress rejects the bills of Parliament, and refuses to negotiate with Great Britain until her fleets and armies are withdrawn and she acknowledges the independence of the colonies. Aug. 11, 1778
- Gen. Charles Lee by court-martial for disobedience, misbehavior, and disrespect to Washington, suspended from command for one year. Aug. 12, 1778
- Battle of Rhode Island. Aug. 29, 1778
- Americans evacuate Rhode Island, Aug. 30, and British occupy Newport. Aug. 31, 1778
- British under General Grey burn Bedford village, in Dartmouth, Mass., and seventy American vessels lying at the wharfs. Sept. 5, 1778
- Benjamin Franklin appointed minister to the Court of France. Sept. 14, 1778
- Massacre by Indians and Tories at Cherry Valley, N. Y. Nov. 10, 1778
- British troops under Howe capture Savannah; the Americans retreat across the Savannah River. Dec. 29, 1778
- Northern American army huddled in cantonments from Danbury, Conn., to Elizabethtown, N. J., for the winter. 1778-79
- Maj.-Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, commanding the Southern forces, establishes his first post at Puryburg, on the Savannah River. 1779
- Congress calls upon the States for their quotas of \$15,000,000 for the year, and \$6,000,000 annually for eighteen years to follow as a sinking-fund. Jan. 2, 1779
- Vincennes, Ind., captured by the British. Jan., 1779
- British under General McLane take possession of Castine, Me. Jan. 12, 1779
- British under Major Gardiner driven from Port Royal Island by General Moultrie. Feb. 3, 1779
- Franklin commissioned sole minister plenipotentiary to France, and Adams recalled. Feb., 1779
- Battle of Kettle Creek, Ga., American victory. Feb. 14, 1779
- Americans under Major Clarke capture Vincennes. Feb. 20, 1779
- Battle of Brier Creek, Ga., British victory. March 3, 1779
- Salt works at Horseneck, Conn., destroyed by General Tryon. March 26, 1779
- American ministers recalled, except at Versailles and Madrid. April, 1779
- Americans repulsed at Stono Ferry, S. C. June 20, 1779
- Spain declares war against Great Britain. June, 1779
- British under Tryon plunder New Haven, July 5, and burn Fairfield, July 8, and Norwalk. July 12, 1779
- Americans under Wayne take by storm Fort Stony Point, N. Y. July 16, 1779
- Expedition against the British at Fort Castine, Me., repulsed. July 25, 1779
- American fleet arrive at Penobscot, July 25, and are dispersed by British fleet. Aug. 13, 1779
- Congress agrees to a basis of terms for a peace with Great Britain. Aug. 14, 1779
- General Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations; the Indian villages of the Genesee Valley destroyed. July-Sept., 1779
- British fleet at Tybee captured by Count D'Estaing. Sept. 3, 1779
- Congress votes thanks and a gold medal to Major Lee, for surprising and capturing (Aug. 19) the British garrison at Paulus's Hook. Sept., 1779
- Congress guarantees the Floridas to Spain if she takes them from Great Britain, provided the United States should enjoy the free navigation of the Mississippi River. Sept. 17, 1779
- Naval engagement off Flamborough Head, England; the *Bon Homme Richard* (American), Paul Jones commander, captures the British gun-ship *Serapis*. Sept. 23, 1779
- John Jay appointed minister to Spain, and John Adams to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. Sept. 27, 1779
- Siege of Savannah, Ga., by Americans and French, fails; Pulaski killed. Sept. 23-Oct. 9, 1779
- A company of British regulars and four armed vessels in the Ogeechee River, Ga., surrenders to Colonel White. Oct. 1, 1779
- British evacuate Rhode Island. Oct. 11-25, 1779

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- M. Gerard succeeded by the Chevalier de la Luzerne as minister from France to the United States..... Nov. 17, 1779
- American army winters at Morristown. Dec., 1779
- General Clinton sails from New York against Charleston.....Dec. 26, 1779
- Washington reprimands General Arnold, by order of Congress, for misconduct charged by the council of PhiladelphiaJan., 1780
- Gen. Charles Lee dismissed from the armyJan. 10, 1780
- Congress sends General Gates to succeed Baron de Kalb, who, by the surrender of General Lincoln, had been commander-in-chief in the South.... March, 1780
- General Clinton lays siege to CharlestonApril 10, 1780
- Battle at Monk's Corner, S. C..... April 14, 1780
- Lafayette rejoins the army, after a visit to France, bringing a commission from the French government to Washington as lieutenant-general and vice-admiral of France, so that he may be commander-in-chief of the united forces of France and the United States.....May 11, 1780
- Fort Moultrie, S. C., surrendered to Captain Hudson of the British navy. May 6, 1780
- Charleston, S. C., capitulates..May 12, 1780
- Massacre of Americans under Colonel Buford at Waxhaw, on the North Carolina border, by British under Tarleton.....May 29, 1780
- General Clinton proclaims South Carolina subject to England..... June 3, 1780
- Battle of Ramsour's Mills, N. C..... June 20, 1780
- Battle at Springfield, N. J.; General Clinton burns the town.....June 23, 1780
- French army of 6,000 men, under Rochambeau, reaches Newport Harbor, R. I.....July 10, 1780
- Battle of Rocky Mount, S. C....July 30, 1780
- Command in the highlands of the Hudson with West Point given to Gen. Benedict Arnold.....Aug. 3, 1780
- Battle of Hanging Rock, S. C....Aug. 6, 1780
- Battle of Camden, S. C.; Gates defeated. Aug. 16, 1780
- Battles of Musgrove Mills and Fishing Creek, S. C.....Aug. 18, 1780
- Maj. John André, British adjutant-general, meets Benedict Arnold near Stony Point, N. Y.....Sept. 21, 1780
- Major André captured near Tarrytown. Sept. 23, 1780
- Arnold escapes to the British vessel *Vulture*Sept. 24, 1780
- Battle of Charlotte, N. C.....Sept. 26, 1780
- André convicted as a spy by military board, Gen. Nathanael Greene, president, Sept. 29, and hung at Tappan, N. Y.....Oct. 2, 1780
- Congress votes John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, captors of André, its thanks, a silver medal, and a pension of \$200 each yearly, for life.....Oct., 1780
- Henry Laurens, minister from United States, seized on his way to Holland by a British frigate, Sept. 3, and imprisoned in the Tower of London.. Oct. 6, 1780
- Battle of King's Mountain, S. C..... Oct. 7, 1780
- Congress resolves that western lands to be ceded shall be formed into republican States, and become equal members of the Union.....Oct. 10, 1780
- Gen. Nathanael Greene appointed to command of the armies in the South, superseding General Gates..Oct. 14, 1780
- Col. John Laurens appointed a special minister to France to secure a loan. Dec., 1780
- Pennsylvania troops break camp at Morristown, Jan. 1, demanding back pay. Congress appoints a commission, which accedes to their demand. Jan. 1, 1781
- Benedict Arnold plunders Richmond, Va.Jan. 5-6, 1781
- Robert R. Livingston appointed secretary of foreign affairs by Congress.. Jan., 1781
- Battle of Cowpens, S. C.; American victoryJan. 17, 1781
- Mutiny of New Jersey troops quelled by Gen. Robert Howe....Jan. 23-27, 1781
- Young's house, near White Plains, surprised by British.....Feb. 2, 1781
- Skillful retreat of Americans under General Greene from Cowpens to the River Dan, pursued by Cornwallis, Jan. 28-Feb. 13, 1781
- Final ratification of Articles of Confederation announced by order of CongressMarch 1, 1781
- Battle of Guildford Court-house, N. C. March 15, 1781
- British under Generals Phillips and Benedict Arnold occupy Petersburg.. April 24, 1781
- Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, S. C....April 25, 1781
- Union of Vermont with the British proposed to Col. Ira Allen at Isles aux Noix, Canada.....May, 1781
- Cornwallis joins Arnold at Petersburg, Va.May 20, 1781
- Augusta, Ga., taken by Colonel Clark, Sept. 14, 1780; retaken by British, Sept. 17, 1780; capitulates to AmericansJune 5, 1781
- General Wadsworth captured, and imprisoned at Castine, Me.....June 18, 1781
- British abandon Fort Ninety-six..... June 21, 1781
- Jonas Fay, Ira Allen, and Bazaleel Woodward appointed to represent the cause of Vermont in the Continental CongressJune 22, 1781
- General Lafayette attacks Cornwallis, near Green Springs, Va., and is repulsedJuly 6, 1781
- Cornwallis retires with his army to YorktownAug. 4, 1781

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

- R. R. Livingston appointed secretary of foreign affairs by Congress.....Aug., 1781
 Congress requires Vermont to relinquish territory east of the Connecticut and west of the present New York line before admission as a State...Aug. 20, 1781
 Combined armies of Americans and French start for Yorktown, Va., from the Hudson River.....Aug. 25, 1781
 Count de Grasse, with the French fleet, arrives in the Chesapeake....Aug. 30, 1781
 Lafayette joins French troops under Count de St. Simon at Green Springs, Sept. 3, and they occupy Williamsburg, about 15 miles from Yorktown.
 Sept. 5, 1781
 Benedict Arnold plunders and burns New London, Conn., and captures Fort Griswold.....Sept. 6, 1781
 British fleet under Admiral Graves appears in the Chesapeake....Sept. 7, 1781
 Indecisive battle of Eutaw Springs, S. C.
 Sept. 8, 1781
 Washington and Count Rochambeau reach WilliamsburgSept. 14, 1781
 Siege of Yorktown.....Oct. 5-19, 1781
 Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown....
 Oct. 19, 1781
 Sir Henry Clinton, with fleet of thirty-five vessels and 7,000 troops, arrives at the Chesapeake, Oct. 24, and returns to New York.....Oct. 29, 1781
 Benjamin Lincoln appointed Secretary of War by Congress.....Oct. 30, 1781
 Day of public thanksgiving and prayer observed throughout the United States.
 Dec. 13, 1781
 Henry Laurens released from imprisonment in the Tower of London....
 Dec. 31, 1781
 Holland recognizes the independence of United States.....April 19, 1782
 Sir Guy Carleton, appointed to succeed Clinton, lands in New York...May 5, 1782
 Orders received by Sir James Wright at Savannah for the evacuation of the province.....June 14, 1782
 Savannah, Ga., evacuated by the BritishJuly 11, 1782
 Treaty of amity and commerce concluded by Mr. Adams, on part of the United States, with Holland...Oct. 8, 1782
 Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris by Richard Oswald for Great Britain, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens for the United States.....
 Nov. 30, 1782
 British evacuate Charleston, S. C.....
 Dec. 14, 1782
 French army embarks from Boston for San Domingo, having been in the United States two years five months and fourteen days.....Dec. 24, 1782
 Sweden recognizes independence of United States.....Feb. 5, 1783
 Denmark recognizes independence of United States.....Feb. 25, 1783
 Congress being unable to pay either officers or men of the army, an anonymous address is circulated, March 11, 1783, advising the army at Newburg, N. Y., to enforce its claims. The situation is critical, but Washington, by an admirable address, obtains from the officers a declaration of confidence in Congress and the country.
 March 15, 1783
 Congress grants five years' full pay to officers in lieu of half-pay for life, promised Oct. 21, 1780....March 22, 1783
 Spain recognizes independence of United States.....March 24, 1783
 Congress ratifies the preliminary treaty with Great Britain.....April 15, 1783
 Congress proclaims a cessation of hostilities, April 11, 1783, which is read to the army.....April 19, 1783
 Independence of the United States recognized by Russia.....July, 1783
 Definitive treaty signed by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States.....Sept. 3, 1783
 Washington issues his "Farewell Address to the Army" from Rocky Hill, near Princeton, N. J.....Nov. 2, 1783
 By general order of Congress, proclaimed Oct. 18, the army is disbanded, a small force remaining at West Point.
 Nov. 3, 1783
 British evacuate New York City....
 Nov. 25, 1783
 General Washington bids farewell to his officers at Fraunce's tavern, corner Pearl and Broad Streets, New York CityDec. 4, 1783
 British evacuate Long Island and Staten Island (withdrawing their last armed man sent for the purpose of reducing the colonies to subjection)....Dec. 4, 1783
 Washington resigns his commission as commander-in-chief at the Statehouse, Annapolis, Md., and retires to Mount Vernon.....Dec. 23, 1783
 Congress ratifies the definitive treaty of peace.....Jan. 14, 1784

Sketches and portraits of all the important participants, and details of all noteworthy events in the war, will be found under their own or readily suggestive titles. See also *ARMY (Continental Army)*.

The following side-lights on the war have a permanent interest, as showing conditions apart from those connected with direct military operations:

In the session of Parliament in 1756, that body attempted to extend its authority in a signal manner over the colonies. They passed laws to regulate the internal policy of the colonies, as well as their acts for the common good. The law in Pennsylvania, under which Franklin's militia were raised, was repealed by the King in

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council; the commissions of all officers elected under it were cancelled, and the companies were dispersed. Volunteers were forbidden to organize for their defence; and the arrangements made by the Quakers with the Delawares, to secure peace and friendship with the Indians, were censured by Lord Halifax at the head of the board of trade and plantations, as "the most daring violation of the royal prerogative." Each Northern province was also forbidden to negotiate with the Indians. But the spirit of the colonists could not be brought into subjection to arbitrary royal authority. A person who had long resided in America, and had just returned to England, declared prophetically, "In a few years the colonies in America will be independent of Great Britain"; and it was actually proposed to send over William, Duke of Cumberland, to be their sovereign, and to emancipate them at once.

Four great wars had burdened Great Britain with a debt of about \$700,000,000 in 1763. Her treasury was low, and she looked to the colonies for contributions to her revenues. At the beginning of the French and Indian War, the board of trade had contemplated a scheme of colonial taxation, and Pitt had intimated to more than one colonial governor that at the end of the war the government would look to the colonies for a revenue; yet he dared not undertake a scheme which the great Walpole had timidly evaded. Pitt's successors, more reckless, entered upon a scheme of taxation under the authority of Parliament, boldly asserting the absolute right and power of that body over the colonies in "all cases whatsoever." Then began the resistance to that claim on the part of the colonies which aroused the government to a more vigorous and varied practical assertion of it. For more than ten years the quarrel raged before the contestants came to blows. The great question involved was the extent of the authority of the British Parliament over the English American colonies, which had no representative in that legislative body—a question in the settlement of which the British Empire was dismembered. The colonies took the broad ground that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

The crown officers in America had long urged the establishment of a parliamentary revenue for their support. Their whole political system seemed to be but methods for the increase and security of the emoluments of office. To meet their views, they advised a thorough revision of the American governments—a parliamentary regulation of colonial charters, and a certain and sufficient civil list. This latter measure Grenville opposed (1764), refusing to become the attorney for American office-holders, or the founder of a stupendous system of colonial patronage and corruption. His policy in all his financial measures was to improve the finances of his country and replenish its exhausted treasury. When the Earl of Halifax proposed the payment of the salaries of colonial crown-officers directly from England, Grenville so strenuously opposed it that the dangerous experiment was postponed. The rapacity of crown-officers in America for place, money, and power was a chief cause of public discontent at all times.

With the dawn of 1766, there were, here and there, almost whispered expressions of a desire for political independence of Great Britain. Samuel Adams had talked of it in private; but in Virginia, where the flame of resistance to the Stamp Act burned with vehemence, Richard Bland, in a printed *Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies*, etc., claimed freedom from all parliamentary legislation; and he pointed to independence as a remedy in case of a refusal of redress. He appealed to the "law of nature and those rights of mankind which flow from it," and pleaded that the people of the English colonies ought to be as free in the exercise of privileges as the people of England—freedom from taxation, customs, and impositions, excepting with the consent of their general assemblies. He denounced the navigation laws as unjust towards the colonies, because the latter were not represented in Parliament. This was but an expression of sentiments then rapidly spreading, and which soon grew into strong desires for political independence.

When Parliament assembled on Nov. 8, 1768, the King, in his speech, alluded with much warmth to the "spirit of faction

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breaking out afresh in some of the colonies. Boston," he said, "appears to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off its dependence on Great Britain." He asked for the assistance of Parliament to "defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons" who had deluded, by false pretences, numbers of his subjects in America. An address was moved promising ample support to the King, and providing for the subjection of the rebellious spirit of the Americans. Vehement debates ensued. The opposition were very severe. Lord North, the recognized leader of the ministry, replied, saying: "America must fear you before she can love you. If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance; you may regulate in no instance. . . . We shall go through with our plan, now that we have brought it so near success. I am against repealing the last act of Parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America; I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at my feet." This was a fair expression of the sentiments of the ministry and of Parliament. The address was carried by an overwhelming majority—in the House of Lords by unanimous vote. During this year addresses and remonstrances were sent to King George against the taxation schemes of Parliament, by the assemblies of Massachusetts, Virginia, Delaware, and Georgia. These were all couched in respectful language, but ever firm and keenly argumentative, having for their premises the chartered rights of the various colonies. But these voices of free-born Englishmen were not only utterly disregarded, but treated with scorn. The pride and the sense of justice and self-respect of the Americans were thereby outraged. It was an offence not easily forgiven or forgotten.

The influence of political agitation in the colonies began to be sensibly felt in Great Britain at the beginning of 1770. The friends of liberty in England were the friends of the colonists. The cause was the same in all places. There was a violent struggle for relief from thralls every-

where. America responded to calls for help from England, as well as calls for help in America had been responded to in England. In December, 1769, South Carolina sent £10,500 currency to London for the society for supporting the Bill of Rights, "that the liberties of Great Britain and America might alike be protected," wrote members of the South Carolina Assembly. In Ireland, the dispute with America aroused Grattan, and he began his splendid career at about this time. The English toilers in the manufacturing districts longed to enjoy the abundance and freedom which they heard of in America; and 1769 is marked by the establishment, in England, of the system of public meetings to discuss subjects of importance to free-born Englishmen. The press, too, spoke out boldly at that time. "Can you conceive," wrote the yet mysterious Junius to the King, "that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a House of Commons? The oppressed people of Ireland give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. The colonists left their native land for freedom and found it in a desert. Looking forward to independence, they equally detest the pageantry of a king and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop."

To wise and thoughtful men, war between Great Britain and her American colonies seemed inevitable as early as 1774. All through the summer of that year Samuel Adams proclaimed it as his belief. Joseph Hawley, of Massachusetts, submitted to the delegation from his colony, in the First Continental Congress, a series of wise "hints," beginning with these remarkable words: "We must *fight*, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation. There is not heart enough yet for battle," he continued. "Constant and a sort of negative resistance to government will increase the heat and blow the fire. There is not military skill enough. That is improving, and must be encouraged and improved, but will daily increase. *Fight we must, finally, unless Britain retreats.*" When John Adams read these words to Patrick Henry, the latter exclaimed, with emphasis, "I am of that man's mind!" All the summer and autumn of 1774 the people, impressed with this idea, had prac-

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tised daily in military exercises, especially in Massachusetts. There provision was made for arming the people of the province and for the collection of munitions of war. The Provincial Convention of Massachusetts appropriated \$60,000 for that purpose, and leading soldiers in the French and Indian War were commissioned general officers of the militia. Mills were erected for the manufacture of gunpowder, and establishments were set up for making arms. Encouragement was given to the production of saltpetre, and late in December, 1774, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress authorized the enrolment of 12,000 minute-men. Very soon there was an invisible army of determined patriots, ready to resist every act of military coercion on the part of Great Britain.

Towards the close of 1774 the King issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation, from Great Britain, of military stores. As soon as the proclamation reached America it created great excitement. Preparations were made for the manufacture of gunpowder and of cannons. The Assembly of Rhode Island passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores and for arming the inhabitants. From the public battery at Newport about forty cannon were removed, that they might not be used by the government authorities. At Portsmouth, N. H., a similar movement had taken place. Paul Revere had been sent there expressly, by a committee at Boston, with the King's order and an account of the proceedings of a meeting in the New England capital. On the following day about 400 men proceeded to Castle William and Mary, at the entrance to Boston Harbor, seized it, broke open the powder-house, and carried away more than 100 barrels of gunpowder. Governor Hutchinson having reported that the military power was insufficient in Massachusetts, because no civil officer would sanction its employment, the crown lawyers decided that such power belonged to the governor; and Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, ordered General Gage, in case the inhabitants should not obey his commands, to bid the troops to fire upon them at his discretion. He was assured that all trials of officers or troops in America for mur-

der would, by a recent act, be removed to England.

The skirmishes at Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775), stirred society in the colonies as it was never stirred before. There was a spontaneous resolution to environ Boston with an army of Provincials that should confine the British to the peninsula. For this purpose New Hampshire voted 2,000 men, with Folsom and Stark as chief commanders. Connecticut voted 6,000, with Spencer as chief and Putnam as second. Rhode Island voted 1,500, with Greene as their leader; and Massachusetts voted 13,600 men. The people there seemed to rise *en masse*. From the hills and valleys of the Bay State (as from all New England) the patriots went forth by hundreds, armed and unarmed, and before the close of the month—in the space of ten days—an army of 20,000 men were forming camps and piling fortifications around Boston, from Roxbury to the river Mystic. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, with Joseph Warren at its head, worked day and night in consonance with the gathering army. They appointed military officers; organized a commissariat; issued bills of credit for the payment of the troops to the amount of \$375,000, and declared (May 5) General Gage to be an inveterate enemy of the people. And as the news of the events of April 19 went from colony to colony, the people in each were equally aroused. With the hottest haste, it did not reach Charleston, S. C., under twenty days. Arms and ammunition were seized in various places by the Sons of Liberty; provincial congresses were formed, and, before the close of summer, the power of every royal governor from Massachusetts to Georgia was utterly destroyed. Everywhere the inhabitants armed in defence of their liberties, and took vigorous measures for future security.

When the Congress had resolved upon armed resistance in the late spring of 1775, the pulpit, the bar, and the press united in encouraging the people to be firm in their opposition. The clergy of New England were a zealous, learned, numerous, and widely influential body of earnest patriots. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their prayers and sermons represented the cause of America.

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as the cause of Heaven. The Presbyterian synods of New York and Philadelphia sent forth a pastoral letter which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to the situation. Publicists and journalists followed the preachers, and exerted a powerful influence over the minds of the great mass of the colonists. The legal fraternity denied the charge of rebellion, and proved the justice of the resistance of the Americans. A distinction founded on law was drawn between the King and Parliament. They contended that the King could do no wrong, and upon Parliament they charged the crime of treason for using the royal name in connection with their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a "ministerial war" became common, and the colonists professed loyalty to the crown until the Declaration of Independence. Thus it was that the leaders in thought bore forward the banner of resistance to British oppression.

Lord North had scruples concerning harsh American measures which the King did not possess, and, wearied with the dispute with the Americans, showed symptoms of a disposition to make concessions. The majority of the cabinet were as mad as the King, and when they found North wavering they plotted to have him displaced to make room for a more thorough supporter of British authority. On Jan. 12, 1775, at a cabinet council, he found the current of opinion so much against him that, ambitious of place and power, he yielded. His colleagues declared there was nothing in the proceedings of Congress that afforded any basis for an honorable reconciliation. It was therefore resolved to break off all commerce with the Americans; to protect the loyalists in the colonies; and to declare all others to be traitors and rebels. The vote was designed only to divide the colonies. It united them and kindled a war. There was, however, a strong minority in the British Parliament who were anxious for reconciliation between Great Britain and her American colonies from the beginning of the dispute. In the House of Commons, Edmund Burke introduced a bill (Nov. 16, 1775) repealing all the offensive acts and granting an amnesty as to the past,

thus waving the points in dispute. Burke supported the bill with one of his ablest speeches, but it was rejected by a vote of two to one. On the contrary, a bill was carried by the ministry (Dec. 21) prohibiting all trade with the thirteen colonies, and declaring their ships and goods, and those of all persons trafficking with them, lawful prize. The act also authorized the impressment for service in the royal navy of the crews of all captured colonial vessels; also the appointment of commissioners by the crown, with authority to grant pardon and exemption from the penalties of the act to such colonies or individuals as might, by speedy submission, seem to merit that favor. So the door of honorable reconciliation was closed.

The camp of the Continental army at Cambridge, when Washington took command of it in July, 1775, presented a curious and somewhat picturesque spectacle. There was no conformity in dress. The volunteers from Rhode Island were lodged in tents, and had more the appearance of regular troops than any of the others; others were quartered in Harvard College buildings, the Episcopal church, and private dwellings; and the fields were dotted with lodges of almost every description, varying with the tastes of their occupants. Some of them were constructed of boards, some of sail-cloth, and some partly of both. There were huts of stone and sods, others of bushes, while a few had regular doors and windows, constructed of withes and reeds. To these the feminine relatives of the soldiers—mothers, sisters, wives—were continually repairing with supplies of clothing and gifts for comfort. With them came flocks of boys and girls from the surrounding country, to gratify their curiosity and behold some of the mysteries of war. Among the soldiers in the camp might be seen eminent and eloquent ministers of the Gospel, acting as chaplains, keeping alive the habit of daily prayer and of public worship on the Sabbath.

Having no sufficient force at home to send for the subjugation of the colonies early in 1775, and as mercenaries from the Continent could not be immediately procured, the King ordered Dunmore, governor of Virginia, to arm negroes and Ind-

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ians, if necessary, to crush the rebellion in that colony. To Dunmore 3,000 stand of arms, with 200 rounds of powder and ball for each musket, together with four pieces of light artillery, were instantly shipped. An order was also sent directly, in the King's name, to Guy Johnson, agent among the Six Nations, to seek immediate assistance from the Iroquois Confederacy. "Lose no time," so ran the order; "induce them to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America. It is a service of very great importance; fail not to exert every effort that may tend to accomplish it; use the utmost diligence and activity." Johnson was promised an ample supply of arms and ammunition from Quebec.

As early as the summer of 1776, intimations reached the Americans that the British ministry had devised a grand scheme for dividing the colonies, and so to effect their positive weakness and easy conquest. It contemplated the seizure of the valleys of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, and the establishment of a line of military posts between the mouth of the Hudson and the river St. Lawrence, and so, separating New England from the rest of the union, easily accomplish the subjugation of the whole. To effect this, English and German troops were sent both to the St. Lawrence and to New York in the spring and summer of 1775. It was the grand aim of the expedition of Burgoyne southward from the St. Lawrence in 1777. To counteract this movement, the Americans cast up strong fortifications in the Hudson Highlands, and kept their passes guarded. It was in anticipation of such a scheme that the colonists made the unsuccessful attempt to win Canada either by persuasion or conquest. See CANADA.

When, in 1778, it was ascertained that there were hundreds of American prisoners of war in England, enduring great sufferings for want of the necessaries of life, a subscription was made by the friends of the Americans in Great Britain, which speedily gave them relief. At that time there were 900 of them suffering in British prisons. A subscription started in London soon procured about \$2,000, which was more than sufficient to relieve the immediate wants of the cap-

tives. These wants consisted chiefly in a lack of sufficient clothing.

As the year 1780 drew to a close there were warm disputes in the Pennsylvania regiments as to the terms on which the men had been enlisted. The officers maintained that at least a quarter part of the soldiers had enlisted for three years and the war. This seems to have been the fact; but the soldiers, distressed and disgusted for want of pay and clothing, and seeing the large bounties paid to those who re-enlisted, declared that the enlistment was for three years or the war. As the three years had now expired, they demanded their discharges. It was refused, and on Jan. 1, 1781, the whole line, 1,300 in number, broke out into open revolt. An officer attempting to restrain them was killed and several others were wounded. Under the leadership of a board of sergeants the men marched towards Princeton, with the avowed purpose of going to Philadelphia to demand of the Congress a fulfilment of their many promises. General Wayne was in command of these troops, and was much beloved by them. By threats and persuasions he tried to bring them back to duty until their real grievances should be redressed. They would not listen to him; and when he cocked his pistol, in a menacing manner, they presented their bayonets to his breast, saying, "We respect and love you; you have often led us into the field of battle; but we are no longer under your command; we warn you to be on your guard; if you fire your pistol, or attempt to enforce your commands, we shall put you instantly to death." Wayne appealed to their patriotism; they pointed to the broken promises of the Congress. He reminded them of the strength their conduct would give to the enemy; they pointed to their tattered garments and emaciated forms. They avowed their willingness to support the cause of independence if adequate provision could be made for their comfort; and they boldly reiterated their determination to march to Philadelphia, at all hazards, to demand from Congress a redress of their grievances. Finding he could not move them, Wayne determined to accompany them to Philadelphia. At Princeton they presented the general with a written list of

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their demands. These demands appeared so reasonable that he had them laid before Congress. That body appointed a committee to confer with the insurgents. The result was a compliance with their demands, and the disbanding of a large part of the Pennsylvania line, whose places were filled by new recruits.

When Sir Henry Clinton heard of the revolt of the Pennsylvania line, mistaking the spirit of the mutineers, he despatched two emissaries—a British sergeant and a New Jersey Tory named Ogden—to the insurgents, with a written offer that, on laying down their arms and marching to New York, they should receive their arrearages and the amount of the depreciation of the Continental currency in hard cash; that they should be well clothed, have a free pardon for all past offences, and be taken under the protection of the British government; that no military service should be required of them, unless voluntarily offered. Sir Henry requested them to appoint agents to treat with him, and adjust terms; and, not doubting the success of his plans, he went to Staten Island himself, with a large body of troops, to act as circumstances might require. Sir Henry entirely misapprehended the temper of these mutineers. They felt justified in using their power to obtain a redress of grievances, but they looked with horror upon the armed oppressors of their country, and they regarded the act and stain of treason, under any circumstances, as worse than the infliction of death. Clinton's proposals were rejected with disdain. "See, comrades," said one of them, "he takes us for traitors; let us show him that the American army can furnish but one Arnold, and that America has no truer friends than we." They seized the emissaries, and delivered them, with Clinton's papers, into the hands of Wayne, and they were tried, condemned, and executed as spies. The reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the offenders was tendered to the mutineers who seized them. They sealed the pledge of their patriotism by nobly refusing it, saying: "Necessity wrung from us the act of demanding justice from Congress, but we desire no reward for doing our duty to our bleeding country."

On Jan. 18, 1781, a portion of the New Jersey line, stationed at Pompton, followed the example of the Pennsylvanians, at Morristown, in refusing to serve longer unless their reasonable demands on Congress were attended to. Washington, fearing the revolt, if so mildly dealt with as it had been by Wayne, would become fatally infectious and cause the army to melt away, took harsher measures to suppress it. He sent Gen. Robert Howe, with 500 men, to restore order at Pompton. They surrounded the camp and compelled the troops to parade without arms. Two of the ringleaders were tried, condemned, and immediately executed, when the remainder quietly submitted. These events had a salutary effect, for they aroused the Congress and the people to the necessity of more efficient measures for the support of the army, their only reliance in the struggle. Taxes were more cheerfully paid; sectional jealousies were quelled; a special agent (John Laurens) sent abroad to obtain loans was quite successful, and a national bank was established in Philadelphia and put in charge of Robert Morris, the superintendent of the treasury.

Count de Rochambeau received intelligence at the close of May, 1781, that the Count de Grasse might be expected on the coast of the United States with a powerful French fleet in July or August. This news caused the French forces, which had lain idle at Newport many months, to move immediately for the Hudson River, to form a junction with the Continental army there under Washington. A part of them moved on June 10, and the remainder immediately afterwards. They formed a junction with the American army, near Dobb's Ferry, on the Hudson, July 6. The Americans were encamped on Valentine's Hill, in two lines, with the right wing resting on the Hudson River near the ferry. The French army was stationed on the hills at the left, in a single line, reaching from the Hudson to the Bronx River. There was a valley of considerable extent between the two armies. The American army had been encamped at Peekskill, and marched down to Valentine's Hill on the morning of July 2.

In August, 1781, a French frigate, from the fleet of De Grasse in the West Indies,

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brought word that he would sail directly for the Chesapeake Bay. Already Washington had had his thoughts turned towards a campaign of the allies against Cornwallis in Virginia by a letter from Lafayette, who had taken a position only 8 miles from Yorktown. The marquis had plainly perceived the mistake of Clinton in ordering Cornwallis to take a defensive position in Virginia. As early as July he wrote to Washington from Randolph's, on Malvern Hill, urging him to march into Virginia in force, saying, "Should a French fleet enter Hampton Roads, the British army would be compelled to surrender." Foiled in his plan of attacking New York, Washington anxiously contemplated the chance of success in Virginia, when his determination was fixed by a letter from Admiral de Barras (the successor of Admiral Ternay, who had died at Newport), which contained the news that De Grasse was to sail for the Chesapeake at the close of August with a powerful fleet and more than 3,000 land troops. De Barras wrote: "M. de Grasse is my junior; yet, as soon as he is within reach, I will go to sea to put myself under his orders." Washington at once made ample preparations for marching into Virginia. To prevent any interference from Clinton, he wrote deceptive letters to be intercepted, by which the baronet was made to believe that the Americans still contemplated an attack upon New York City. So satisfied was Clinton that such was Washington's design, that, for nearly ten days after the allied armies had crossed the Hudson (Aug. 23 and 24) and were marching through New Jersey, he believed the movement to be only a feint to cover a sudden descent upon the city with an overwhelming force. It was not until Sept. 2 that he was satisfied that the allies were marching against Cornwallis. On the arrival of a body of Hessians at New York, he had countermanded an order for the earl to send him troops, and for this he was now thankful. On Sept. 5, while the allies were encamped at Chester, Pa., Washington was informed that De Grasse had entered Chesapeake Bay. In that event he saw a sure prophecy of success. De Grasse had moored his fleet in Lynn Haven Bay, and so barred the entrance to the York River against

reinforcements for Cornwallis. He had landed 3,000 troops on the peninsula, near old Jamestown. Meanwhile De Barras had sailed for Newport with a fleet conveying ten transports laden with ordnance for the siege of Yorktown. The British admiral, Graves, on hearing of the approach of the French fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake. De Grasse went out to meet him, and on Sept. 5 they had a sharp engagement. The British fleet was so shattered that it retired to New York, leaving De Grasse master of the Chesapeake. When Clinton was assured that the allies were bound for Virginia, he tried by military movements to call them back. He menaced New Jersey; threatened to attack the works in the Hudson Highlands; and sent Arnold on a marauding expedition into New England. But neither Clinton's menaces nor Arnold's atrocities stayed the onward march of the allies. They made their way to Annapolis, and thence by water to the James River in transports furnished by De Barras. From Baltimore Washington, accompanied by Rochambeau and the Marquis de Chastellux, visited his home at Mount Vernon, from which he had been absent since June, 1775. There they remained two days, and then journeyed to Williamsburg, where they arrived on the 14th. There the allies rendezvoused, and prepared for the siege of Yorktown.

The defeat of Cornwallis seemed to prophesy speedy peace, yet Washington wisely counselled ample preparations for carrying on the war. He spent some time in Philadelphia in arranging plans for the campaign of 1782. The Congress had already (Oct. 1, 1781) called upon the several States for \$8,000,000, payable quarterly in specie or commissary certificates, besides an additional outstanding requisition. The States were requested to impose separate and distinct taxes for their respective quotas of the sum of \$8,000,000; the taxes to be made payable to the loan-office commissioners, or to federal collectors to be appointed by the superintendent of finance, for whom was asked the same power possessed by the State collector. At Washington's suggestion, a circular letter, containing an earnest call for men and money, was sent to the executive of each of the States; but the people were

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so much impoverished by the war and exhausted by past efforts that the call was feebly responded to; besides, the general expectations of peace furnished excuses for backwardness.

Some Americans, led by Captain Wilmot, a brave and daring young officer, were engaged in the duty of covering John's Island, near Charleston, in September, 1782. He was always impatient of inaction, and often crossed the narrow strait or river to harass British foraging parties on the island. While on one of these excursions, in company with Kosciuszko, he fell into an ambuscade and was killed. This, it is believed, was the last life sacrificed in battle in the war.

The 25th of November was appointed for the evacuation of the city of New York by the British. The latter claimed the right of occupation until noon. Early in the morning Mrs. Day, who kept a boarding-house in Murray Street, near the Hudson River, ran up the American flag upon a pole at the gable end of her house. Cunningham, the British provost-marshal, hearing of it, sent an order for her to pull down the flag. She refused, and at about 9 A.M. he went in person to compel her to take it down. He was in full dress, in scarlet uniform and powdered wig. She was sweeping at the door. He ordered her to take down the flag. She refused. He seized the halyards to haul it down himself, whereupon the spunky lady fell upon him with her broom. She made the powder fly out of his wig and finally beat him off. This was the last conflict of the war.

The successful Revolution made no sudden or violent change in the laws or political institutions of the United States beyond casting off the superintending power of Great Britain, and even that power was replaced, to a limited extent, by the authority of Congress. The most marked peculiarity of the change was the public recognition of the theory of the equal rights of man. This theory was first publicly promulgated by the first Continental Congress in the Declaration of Colonial Rights. It was reiterated in the Declaration of Independence, and was tacitly recognized as the foundation of all the State governments. Yet, to a great

extent, it remained a theory only, for human slavery was fostered and defended, by which 4,000,000 of the people of the republic were absolutely deprived of their natural rights, when the proclamation of President Lincoln (Jan. 1, 1863) reduced the theory to practice, and made all men and women within the United States absolutely free. In civil affairs, colonial usages, in modified forms, were apparent. In Pennsylvania, two persons from each county were to be chosen every seven years to act as a "council of censors," with power to investigate all branches of the Constitution. The constitution of New York established a "council of revision," composed of the governor, chancellor, and judges of the Supreme Court, to which were submitted all bills about to pass into laws. If objected to by the council, a majority of two-thirds in both branches of the legislature was required to pass them. A "council of appointment" was also provided for, consisting of sixteen Senators, to be annually elected by the Assembly, four from each of the four senatorial districts into which the State was at first divided. All nominations to office by the governor required the sanction of this council. By the constitution of Georgia all mechanics, even though destitute of pecuniary qualifications, were entitled to vote by virtue of their trades; and every person entitled to vote and failing to do so was subjected to a fine of £5.

Reynolds, ELMER ROBERT, scientist; born in Dansville, N. Y., July 30, 1846; graduated at Columbia College in 1880. During the Civil War he was in the 10th Wisconsin Cavalry. For many years he was engaged in ethnological exploration, and is the author of *Aboriginal Soapstone Quarries in the District of Columbia*; *Pre-Columbian Shell Mounds at Newburg, Md.*; *Prehistoric Remains in the Valleys of the Potomac and the Shenandoah*; *The War Memories of a Soldier*, etc.

Reynolds, JOHN FULTON, military officer; born in Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 20, 1820; graduated at West Point in 1841; served through the war with Mexico; took part in the expedition against the Rogue River Indians and in the Utah expedi-

REYNOLDS—RHODE ISLAND

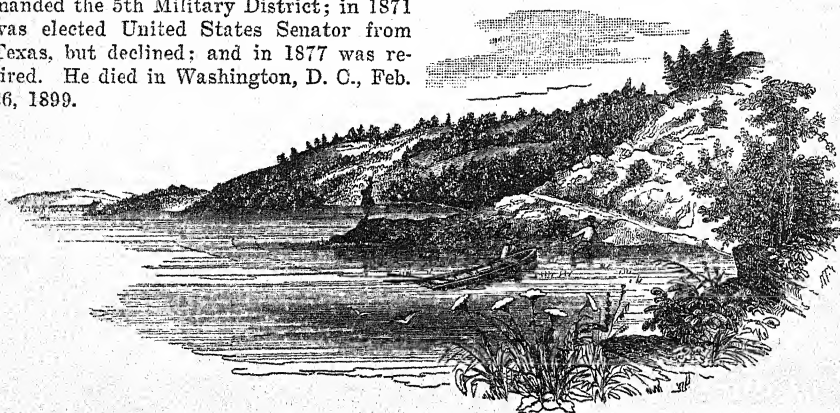
tion of 1858; appointed brigadier-general of volunteers in 1861; took part in the battles of Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mill, and Glendale. In the last-named battle he was taken prisoner, but was soon exchanged and returned to duty. He participated in the battle of Bull Run, and on Nov. 29, 1862, was promoted to the rank of major-general of volunteers, succeeding General Hooker in command of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Potomac. On the first day of the battle of Gettysburg (July 1, 1863), he was in command of the left wing of the National army, and was shot dead. A monument in his honor was erected at Gettysburg in 1884.

Reynolds, JOSEPH JONES, military officer; born in Flemingsburg, Ky., Jan. 4, 1822; graduated at West Point in 1843, where he was assistant professor from 1846 to 1855. He entered the service in the Civil War as colonel of the 10th Indiana Volunteers, and was made a brigadier-general in May, 1861. He was at first active in western Virginia, and then in the Army of the Cumberland, 1862-63. He was Rosecrans's chief of staff in the battle of Chickamauga, and in the summer of 1864 commanded the 19th Army Corps, and organized a force for the capture of Forts Morgan and Gaines, near Mobile. Late in 1864 he was placed in command of the Department of Arkansas, where he remained until April, 1866. In March, 1867, he was brevetted major-general, United States army; in 1867-72 commanded the 5th Military District; in 1871 was elected United States Senator from Texas, but declined; and in 1877 was retired. He died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 26, 1899.

Rhees, WILLIAM JONES, librarian; born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 13, 1830; became chief clerk of the Smithsonian Institution in 1852. He is the author of *Manual of Public Libraries*; *Guide to the Smithsonian Institution*; *Catalogue of Publications of the Smithsonian Institution*, etc.

Rhett, ROBERT BARNWELL, legislator; born in Beaufort, S. C., Dec. 24, 1800; was a son of James and Mariana Smith, and adopted the name of Rhett in 1837. Receiving a liberal education, he chose the law as a profession. In 1826 he was a member of the South Carolina legislature, and was attorney-general of the State in 1832, acting at that time with the most ultra wing of the nullification or State supremacy party. From 1838 to 1849 he was a member of Congress, and in 1850-51 United States Senator. It is said that he was the first man who advocated on the floor of Congress the dissolution of the Union. Rhett took a leading part in the secession movements in 1860-61, and was chairman of the committee in the convention at Montgomery by whom the constitution of "The Confederate States of America" was reported. He owned the *Charleston Mercury*, of which his son was the editor. He died in St. James parish, La., Sept. 14, 1876.

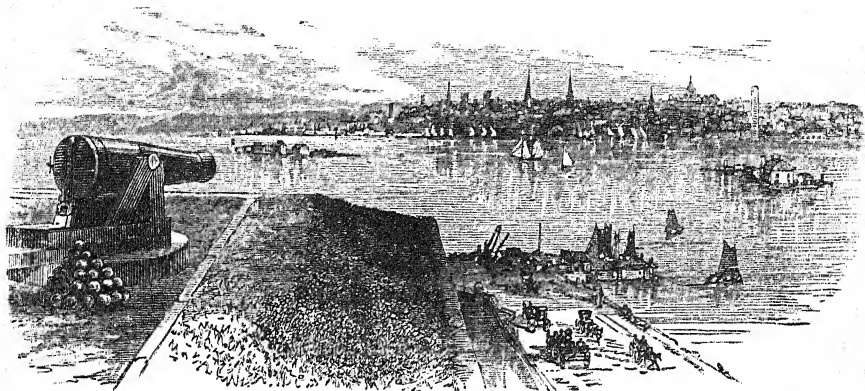
Rhode Island, STATE OF, was one of the original thirteen States of the Union, and is supposed to have been the theatre



WHERE ROGER WILLIAMS LANDED.

RHODE ISLAND, STATE OF

of the attempt to plant a settlement in America by the Northmen at the beginning of the eleventh century (see **NORTHMEN IN AMERICA**). It is believed to be the "Vin- of the inhabitants—heads of families—



NEWPORT, R. I., FROM FORT ADAMS.

land" mentioned by them. Verazzani is supposed to have entered Narraganset Bay, and had an interview with the natives there in 1524. Block, the Dutch navigator, explored it in 1614, and the Dutch traders afterwards, seeing the marshy estuaries red with cranberries, called it Roode Eyelandt—"red island," corrupted to Rhode Island. The Dutch carried on a profitable fur-trade with the Indians there, and even as far east as Buzzard's Bay, and they claimed a monopoly of the traffic to the latter point. The Pilgrims at Plymouth became annoyed by the New Netherlanders when they claimed jurisdiction as far east as Narraganset Bay, and westward from a line of longitude from that bay to Canada. That claim was made at about the time when ROGER WILLIAMS (q. v.) was banished from the colony of Massachusetts, fled to the head of Narraganset Bay, and there, with a few followers, planted the seed of the commonwealth of Rhode Island in 1636.

The spot where Williams began a settlement he called Providence, in acknowledgment of the goodness of God towards him. The government he there established was a pure democracy, and in accordance with his tolerant views of the rights of conscience. Every settler then and afterwards

for the public good. For some time the government was administered by means of town-meetings. In 1638 William Codrington and others, driven from Massachusetts by persecution, bought of the Indians the island of Aquiday or Aquitneck, and made settlements on the site of Newport and Portsmouth. A third settlement was formed at Warwick, on the mainland, in 1643, by a party of whom



STATE SEAL OF RHODE ISLAND.

John Greene and Samuel Gorton were leaders. The same year Williams went to England, and in 1644 brought back

RHODE ISLAND, STATE OF

a charter which united the settlements at Providence and on Rhode Island under one government, called the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Then the commonwealth of Rhode Island was established, though the new government did not go into operation until 1647, when the first General Assembly, composed of the collective freemen of the several plantations, met at Portsmouth (May 19) and established a code of laws for carrying on civil government. The charter was confirmed by Cromwell (1655), and a new

one was obtained from Charles II. The decisive battle that ended the war (1663), under which the commonwealth of Rhode Island was governed 180 years. In the war with King Philip (1676) the inhabitants of Rhode Island suffered fearfully. Towns and farm-houses were burned and the people murdered. Providence was laid in ashes. The war was fought on Rhode Island soil. When Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New England, was instructed to take away the colonial charters (1687), he seized that of Rhode Island, but it was returned on the accession of William and Mary



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR CODDINGTON.



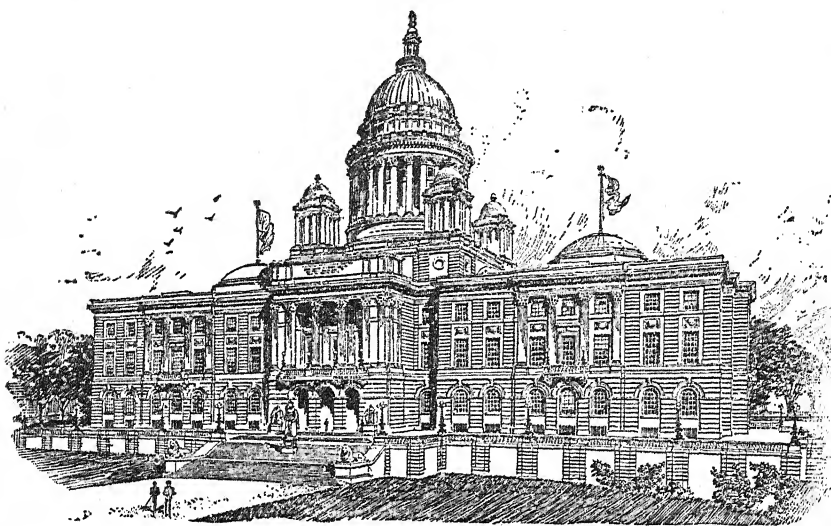
OLD HOUSES IN NEWPORT.

RHODE ISLAND, STATE OF

(1689), and the people readopted the seal—an anchor for a device and “Hope” for a motto.

Rhode Island was excluded from the New England Confederacy (1643-1686), but it always bore a share of the burden of defending the New England provinces. Its history is identified with that of New England in general from the commencement of King William's War, for that colony took an active part in the struggle between Great Britain and France for empire in America, furnishing troops and seamen. The colony had fifty privateer vessels at sea in 1756, manned by

course under its old charter from Charles II.; and it was the last of the thirteen States to ratify the national Constitution, its assent not being given until May 29, 1790, or more than a year after the national government went into operation. Under the charter of Charles II. the lower House of the legislature consisted of six deputies from Newport, four each from Providence, Portsmouth, and Warwick and two from each of the other towns. The right of suffrage was restricted to owners of a freehold worth \$134, or renting for \$7 a year, and to their eldest sons. These restrictions, as they became more



STATE CAPITOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

1,500 seamen, which cruised along the American shores and among the West India Islands. The people of Rhode Island were conspicuous for their patriotism in the stirring events preliminary to the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and were very active during that war. The first commander-in-chief of the Continental navy was a native of Rhode Island, Esek Hopkins, and the first naval squadron sent against the enemy at the beginning of the Revolution sailed from Providence.

When the various colonies were forming new State constitutions (1776-79), Rhode Island went forward in its independent

and more obnoxious, finally produced open discontent. The inequality of representation was the chief cause of complaint. It appeared that in 1840, when Newport had only 8,333 inhabitants, it was entitled to six representatives; while Providence, then containing 23,171 inhabitants, had only four representatives. Attempts to obtain reform by the action of the legislature having failed, “suffrage associations” were formed in various parts of the State late in 1840 and early in 1841. They assembled in mass convention at Providence July 5, 1841, and authorized their State committee to call a convention to prepare a constitution. That con-

RHODE ISLAND, STATE OF

vention assembled at Providence Oct. 4, and framed a constitution which was submitted to the people Dec. 27, 28, and 29, when it was claimed that a vote equal to a majority of the adult male citizens of the State was given for its adoption. It was also claimed that a majority of those entitled to vote under the charter had voted in favor of the constitution.

Under this constitution State officers were chosen April 18, 1842, with Thomas W. Dorr as governor. The new government attempted to organize at Providence on May 3. They were resisted by what was called the "legal State government," chosen under the charter, at the head of which was Governor Samuel W. King. On the 18th a portion of the "Suffrage party" assembled under arms at Providence and attempted to seize the arsenal, but retired on the approach of Governor King with a military force. On June 25 they reassembled, several hundred strong, at Chepocket, 10 miles from Providence, but they again dispersed on the approach of State troops. Governor Dorr was arrested, tried for high-treason, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, but was released in 1847, under a general act of amnesty. See DORR, THOMAS WILSON.

Meanwhile the legislature (Feb. 6, 1841) called a convention to frame a new constitution. In February, 1842, the convention agreed upon a constitution, which was submitted to the people in March and rejected. Another constitution was framed by another convention, which was ratified by the people almost unanimously, and went into effect in May, 1843. In 1861 a controversy between Rhode Island and Massachusetts about boundary, which began in colonial times, was settled by mutual concessions, the former ceding to the latter that portion of the township of Tiverton containing the village of Fall River in exchange for the town of Pawtucket and a part of Seekonk, afterwards known as East Providence.

Rhode Island was among the earliest to respond to President Lincoln's first call for troops, and during the Civil War, the State, with a population of only 175,000, furnished to the National army 23,711 soldiers. Population in 1890, 345,506; 1900, 428,556. See UNITED STATES, RHODE ISLAND, in vol. ix.

GOVERNORS.

PORTSMOUTH.

William Coddington.....	March 7, 1638
William Hutchinson.....	April 30, 1639
William Coddington.....	March 12, 1640

NEWPORT.

William Coddington.....	April 28, 1639-47
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PRESIDENTS UNDER THE PATENT.

PROVIDENCE, WARWICK, PORTSMOUTH, AND NEWPORT.

John Coggeshall.....	May, 1647
William Coddington.....	May, 1648
John Smith.....	May, 1649
Nicholas Easton.....	May, 1650

PROVIDENCE AND WARWICK.

Samuel Gorton.....	Oct., 1651
John Smith.....	May, 1652
Gregory Dexter.....	May, 1653

PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT

John Sanford, Sr.....	May, 1653
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FOUR TOWNS UNITED.

Nicholas Easton.....	May, 1654
Roger Williams.....	Sept., 1654
Benedict Arnold.....	May, 1657
William Brenton.....	May, 1660
Benedict Arnold.....	May, 1662

GOVERNORS UNDER ROYAL CHARTER.

Benedict Arnold.....	Nov., 1663
William Brenton.....	May, 1666
Benedict Arnold.....	May, 1669
Nicholas Easton.....	" 1672
William Coddington.....	" 1674
Walter Clarke.....	" 1676
Benedict Arnold.....	" 1677
William Coddington.....	Aug. 28, 1678
John Cranston.....	Nov., 1678
Peleg Sandford.....	March 16, 1680
William Coddington, Jr.....	May, 1683
Henry Bull.....	" 1685
Walter Clarke.....	" 1686
Henry Bull.....	Feb 27, 1690
John Easton.....	May, 1690
Caleb Carr.....	May, 1695
Walter Clarke.....	Jan. 1696
Samuel Cranston.....	May, 1698
Joseph Jenckes.....	" 1727
William Wanton.....	" 1732
John Wanton.....	" 1734
Richard Ward.....	July 15, 1740
William Greene.....	May, 1743
Gideon Wanton.....	" 1745
William Greene.....	" 1746
Gideon Wanton.....	" 1747
William Greene.....	" 1748
Stephen Hopkins.....	" 1755
William Greene.....	" 1757
Stephen Hopkins.....	March 14, 1758
Samuel Ward.....	May, 1762
Stephen Hopkins.....	" 1763
Samuel Ward.....	" 1765
Stephen Hopkins.....	" 1767
Josias Lyndon.....	" 1768
Joseph Wanton.....	" 1769
Nicholas Cooke.....	Nov., 1775
William Greene.....	May, 1778
John Collins.....	" 1786
Arthur Fenner.....	" 1790
James Fenner.....	" 1807
William Jones.....	" 1811
Nehemiah R. Knight.....	" 1817
William C. Gibbs.....	" 1821
James Fenner.....	" 1824
Lemuel H. Arnold.....	1831
John Brown Francis.....	1833
William Sprague.....	1838
Samuel Ward King.....	1840

RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE—RIBAUT

GOVERNORS UNDER THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

James Fenner.....	1843
Charles Jackson.....	1845
Byron Diman.....	1846
Elisha Harris.....	1847
Henry B. Anthony.....	1849
Philip Allen.....	1851
William Warner Hoppin.....	1854
Elisha Dyer.....	1857
Thomas G. Turner.....	1859
William Sprague.....	1860
William C. Cozzens.....	March 3, 1863
James Y. Smith.....	1863
Ambrose E. Burnside.....	1866
Seth Padelford.....	1869
Henry Howard.....	1873
Henry Lippitt.....	1875
Charles C. Van Zandt (Republican).....	May 29, 1877
Alfred H. Littlefield (Republican).....	May 25, 1880
Augustus O. Bourn (Republican).....	May 29, 1883
George P. Wetmore (Republican).....	May, 1885
John W. Davis (Democrat).....	" 1887
Royal C. Taft (Republican).....	" 1888
H. W. Ladd (Republican).....	" 1889
John W. Davis (Democrat).....	" 1890
H. W. Ladd (Republican).....	" 1891
D. Russell Brown (Republican).....	1892-96
Charles W. Lippitt (Republican).....	1896-97
Elisha Dyer (Republican).....	1897-1900
William Gregory (Republican).....	1900-1901
Charles D. Kimball (Republican).....	1902
Lucius F. C. Garvin (Democrat).....	1903-1905
George N. Utter (Republican).....	1905-1906
James H. Higgins (Democrat).....	1906-

He is the author of a *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, in seven volumes, bringing the history down to 1876.

Ribault, JEAN, navigator; born in Dieppe, France, in 1520; first appeared in history as commander of Coligni's expedition to America in 1562. Returning for supplies, he was detained by civil war until the spring of 1565, when Coligni sent him with five ships to Florida, where he succeeded Laudonniere as commander-in-chief. He had just arrived, when five Spanish vessels appeared, under Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles, whose name and object were demanded. "I am Menendez," he said, and declared he was sent to destroy all Protestants he could find. Ribault had been advised of the expedition of Menendez before his departure from France. Just as he was departing from Dieppe he was handed a letter from Coligni, in which the admiral had written a postscript, saying, "While closing this letter I have received certain advice that Don Pedro Menendez is about to depart from Spain to the coast of Florida. You will take care not to suffer him to encroach upon us, any more than he would that we should encroach upon him." The cables of the French fleet were instantly cut, and they went to sea, followed by the Spanish squadron, which, failing to overtake the fugitives, returned to the shore farther south.

Ribault returned to the St. John, when, contrary to the advice of Laudonniere, he determined to try to drive the Spaniards away from the coast. When he reached the open sea he was struck by a fierce tempest that wrecked his vessels not far from Cape Canaveral, on the central coast of Florida. With his command, Ribault started by land for Fort Carolina (built on the St. John by the Frenchmen), ignorant of the fact that its garrison had been destroyed. Ribault divided his force of 500 men, about 200 of them taking the advance in the march, the remainder, with Ribault, following soon afterwards. The latter were betrayed by a sailor, and fell into the hands of Menendez.

The captives pleaded for mercy. Menendez asked, "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" They answered, "We are all of the reformed religions." He told them he

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Name.	No. of Congress.	Term.
Theodore Foster.....	1st to 8th	1789 to 1803
Joseph Stanton.....	1st " 3d	1789 " 1793
William Bradford.....	3d " 5th	1793 " 1797
Ray Greene.....	5th " 7th	1797 " 1801
Christopher Ellery.....	7th " 9th	1801 " 1805
Samuel J. Potter.....	8th	1803 " 1804
Benjamin Howland.....	8th to 11th	1804 " 1809
James Fenner.....	9th " 10th	1805 " 1807
Elisha Matthewson.....	10th " 12th	1807 " 1811
Francis Malbone.....	11th	1809
Christopher G. Champlain.....	11th to 12th	1810 to 1811
William Hunter.....	12th " 17th	1811 " 1821
Jeremiah B. Howell.....	12th " 15th	1811 " 1817
James Burrell, Jr.....	15th " 16th	1817 " 1820
Nehemiah R. Knight.....	16th " 27th	1820 " 1841
James D'Wolf.....	17th " 20th	1821 " 1825
Asher Robbins.....	20th " 26th	1825 " 1839
Nathan F. Dixon.....	26th " 27th	1839 " 1842
William Sprague.....	27th " 28th	1842 " 1844
James F. Simmons.....	27th " 30th	1841 " 1847
John B. Francis.....	28th	1844 " 1845
Albert C. Greene.....	29th to 33d	1845 " 1851
John H. Clark.....	30th " 33d	1847 " 1853
Charles T. James.....	32d " 35th	1851 " 1857
Philip Allen.....	33d " 36th	1853 " 1859
James F. Simmons.....	35th " 37th	1857 " 1862
Henry B. Anthony.....	36th " 48th	1859 " 1884
Samuel G. Arnold.....	37th	1862 " 1863
William Sprague.....	38th to 44th	1863 " 1875
Ambrose E. Burnside.....	44th " 47th	1875 " 1881
Nelson W. Aldrich.....	47th "	1881 " 1885
William P. Sheffield.....	48th " 50th	1884 " 1885
Jonathan Chace.....	49th " 51st	1885 " 1889
Nathan F. Dixon.....	51st " 54th	1889 " 1895
George P. Wetmore.....	54th "	1895 "

Rhode Island College. See **BROWN UNIVERSITY.**

Rhodes, JAMES FORD, historian; born in Cleveland, O., May 1, 1848; educated at the universities of New York and Chicago.

RICHARD—RICHMOND

was ordered to exterminate all of that faith. They offered him 50,000 ducats if he would spare their lives. "Give up your arms and place yourselves under my mercy," he said. A small stream divided the Frenchmen from the Spaniards. Menendez ordered the former to be brought over in companies of ten. Out of sight of their companions left behind, they were bound with their hands behind them. When all were gathered in this plight they were marched to a spot a short distance off, when they were again asked, "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" A dozen who professed to be Catholics, and four others who were mechanics, useful to the Spaniards, were left aside. The remainder, helpless, were butchered without mercy. Very soon after this treacherous massacre Ribault, with the rest of his followers, reached the spot where their companions had been betrayed a few hours before. Menendez hurried back, and by the same treacherous method disarmed Ribault and his friends. Ribault was shown the pile of unburied corpses of his men. A ransom of 100,000 ducats was offered for the lives of Ribault and his friends. As before, they were betrayed, and Ribault and all but six or eight of his companions were murdered, Sept. 23, 1565. "They were put to the sword," Menendez wrote, "judging this to be expedient for the service of God our Lord and of your Majesty." See FLORIDA.

Richard, GABRIEL, clergyman; born in Saintes, France, Oct. 15, 1767; educated at Angers; ordained priest in Paris in 1790; emigrated to America in 1792, where he labored as a missionary in Illinois and Michigan. On the outbreak of the War of 1812 he was an ardent sympathizer with the Americans. The British captured and imprisoned him until the close of the war, when he returned to Michigan. In 1807, as there was no Protestant minister in Detroit, the governor and other Protestants requested Father Gabriel to preach to them in English, avoiding all controversy. Father Gabriel accepted the invitation, and preached acceptably to his hearers. In 1823 he was elected delegate to the national House of Representatives from the Territory of Michigan. At the time of his election he was in jail, having been unable to pay a

fine which had been imposed on him for defamation of character. He had excommunicated one of his parishioners, who sued him for defamation of character and obtained a verdict of \$1,000 damages. Father Gabriel upon his election left the jail and proceeded to Washington. He died in Detroit, Mich., Sept. 13, 1832.

Richardson, ISRAEL BUSH, military officer; born in Fairfax, Vt., Dec. 26, 1815; graduated at West Point in 1841; served in the Seminole War and in the war against Mexico; and became colonel of the 2d Michigan Volunteers when the Civil War broke out. He took a prominent part in the battle at Blackburn's Ford and Bull Run, at both of which he commanded a brigade. He was made a brigadier-general, and in the Peninsular campaign he commanded a division in Sumner's corps. On July 4, 1862, he was made major-general. He was in the battle of South Mountain, and in the battle of Antietam he received a wound from which he died Nov. 3, 1862.

Richardson, WILLIAM ADAMS, jurist; born in Tyngsboro, Mass., Nov. 2, 1821; graduated at Harvard in 1843; admitted to the bar in 1846; appointed to revise the statutes of Massachusetts in 1855; judge of probate in 1866-72; Secretary of the United States Treasury in 1873-74; resigning to accept the appointment of judge in the United States court of claims, of which he was chief-justice from 1885 till his death, in Washington, D. C., Oct. 19, 1896.

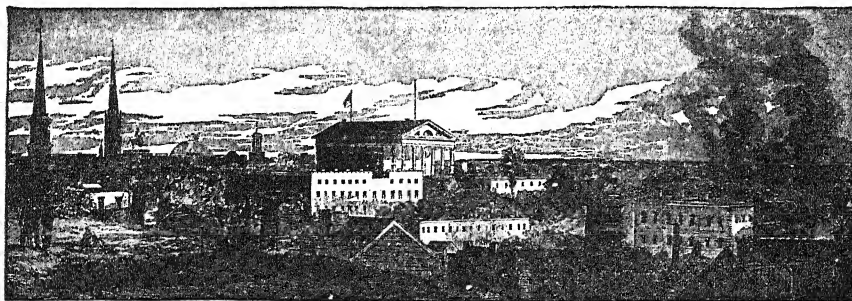
Richmond, BATTLE AT. Gen. E. Kirby Smith led the van in Bragg's invasion of Kentucky in 1862. He entered the State from east Tennessee, and was making his way rapidly towards the Blue Grass region, when he was met by a force organized by Gen. Lew. Wallace, but then commanded by Gen. M. D. Manson. It was part of a force under the direction of Gen. William Nelson. Manson's troops were mostly raw. A collision occurred when approaching Richmond and not far from Rogersville on Aug. 30. A severe battle was fought for three hours, when Manson was driven back. At this juncture Nelson arrived and took command. Half an hour later his troops were utterly routed and scattered in all directions. Nelson was wounded. Manson resumed command,

RICHMOND

but the day was lost. Smith's cavalry had gained the rear of the Nationals, and stood in the way of their wild flight. Manson and his men were made prisoners. The estimated loss was about equal, that of the Nationals having been about 5,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Richmond, CAMPAIGN AGAINST. The first collisions between the two great armies on the borders of the Chickahominy River occurred on May 23 and 24, 1862—one near New Bridge, not far from Cold Harbor, between Michigan cavalry and a Louisiana regiment, when thirty-seven of the latter were captured. The other was at and near Mechanicsville, 7 or 8 miles from Richmond, where a part of McClellan's right wing was advancing towards the Chickahominy. There was a sharp skirmish at Ellison's Mill (May 23), a mile from Mechanicsville. To this place the Confederates fell back, and the next morning were driven across the

off the chief sources of supply for the Confederate army from the south, and attempt the capture of Richmond from that direction. He disencumbered his army of about 20,000 sick and wounded, who were sent to the hospitals at Washington and elsewhere, and with 25,000 veteran recruits, amply supplied, and 30,000 volunteers for 100 days joining his army, he began another flank movement on the night of May 20-21, 1864, Hancock's corps leading. Lee had kept a vigilant watch of the movements of the Nationals, and sent Longstreet's corps to march southward parallel with Hancock. Warren followed Hancock, and Ewell followed Longstreet's troops. On May 21 the race was fairly begun, the Confederates having the more direct or shorter route. Lee outstripped his antagonist, and when the Nationals approached the South Anna River the Confederates were already strongly posted there on the south side of



RICHMOND DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

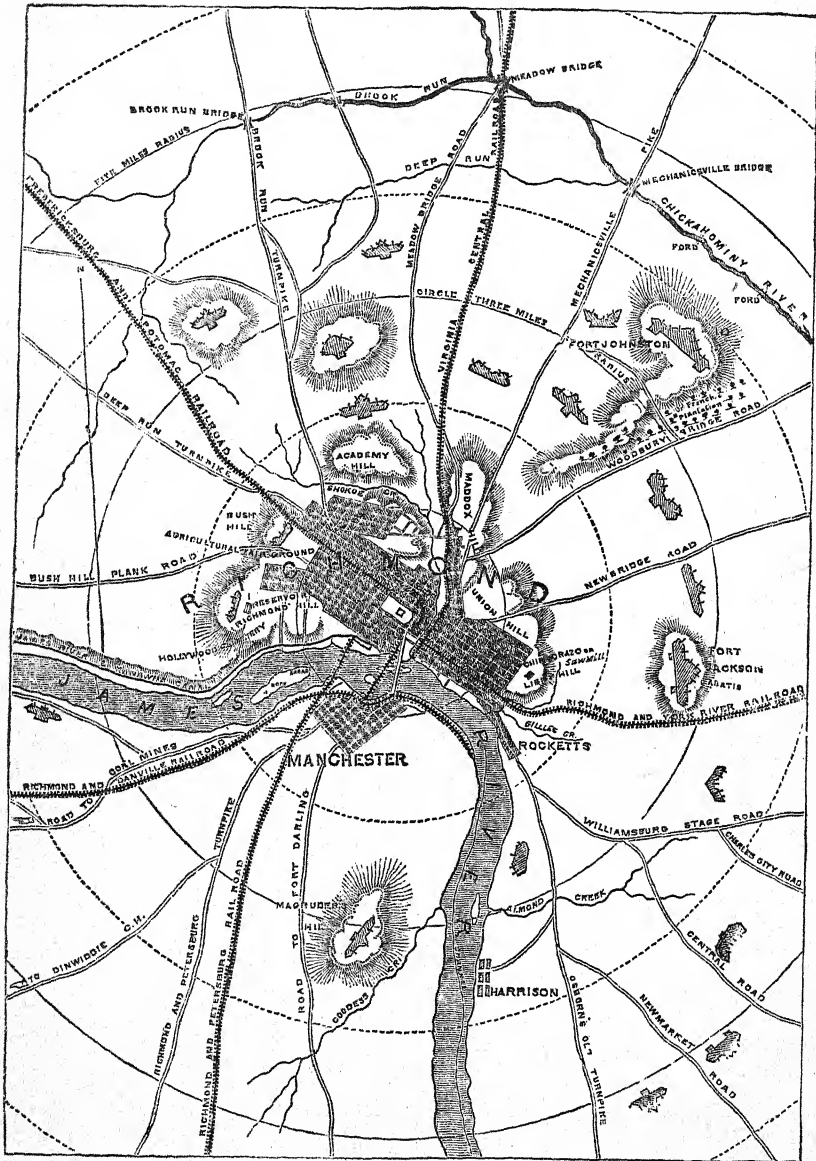
Chickahominy. On the same morning General McClellan issued a stirring order for an immediate advance on Richmond; but the overcautious commander hesitated to move until the golden opportunity had passed. President Lincoln telegraphed to the general, "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington."

The National and Confederate armies had three times run a race for Washington. After the battle at Spotsylvania Court-house, they entered upon a race for Richmond, then the Confederate capital. Grant determined to transfer his army to the south side of the James River, cut

the river, where Lee had evidently determined to make a stand.

Grant proceeded to attempt to dislodge him. In attempts to force passages across the stream, very sharp engagements ensued. Having partly crossed the North Anna, the Army of the Potomac was in great peril. Its two strong wings were on one side of the stream, and its weak centre on the other. Perceiving this peril, Grant secretly recrossed the river with his troops, and resumed his march on Richmond by a flank movement far to the eastward of the Confederate army. The flanking column was led by Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry. On the 28th the whole army was south of the Pamunkey,

RICHMOND, CAMPAIGN AGAINST



MAP OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AROUND RICHMOND.

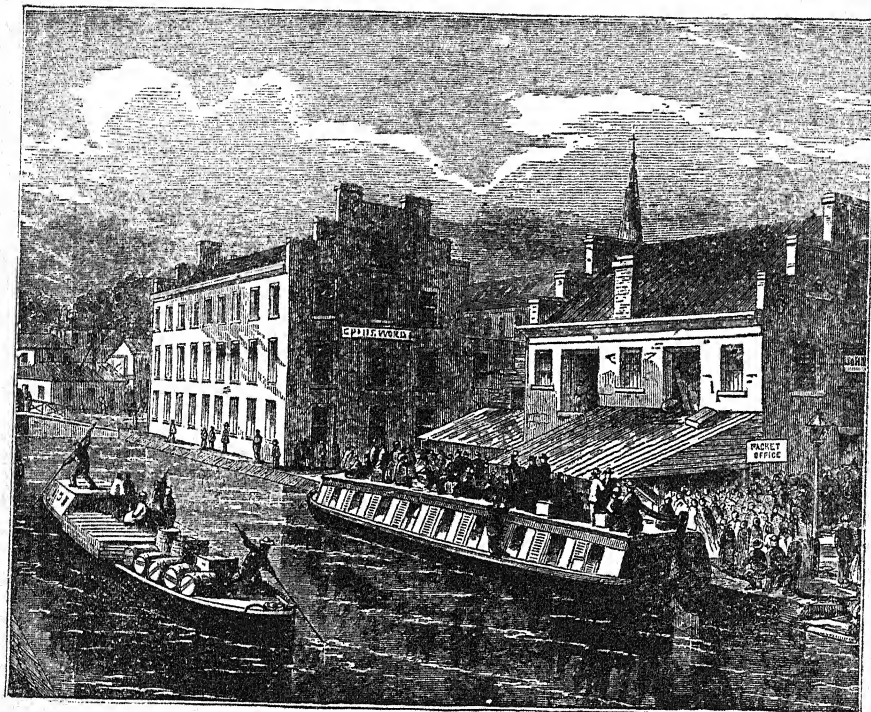
and in communication with its new base before the Nationals crossed the Pamunkey. He was at a point where he could at the White House. This movement compelled Lee to abandon his strong position cover the railways and highways leading at the North Anna, but, having a shorter route, he was in another good position to Richmond.

The Nationals were now within 15 miles

RICHMOND, CAMPAIGN AGAINST

of Richmond. Their only direct pathway to that capital was across the Chickahominy. There was much skirmishing, and Grant was satisfied that he would be compelled to force the passage of the

Grant proceeded to throw his army across to the south side of the James River, and to operate against the Confederate capital on the right of that stream. It was near the middle of June before the whole



GOVERNOR SMITH LEAVING THE CITY

Chickahominy on Lee's flank, and he prepared for that movement by sending Sheridan to seize a point near Cold Harbor, where roads leading into Richmond diverged. After a fight with Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, it was secured, and on the same night (May 30) Wright's corps pressed forward to the same point. A large body of troops, under Gen. W. F. Smith, called from the Army of the James, were approaching Cold Harbor at the same time. These took position on Wright's right wing. There a terrible battle occurred (June 1-3), in which both armies suffered immense loss. It was now perceived that the fortifications around Richmond were too formidable to warrant a direct attack upon them with a hope of success, so

National force had crossed the Chickahominy and moved to the James by way of Charles City Court-house. There they crossed the river in boats and over pontoon bridges; and on June 16, when the entire army was on the south side, General Grant made his headquarters at City Point, at the junction of the Appomattox and James rivers. A portion of the Army of the James, under General Butler, had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Petersburg, where the Confederates had constructed strong works. Before them the Army of the Potomac appeared on the evening of June 16, and in that vicinity the two armies struggled for the mastery until April the next year, or about ten months.

RICHMOND, CAMPAIGN AGAINST

Sunday morning, April 2, 1865, while attending service at St. Paul's Church, President Davis received this message from General Lee:

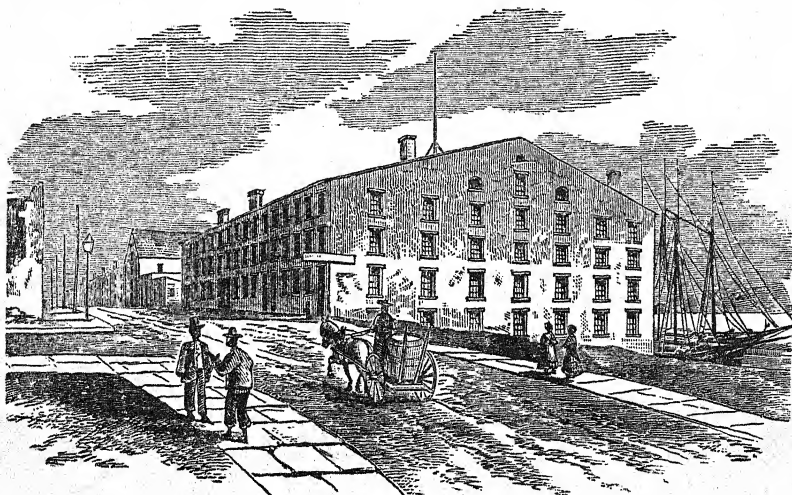
"It is absolutely necessary that we should abandon our position to-night, or run the risk of being cut off in the morning."

Hastily reading it he left the church, quickly followed by others, and the service was abruptly concluded. Rumors that Richmond was to be evacuated were soon succeeded by the definite announcement of the fact. One special train carried the President and the cabinet, together with several million dollars in gold. Late in the afternoon Governor Smith and the members of the legislature embarked on canal-boats for Lynchburg. The roads from the city leading to the north and west were crowded with wagons, carriages, and carts, horsemen, and men and women on foot seeking for a place of refuge.

The night when the Confederate government fled from Richmond was a fearful one for the inhabitants of that city. All day after the receipt of Lee's despatch—"My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated to-night"—the people were kept in the most painful suspense by the reticence of the government, then making preparations to fly for

safety. That body employed every vehicle for this use, and the people who prepared to leave the city found it difficult to get any conveyance. For these as much as \$100 in gold was given for service from a dwelling to the railway station. It was revealed to the people early in the evening that the Confederate Congress had ordered all the cotton, tobacco, and other property which the owners could not carry away, and which was stored in four great warehouses, to be burned to prevent it falling into the hands of the Nationals. There was a fresh breeze from the south, and the burning of these warehouses would imperil the whole city. General Ewell, in command there, vainly remonstrated against the execution of the order. A committee of the common council went to Jefferson Davis before he had left to remonstrate against it, to which he replied that their statement that the burning of the warehouses would endanger the city was "a cowardly pretext on the part of the citizens, trumped up to endeavor to save their property for the Yankees." A similar answer was given at the War Department.

The humane Ewell was compelled to obey. for the order from the War Department was imperative. The city council took the precaution, for the public safety, to order the destruction of all liquors that



LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND.

RICHMOND, CAMPAIGN AGAINST

might be accessible to lawless men. This was done, and by midnight hundreds of barrels of spirituous liquors were flowing in the gutters, where stragglers from the retreating army and rough citizens gathered it in vessels, and so produced the calamity the authorities endeavored to avert. The torch was applied, and at day-break the warehouses were in flames. The city was already on fire in several places. The intoxicated soldiers, joined with many of the dangerous class of both sexes, the city. When at 7 A.M., the troops were all across the river, the bridges were burned behind them. A number of other vessels in the river were destroyed. The bursting of shells in the arsenal when the fire reached them added to the horrors of the scene. At noon about 700 buildings in the business part of the city, including a Presbyterian church, were in ruins. While Richmond was in flames National troops entered the city, and, by great exertions, subdued the fire and



THE DEVASTATION IN RICHMOND.

formed a marauding mob of fearful proportions, who broke open and pillaged stores and committed excesses of every kind. From midnight until dawn the city was a pandemonium. The roaring mob released the prisoners from the jail and burned it. They set fire to the arsenal, and tried to destroy the Tredegar Iron Works. Conflagrations spread rapidly, for the fire department was powerless, and by the middle of the forenoon (April 3) a greater portion of the principal business part of Richmond was a blazing furnace.

Between midnight and dawn the Confederate troops made their way across the bridges to the south side of the James. At 3 A.M. the magazine near the almshouse was fired and blown up with a concussion that shook the city to its foundations. It was followed by the explosion of the Confederate ram *Virginia*, below

saved the city from utter destruction. Many million dollars' worth of property had been annihilated. Gen. Godfrey Weitzel had been left, with a portion of the Army of the James, on the north side of that river, to menace Richmond, and he kept up a continual show of great numbers, which had deceived Longstreet, standing in defence of the Confederate capital. After midnight on April 3, a great light in Richmond, the sound of explosions, and other events, revealed to Weitzel the fact that the Confederates were evacuating the city. At daylight he put Draper's negro brigade in motion towards Richmond. The place of every terra-torpedo in front of the Confederate works was marked by a small flag, for the safety of their own men, and in their hasty departure they forgot to remove them. Cannon on the deserted

RICH MOUNTAIN

works were left unharmed. Early in the morning the whole of Weitzel's force were in the suburbs of the town. A demand was made for its surrender, and at seven o'clock Joseph Mayo, the mayor, handed the keys of the public buildings to the messenger of the summons. Weitzel and his staff rode in at eight o'clock, at the head of Ripley's brigade of negro troops, when Lieut. J. Livingston Depeyster, of Weitzel's staff, ascended to the roof of the State-house with a national flag, and, with the assistance of Captain Langdon, Weitzel's chief of artillery, unfurled it over that building, and in its Senate chamber the office of headquarters was established. Weitzel occupied the dwelling of Jefferson Davis, and General Shepley was appointed military governor. The troops were then set at work to extinguish the flames. See "ON TO RICHMOND!"; "ON TO WASHINGTON!"

Rich Mountain, BATTLE OF. Early in 1861 the Confederates attempted to permanently occupy the country south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway in Virginia. They were placed under the command of R. S. Garnett, a meritorious soldier, who was in the war with Mexico, and was brevetted for gallantry at Buena Vista. He made his headquarters at Beverly, in Randolph county, and prepared to prevent the National troops from pushing through the mountain-gaps into the Shenandoah Valley. The roads through these gaps were fortified. At the same time ex-Governor H. A. Wise, with the commission of a brigadier-general, was organizing a brigade in the Great Kanawha Valley, beyond the Greenbrier Mountains. He was ordered to cross the intervening mountains, and co-operate with Garnett. General McClellan took command of his troops in western Virginia, at Grafton, towards the close of May, and the entire force of Ohio, Indiana, and Virginia troops under his control numbered full 20,000 men. With these he advanced against the Confederates. He sent Gen. J. D. Cox with a detachment to keep Wise in check, while with his main body, about 10,000 strong, he moved to attack Garnett at Laurel Hill, near Beverly. At the same time a detachment 4,000 strong, under General Morris, moved towards Beverly by way of Philippi while another

body, led by General Hill, was sent to West Union, to prevent the escape of any Confederates by that way over the Alleghany Mountains, to join Johnston at Winchester.

Garnett was then strongly intrenched at Laurel Hill, with about 8,000 Virginians, Georgians, Tennesseans, and Carolinians. To this camp Morris nearly penetrated, but not to attack it—only to make feints to divert Garnett while McClellan should gain his rear. There was almost daily heavy skirmishing, chiefly by Colonels Dumont and Milroy, on the part of the Nationals. So industrious and bold had been the scouts, that when McClellan appeared they gave him full information of the region and the forces there. During a few days, so daring had been the conduct of the Nationals that they were regarded almost with awe by the Confederates. They called the 9th Indiana—whose exploits were particularly notable—"Swamp Devils." While on the road towards Beverly, McClellan ascertained that about 1,500 Confederates under Col. John Pegram, were occupying a heavily intrenched position in the rear of Garnett, in the Rich Mountain Gap, and commanding the road over the mountains to Staunton, the chief highway to southern Virginia. Pegram boasted that his position could not be turned; but it was turned by Ohio and Indiana regiments and some cavalry, all under the command of Colonel Rosecrans, accompanied by Colonel Lander, who was with Dumont at Philippi. They made a détour, July 11, in a heavy rain-storm, over most perilous ways among the mountains for about 8 miles, and at noon were on the summit of Rich Mountain, high above Pegram's camp, and a mile from it.

Rosecrans thought his movement was unknown to the Confederates. Pegram was informed of it, and sent out 900 men, with two cannon, up the mountain-road, to meet the Nationals, and just as they struck the Staunton road the latter were fiercely assailed. Rosecrans was without cannon. He sent forward his skirmishers; and while these were engaged in fighting, his main body was concealed. Finally Pegram's men came out from their works and charged across the road, when the Indians sprang to their feet, fired, and,

RICH MOUNTAIN—RICKETTS



BATTLE OF RICH MOUNTAIN.

with a wild shout, sprang upon the foe with fixed bayonets. A sharp conflict ensued, when the Confederates gave way, and fled in great confusion down the declivities of the mountain to Pegram's camp. The battle lasted about an hour and a half. The number of Union troops engaged was about 1,800, and those of the Confederates half that number. The former lost 18 killed and about 40 wounded; the latter 140 killed and a large number wounded and made prisoners. Their entire loss was about 400. For his gallantry on this occasion, Rosecrans was made a brigadier-general.

Garnett was a prey to the Nationals. In light marching order he pushed on towards Beverly, hoping to escape over the mountains towards Staunton. He was too late, for McClellan moved rapidly to Beverly. Garnett then turned back, and, taking a road through a gap at Leedsville, plunged into the wild mountain regions of the Cheat Range, taking with him only one cannon. His reserves at Beverly fled

over the mountains. Meanwhile Rosecrans had entered Pegram's deserted camp, while the latter, dispirited and weary, with about 600 followers, was trying to escape. He surrendered to McClellan July 14.

Ricketts, JAMES BREWERTON, military officer; born in New York City, June 21, 1817; graduated at West Point in 1839; served in the war against Mexico; and when the Civil War began was placed in command of the 1st Battery of rifled guns. He distinguished himself in the battle of Bull Run, where he was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and confined eight months in Richmond, when he was exchanged. He was made brigadier-general of volunteers; was in the second battle of Bull Run, in which he commanded a division of the Army of Virginia, and was wounded; and in the battle of Antietam he commanded General Hooker's corps after that officer was wounded. He was engaged in the campaign against Richmond from March until July, 1864, and in

RIDEING—RIGHTS



JAMES BREWERTON RICKETTS.

the Shenandoah campaign from July until October, 1864. He was brevetted brigadier-general, United States army, for gallantry at Cedar Creek, and major-general for meritorious services through the war, and was retired because of wounds in 1867. He died in Washington, D. C., Sept. 22, 1887.

Rideing, WILLIAM HENRY, editor; born in Liverpool, England, Feb. 17, 1853; has been connected with the *Springfield Republican*, *New York Times*, *New York Tribune*, and the *Youth's Companion*. He is the author of *Pacific Railways Illustrated*; *A Saddle in the Wild West*, etc.

Ridpath, JOHN CLARK, author; born in Putnam county, Ind., April 26, 1841; graduated at the Asbury University in 1863. He is the author of *Life of James A. Garfield*; *Life of James G. Blaine*; *Cyclopædia of Universal History*; *The Great Races of Mankind*, etc., and many school-books. He died in New York City, July 31, 1900.

Riedesel, BARON FREDERICK ADOLPH, military officer; born in Lauterbach, Rhine-Hesse, Germany, June 3, 1738. Leaving the College of Marburg, he entered the English army as ensign, and served in the Seven Years' War under Prince Ferdinand. In 1760 he became captain of the Hessian Hussars, and was made lieutenant-colonel of the Black Hussars in

1762, adjutant-general of the Brunswick army in 1767, colonel of carabineers in 1772, and a major-general, with the command of a division of 4,000 Brunswickers, hired by the British Court to fight British subjects in America early in 1776. Riedesel arrived at Quebec June 1, 1776; aided in the capture of Ticonderoga (July 6), and in dispersing the American troops at Hubbardton, and was made a prisoner with Burgoyne; was exchanged in the fall of 1780; returned home in August, 1783, and was made lieutenant-general in command of troops serving in Holland in 1787. He became commander-in-chief of the military of Brunswick. He died in Brunswick, Jan. 6, 1800. His *Memoirs, Letters, and Journals in America*, edited by Max Von Elking, were translated by William L. Stone. His wife, **FREDERICKA CHARLOTTE LOUISA**, accompanied him to America, and wrote charming letters, and a journal, which were published in Boston in 1799, of which a translation was made by Mr. Stone. She was a daughter of the



FREDERICK ADOLPH RIEDESEL.

Prussian minister, Massow. She died in Berlin, March 29, 1808.

Rights, BILL OF. See **BILL OF RIGHTS.**

Rights, PETITION OF. See **PETITION OF RIGHTS.**

"RIGHTS OF MAN"—RIKER

"Rights of Man," the title of Thomas Paine's famous reply to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. It was issued in England, and had an immense sale. It was translated into French, and won for the author a seat in the French National Assembly. Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, had come from France filled with the radical ideas of the French Revolutionists, and thought he saw, in the coolness of the President and others, a sign of decaying republicanism in America. The essays of Adams, entitled *Discourses on Davila*, disgusted him, and he believed that Adams, Hamilton, Jay, and others were plotting for the establishment of a monarchy in the United States. To thwart these fancied designs and to inculcate the doctrines of the French Revolution, Jefferson hastily printed in America, and circulated, Paine's *Rights of Man*, which had just been received from England. It was originally dedicated "to the President of the United States." It inculcated principles consonant with the feelings and opinions of the great body of the American people. The author sent fifty copies to Washington, who distributed them among his friends, but his official position admonished him to be prudently silent about the work, for it bore hard upon the British government. The American edition, issued from a Philadelphia press, contained a commendatory note from Mr. Jefferson, which had been privately written, and not intended for publication. In it he had aimed some severe observations against the author of the *Discourses on Davila*. This created much bitterness of feeling. Warm discussions arose. John Quincy Adams, son of the Vice-President, wrote a series of articles in reply to the *Rights of Man*, over the signature of "Publico." They were published in the *Boston Centinel*, and reprinted in pamphlet form, with the name of John Adams on the title-page, as it was supposed they were written by him. Several writers answered them. "A host of champions entered the arena immediately in your defence," Jefferson wrote to Paine. See INGERSOLL, ROBERT GREEN; PAINE, THOMAS.

"Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved," the title of a pamphlet in opposition to the scheme of

the British ministry for taxing the English-American colonists. It was written by James Otis, of Boston, and produced a profound sensation in America and in Great Britain. Its boldness, its logic, its eloquence, combined to make it a sort of oriflamme for the patriots. In it Mr. Otis, while he contended for the charter privileges of the colonists, did not admit that the loss of their charters would deprive them of their rights. He said: "Two or three innocent colony charters have been threatened with destruction one hundred and forty years past. . . . A set of men in America, without honor or love for their country, have been long grasping at powers which they think unattainable while these charters stand in the way. But they will meet with insurmountable obstacles to their project for enslaving the British colonies, should those arising from provincial charters be removed. . . . Our forefathers were soon worn away in the toils of hard labor on their little plantations and in war with the savages. They thought they were earning a sure inheritance for their posterity. Could they imagine it would ever be thought just to deprive them or theirs of these charter privileges? Should this ever be the case, there are, thank God, natural, inherent, and inseparable rights, as men and citizens, that would remain after the so-much-wished-for catastrophe, and which, whatever became of charters, can never be abolished, *de jure* or *de facto*, till the general conflagration." See OTIS, JAMES.

Rights of the Colonists. See ADAMS, SAMUEL.

Riis, JACOB AUGUST, journalist; born in Denmark, May 3, 1849; has been connected with the *New York Sun* and has been active in the movement for tenement-house and school-house reform, and also for the making of small parks in the crowded districts of New York City. He is the author of *How the Other Half Lives*; *The Children of the Poor*, etc.

Riker, JAMES, historian; born in New York City, May 11, 1822. He is the author of *A Brief History of the Riker Family*; *The Annals of Newtown*; *Origin and Early Annals of Harlem*; *The Indian History of Tioga County*, etc. He died in Waverly, N. Y., in July, 1889.

RILEY—RIPLEY

Riley, Fort, a fortification of the United States in Geary county, Kan., on the Union Pacific Railroad, 4 miles north-west of Junction City, the county seat. A military post was established here in 1853, and, under the name of Camp Centre, because it was the geographical centre of the United States, was garrisoned in 1855. Later in the same year the name was changed to its present one in honor of Gen. B. C. Riley. In 1887, under an act of Congress, this army post was entirely transformed, enlarged, and equipped to accommodate a permanent school of instruction in drill and practice for the cavalry and light artillery service of the United States. The post now occupies 21,000 acres, and on a conspicuous site is a monument to the memory of the officers and men killed in the battles of Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission, in South Dakota, in 1890, culminations of the Messiah craze.

Riley, JAMES WHITCOMB, poet; born in Greenfield, Ind., in 1853; is the author of *The Old Swimmin'-Hole*; *Rhymes of Childhood*; *Old-fashioned Roses*, etc.

Ringgold, BATTLE OF. When, on Nov. 25, 1863, the Confederates retreated from Missionary Ridge towards Ringgold they destroyed the bridges behind them. Early the next morning, Sherman, Palmer, and Hooker were sent in pursuit. Both Sherman and Palmer struck a rear-guard of the fugitives late on the same day, and the latter captured three guns from them. At Greysville Sherman halted and sent Howard to destroy a large section of the railway which connected Dalton with Cleveland, and thus severed the communication between Bragg and Burnside. Hooker, meanwhile, had pushed on to Ringgold, Osterhaus leading, Geary following, and Cruft in the rear, making numerous prisoners of stragglers. At a deep gorge General Cleburne, covering Bragg's retreat, made a stand, with guns well posted. Hooker's guns had not yet come up, and his impatient troops were permitted to attack the Confederates with small-arms only. A severe struggle ensued, and in the afternoon, when some of Hooker's guns were in position and the Confederates were flanked, the latter retreated. The Nationals lost 432 men, of whom 65 were killed. The Confederates

left 133 killed and wounded on the field. See **MISSIONARY RIDGE, BATTLE OF**.

Ringgold, CADWALADER, naval officer; born in Washington county, Md., Aug. 20, 1802; entered the navy as midshipman in 1819; was retired by reason of ill-health in 1855; and was recalled to the active list and promoted captain in 1856. At the breaking out of the Civil War he was ordered to the command of the *Sabine* and engaged in blockading Southern ports and in operations against some of them. He was retired in 1864, and promoted rear-admiral on the retired list in 1866. He died in New York City, April 29, 1867.

Riots in the United States. The following is a list of some of the most important riots:

Boston massacre.....	1770
"Doctor's mob," New York.....	1788
At Baltimore, Md.....	1812, 1861
Alton, Ill.....	1837
Philadelphia.....	1844
Astor Place riots in New York, growing out of rivalry between the actors Forrest and Macready.....	May 10, 1849
Draft riot in New York; mob in possession of the city.....	July 13 to 17, 1863
Orange riot in New York between Catholic and Protestant Irish; sixty persons killed.....	July 12, 1871
Cincinnati. After a verdict of manslaughter in the Berner and Palmer murder trial, both having confessed the murder. Twenty untried murderers in the county jail. Six days' riot began.....	March 28, 1884
Anarchists in Chicago, Ill.....	May 4, 1886
Eleven Italians, implicated in the murder of David C. Hennessy, chief of police, are killed in the parish prison, New Orleans.....	March 14, 1891
Carnegie iron and steel workers at Homestead, Pa. Strike lasted nearly six months; began.....	Feb. 25, 1893
Federal troops ordered to Chicago during the railway strikes beginning.....	June 26, 1894
Colorado State troops ordered out to suppress miners' riots in.....	1903-04

See **STRIKES**.

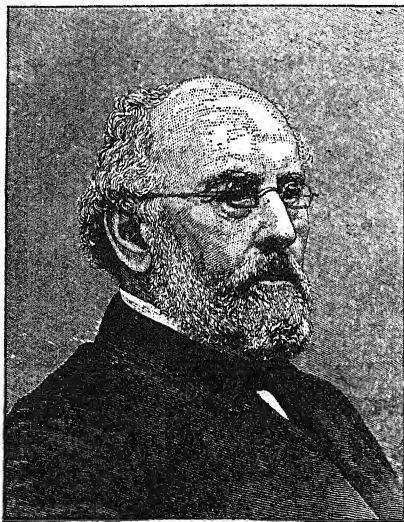
Ripley, ELEAZAR WHELOCK, military officer; born in Hanover, N. H., April 15, 1782; was a nephew of President Wheelock, of Dartmouth College; studied and practised law in Portland; was in the legislature of Massachusetts, and was chosen speaker of the Assembly in 1812. He was also State Senator. In March, 1813, he was appointed colonel of the 21st Infantry. He was active on the Northern frontier until appointed brigadier-general in the spring of 1814, when he took part

RIPLEY—RITTENHOUSE

in the events on the Niagara frontier. For his services during that campaign he received from Congress the brevet of major-general and a gold medal. General Ripley left the army in 1820; practised law in Louisiana; was a member of the State Senate; and was a member of Congress from 1834 till his death in West Feliciana, La., March 2, 1839. He was wounded in the battle at York, and in the sortie at Fort Erie he was shot through the neck. These wounds caused his death.

Ripley, EZRA, clergyman; born in Woodstock, Conn., May 1, 1751; graduated at Harvard in 1776; ordained in 1778. In a pamphlet entitled *A History of the Fight at Concord*, he proved that though the enemy had fired first at Lexington, the Americans fired first in Concord, his own town. He died in Concord, Mass., Sept. 21, 1841.

Ripley, GEORGE, editor; born in Greenfield, Mass., Oct. 3, 1802; was an able writer and a most industrious man of letters, having edited, translated, and written numerous works on a great variety of subjects, and gained a wide reputation as a scholar, editor, and journalist. He graduated at Harvard University in 1823, and Cambridge Divinity School in 1826; became pastor of the Thirteenth Congregational (Unitarian) Church in Boston;



GEORGE RIPLEY.

and was prominent in the **BROOK FARM ASSOCIATION** (*q. v.*) In 1840-41 he was associate editor with Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller of the *Dial*, the organ of the New England Transcendentalists; and with Charles A. Dana, Parke Godwin, and J. S. Dwight, of the *Harbinger*, an advocate of socialism as propounded by Fourier. From 1849 until his death Mr. Ripley was the literary editor of the *New York Tribune*. In conjunction with Charles A. Dana, Dr. Ripley edited Appleton's *New American Cyclopædia* (16 volumes, 1857-63), and a new edition (1873-76). He died in New York City, July 4, 1880.

Ripley, JAMES WOLFE, soldier; born in Windham, Conn., Dec. 10, 1794; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1814; served in the War of 1812, participating in the defence of Sackett's Harbor. During the Seminole War he was engaged in the capture of Pensacola and San Carlos de Barrancas. He received the brevet of brigadier-general in 1861, and later was promoted to full rank. He died in Hartford, Conn., March 16, 1870.

Ripley, ROSWELL SABINE, soldier; born in Worthington, O., March 14, 1823; graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1843; served in the Mexican and Civil wars, and in 1861 was appointed brigadier-general. He published, in 1849, a *History of the Mexican War*. He died in New York City, March 26, 1887.

Rittenhouse, DAVID, astronomer; born in Roxboro, Pa., April 8, 1732; was of German descent. His great-grandfather established at Germantown, in 1690, the first paper-mill in America. Accidentally falling in with instruments and mathematical books of a deceased uncle while working on his father's farm, David had mastered Newton's *Principia* and independently discovered the methods of fluxions before he was nineteen years of age. He early became a skilful mechanic, and, at the age of twenty-three, planned and constructed an orrery, which was purchased by Princeton College. He afterwards constructed a larger and more perfect one for the University of Pennsylvania. In 1763 he was employed in determining the **MASON AND DIXON'S LINE** (*q. v.*), and afterwards fixed other State boundaries. In 1769 the *American Philo-*

RIVER AND HARBOR BILLS—RIVINGTON



DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

sophical Society appointed him to observe the transit of Venus at Philadelphia. He erected a temporary observatory for the purpose on the Walnut Street front of the State-house. It is said that the emotion of Rittenhouse was so great at the apparent contact at the time of the transit that he fainted. In Philadelphia Rittenhouse continued his manufacture of clocks and mathematical instruments several years. From 1777 to 1779 he was treasurer of Pennsylvania; in 1791 he succeeded Franklin as president of the American Philosophical Society; and from 1792 to 1795 was director of the United States Mint. He was a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston. He died in Philadelphia, June 26, 1796.

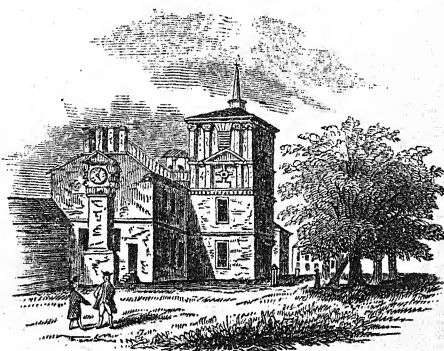
River and Harbor Bills. The first bill for harbor improvements in the United States was passed March 3, 1823. Polk in 1846 and Pierce in 1854 vetoed such bills. In 1870 a \$2,000,000 appropriation was made, the largest amount up to that time.

River Raisin, Mich., is remarkable in history as the place of a massacre on Jan. 23, 1813. General Winchester, with about 800 Americans, was encamped on that river, and at dawn, on Jan. 22, General Proctor, with 1,500 British and Indians, fell upon them. After a severe action Winchester surrendered, under promise of protection from the Indians. But Proctor marched off, leaving no guard for the Americans. His Indians returned, and killed and scalped a large number of them. The American loss was over 300 killed (mostly after the fight), and the rest were

made prisoners. See FRENCHTOWN, MASSACRE AT.

Rives, WILLIAM CABELL, diplomatist: born in Nelson county, Va., May 4, 1793; was educated at Hampden-Sidney and William and Mary colleges; studied law under the direction of Jefferson, a member of the State constitutional convention in 1816; of the State legislature in 1817-19 and in 1822, and of Congress in 1823-29; was minister to France in 1829-32; and United States Senator in 1832-45. He was again minister to France in 1849-53. He sympathized with the secession movement, and in February, 1861, was a member of the peace congress. After Virginia joined the Confederacy, he became a member of the Confederate Congress. He died near Charlottesville, Va., April 25, 1868.

Rivington, JAMES, journalist; born in London, England, about 1724; was engaged in bookselling in London, and failing, came to America in 1760, and established a book-store in Philadelphia the same year. In 1761 he opened one near the foot of Wall Street, New York, where his *New York Gazetteer*, a weekly newspaper, was established in April, 1773. It was soon devoted to the royal cause, and his trenchant paragraphs against the "rebels" made him detested by the Whigs. To sarcasm he added good-natured ridicule. Isaac Sears, a leader of the Sons of Liberty, was so irritated by him that, with a company of light-horsemen from Connecticut, he destroyed Rivington's printing establishment in November, 1775, after which the latter went to England.



WALNUT STREET FRONT OF THE STATE-HOUSE.
(From an old print of the period.)

ROACH—ROANOKE ISLAND



JAMES RIVINGTON.

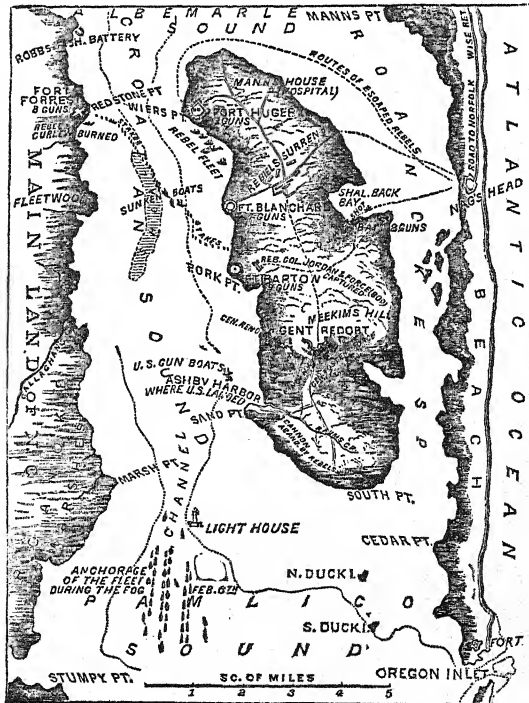
Appointed king's printer in New York, he returned late in 1776 with new printing materials, and in 1777 resumed the publication of his paper under the title of *Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette*. Late in the year he changed it to *Royal Gazette*. Shrewd and unscrupulous, after the defeat of Cornwallis (1781), he perceived the hopelessness of the royal cause and endeavored to make his peace with the Whigs by secretly sending information to Washington concerning public affairs in the city. This treason was practised until the evacuation of the city by the British. When the loyalists fled and the American army entered the city (1783), Rivington remained unharmed, to the astonishment of those not in the secret. He changed the title of his paper to *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. But his business declined, as he had lost the confidence of both Whigs and Tories, and he lived in comparative poverty until his death in July, 1802.

Roach, JOHN, ship-builder; born in Mitchellstown, Ireland, in 1815; came to the United States in 1829 and secured employment in the Howell Iron-works of New Jersey; later founded the Aetna Iron-works

in New York City, where he built the first compound engines made in the United States. He purchased the ship-yards in Chester, Pa., in 1871, and under the name of the Delaware River Iron Ship-building and Engine Works enlarged them till their value was estimated at \$2,000,000. Here he built about 114 iron vessels, including the cruisers *Atlanta*, *Chicago*, *Boston*, and other vessels for the United States navy. He died in New York City, Jan. 10, 1887.

Roanoke, FIRST VOYAGE TO. See AMIDAS, PHILIP.

Roanoke Island was discovered by Amidas and Barlow in July, 1584, and taken possession of in the name of Queen Elizabeth. These navigators spent several weeks in explorations of that island and Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, and in trafficking with the natives. "The people," wrote the mariners, "were most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after

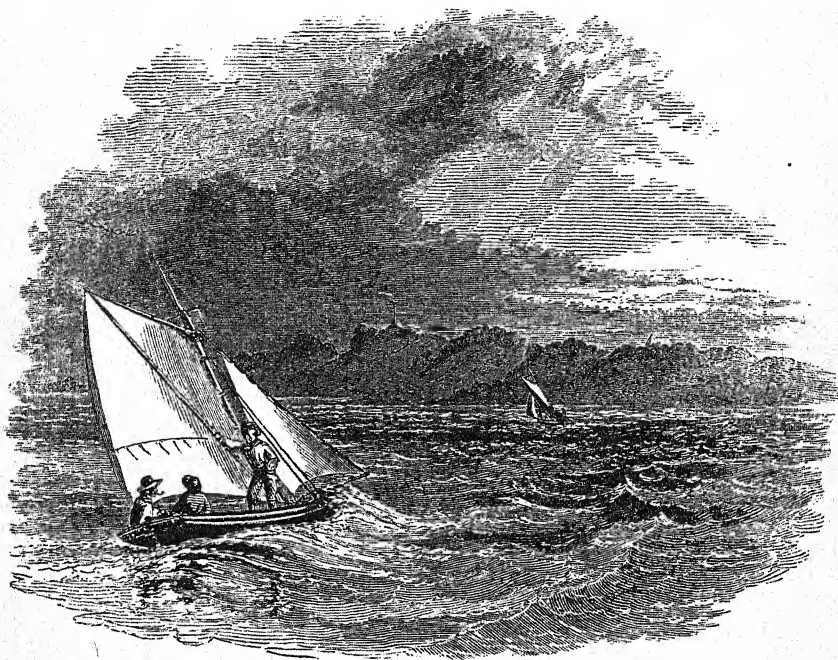


MAP OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

ROANOKE ISLAND

the manner of the Golden Age." They were hospitably entertained by the mother of Wingina, King of Roanoke, who was absent. When they left they took with them Manteo and Wanchese, two dusky lords of the woods from the neighboring main. Raleigh sent a squadron under Sir Richard Grenville in 1585 to Roanoke Island, who took back the native chiefs. Grenville sent Manteo to the mainland to announce the coming of the English, and for eight days Sir Richard ex-

Island became historically conspicuous. Early in 1862 an expedition was fitted out at Hampton Roads for operations against the island. It was composed of over 100 war-vessels and transports, commanded by Commodore L. M. Goldsborough, and bearing 16,000 troops under Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. The armament left the Roads on Sunday, Jan. 11, 1862, with its destination unknown excepting to certain officers. The land force was divided into three brigades, command-



ROANOKE ISLAND.

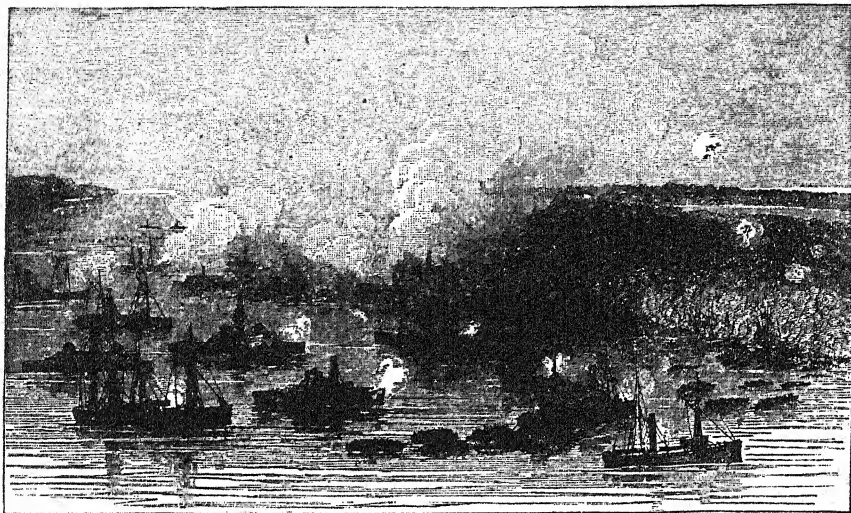
explored the country in search of precious metals, and by his conduct made the natives his enemies. Ralph Lane, who went with Grenville as governor of the country, was delighted with it, as being one of the most fertile regions he had ever beheld; but he contented himself with searching for gold. His colony, half starved, and afraid of the offended Indians, deserted Roanoke Island in one of Drake's ships. Other attempts to settle

ed respectively by Gens. J. G. Foster, J. L. Reno, and J. G. Parke. The fleet was divided into two columns for action, intrusted respectively to the care of Commanders S. F. Hazard and S. C. Rowan. Its destination was Pamlico Sound, through Hatteras Inlet, and its chief object was the capture of Roanoke Island, which the Confederates had strongly fortified with batteries which commanded the sounds on each side of it. There was also a fortified camp that extended

across a narrow part of the island.

ROANOKE ISLAND

These fortifications were garrisoned by side's headquarters were on the *S. R.* North Carolina troops under Col. H. M. Shaw, and mounted forty guns. Above As Fort Bartow began to give way the the island, in Croatan Sound, was a Con- transports were brought up, and at mid- federate flotilla of small gunboats, com- night, while a cold storm of wind and



BOMBARDMENT OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

manded by Lieut. W. F. Lynch, formerly of the United States navy.

Goldsborough drew up his fleet in Croatan Sound and opened a bombardment (Feb. 7) upon the works on the island. Four of his transports, one gunboat, and a floating battery had been smitten by a storm off Hatteras before entering the still waters of the inlet and wrecked. Goldsborough had moved his gunboats towards the island to open fire in columns, the first being led by the *Stars and Stripes*, Lieut. Reed Werden; the second by the *Louisiana*, Commander A. Murray; and the third by the *Hetzell*, Lieut. H. R. Davenport. The *Southfield* was the flag-ship. The first attack was upon Fort Bartow, on Pork Point, towards the northern end of the island, and in twenty-one minutes a general engagement took place between the gunboats and the batteries in Croatan Sound, in which the little flotilla participated. These vessels disposed of, Goldsborough concentrated his fire on Fort Bartow, three-fourths of a mile distant. Bun-

rain was sweeping over land and water, about 11,000 troops were landed, many of them wading ashore. These were New England, New York, and New Jersey troops. They were without shelter. At dawn, led by General Foster, they moved to attack the line of intrenchments that spanned the island. The Confederates, much inferior in numbers, made a gallant defence, going from redoubt to redoubt as one after another fell into the hands of the Nationals. They made a vigorous stand in a well-situated redoubt that was approached by a causeway. There was to be the last struggle in defence of the line. At the head of Hawkins's Zouaves, Major Kimball, a veteran of the war with Mexico, undertook to take it by storm. Colonel Hawkins was then leading a flank movement with a part of his command. Seeing the major pushing forward, the colonel joined him, when the whole battalion shouted, "Zou! Zou! Zou!" and pressed to the redoubt. The Confederates fled and were pursued about 6 miles, when they surrendered, and Roanoke Island

ROBERTS—ROBERTSON

passed into the possession of the National forces.

The Confederate flotilla fled up Alabar Sound, pursued by National gunboats under Commander Rowan. Near Elizabeth, not far from the Dismal Swamp, Rowan attacked the flotilla and some land batteries, driving the Confederates from both, while Lynch and his followers retired into the interior. Then the United States flag was placed upon a shore-battery, and this was the first portion of the North Carolina main that was repossessed by the government. The loss of Roanoke Island was a severe one for the Confederates. The National loss in the capture of the island was about 50 killed and 222 wounded; that of the Confederates was 23 killed, 58 wounded, and 62 missing.

Roberts, BENJAMIN STONE, military officer; born in Manchester, Vt., in 1811; graduated at West Point in 1835, and entered the dragoons. He resigned in 1839 and engaged in engineering, and in 1841 was assistant geologist of the State of New York. In 1842 he went to Russia to assist Colonel Whistler in building railroads there. Returning, he was admitted to the bar and began law practice in Iowa in 1843, and when the war with Mexico broke out he re-entered the army as first lieutenant of mounted rifles, and served under General Lane. In 1861 he was major of the 3d Cavalry on duty in New Mexico, and afterwards being in command of the Southern District under General Canby, he defended Fort Craig against Texan forces under Sibley. He was ordered to Washington; commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers (July 20, 1862); and was assigned to duty in the Army of Virginia under Pope, as chief of cavalry. He commanded a division of the 19th Corps in Louisiana in the summer of 1864, and from October, 1864, to Jan. 24, 1865, was chief of cavalry in the Department of the Gulf. In the summer of 1865 he was in command in west Tennessee. In 1866 he

was Professor of Military Science at Yale College from 1868 till his retirement in 1870. He died in Washington, D. C., Jan. 29, 1875. General Roberts invented the breech-loading rifle bearing his name.

Roberts, ELLIS HENRY, editor; born in Utica, N. Y., Sept. 30, 1827; graduated at Yale in 1850; editor and proprietor of the *Utica Morning Herald* for thirty-five years; elected to the New York Assembly in 1866; to Congress in 1871; appointed assistant treasurer of the United States in 1889, and treasurer in 1897. He is the author of *Government Revenue*; *The Planting and the Growth of the Empire State*, etc.

Robertson, JAMES, "the father of Tennessee"; born in Brunswick county, Va., June 28, 1742; emigrated to the regions beyond the mountains about 1760, and on the banks of the Watauga, a branch of the Tennessee; made a settlement and lived there several years. He was often called upon to contest for life with the savages of the forest. In 1776 he was chosen to command a fort built



JAMES ROBERTSON

near the mouth of the Watauga. In 1779 he was brevetted major-general of volunteers he was at the head of a party emigrating and promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 3d to the still richer country of the Cumber-

ROBERTSON—ROBERVAL

land, and upon Christmas Eve of that year they arrived upon the spot where Nashville now stands. Others joined them, and in the following summer they numbered about 200. A settlement was established, and Robertson founded the city of Nashville. The Cherokee Indians attempted to destroy the settlement, but, through the skill and energy of Robertson and a few companions, that calamity was averted. They built a log fort on the high bank of the Cumberland, and in that the settlers were defended against fully 700 Indians in 1781.

The settlement was erected into a county of North Carolina, and Robertson was its first representative in the State legislature. In 1790 the "Territory South of the Ohio River" was formed, and Washington appointed Robertson brigadier-general and commander of the militia in it. In that capacity he was very active in defence of the settlements against the savages. At the same time he practised the most exact justice towards the Indians, and when these children of the forest were no longer hostile, his kindness towards the oppressed among them made him very popular. At length, when the emissaries, white and red, from the British in the North began to sow the seeds of discontent among them at the breaking out of the War of 1812, the government wisely appointed General Robertson agent to the Chickasaw tribe. He was ever watchful of the national interest. As early as March, 1813, he wrote, "The Chickasaws are in a high strain for war against the enemies of the country. They have declared war against all passing Creeks who attempt to go through their nation. They have declared, if the United States will make a campaign against the Creeks (because of some murders committed by them near the mouth of the Ohio), that they are ready to give them aid." A little later he suggested the employment of companies of Chickasaws and Choctaws to defend the frontiers and to protect travellers, and he was seconded by Pitchlyn, an active and faithful Indian.

During the war General Robertson remained at his post among the Indians, and invited his aged wife to share his privations by quaintly saying to her by a messenger, "If you shall come this way, the

very best chance for rest and sleep which my bed affords shall be given you, provided, always, that I shall retain a part of the same." He was then seventy-one, and she sixty-three years of age. She went to him, and was at his side when he died at his post in the Indian country, Sept. 1, 1814. His remains were buried at the agency. In 1825 they were removed to Nashville, and, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, were reinterred in the cemetery there. A plain tomb covers the spot. The remains of his wife rest by his side, and the observer may there read the following inscriptions: "Gen. James Robertson, the founder of Nashville, was born in Virginia, 28th June, 1742. Died 1st September, 1814." "Charlotte R., wife of James Robertson, was born in North Carolina, 2d January, 1751. Died 11th June, 1843." Their son Dr. Felix Robertson, who was born in the fort, and the first white child whose birth was in west Tennessee, died at Nashville in 1864.

Robertson, JAMES, royal governor; born in Fifeshire, Scotland, about 1710; was deputy-quartermaster under General Abercrombie in 1758; was at the capture of Louisburg; and accompanied Amherst to Lake Champlain in 1759. He took part in the expedition against Martinique in 1762, and was afterwards stationed in New York. At Boston, in 1775, he was made major-general, Jan. 1, 1776, and at the evacuation of that city he shared in the plunder. He was in the battle of Long Island; was military governor of New York until his return to England; and, coming back, was commissioned military governor of the city of New York in May, 1779, and remained such until April, 1783, when he again returned to England, where he died, March 4, 1788.

Roberval, JEAN FRANÇOIS DE LA ROQUE, SIEUR DE, colonist; born in France, about 1500; early won distinction in the army; and was authorized by the King to colonize and govern Canada. In prosecution of his design of planting a colony in Canada Roberval sailed from France with three ships and 200 persons, and in the harbor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, met Cartier, who was on his return to Europe. He commended the country of Canada to Roberval as rich and fruitful. The latter commanded Cartier to return to the St.

ROBESON—ROBINSON

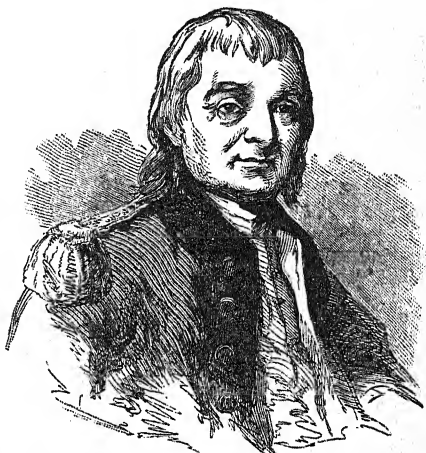
Lawrence with him, but the navigator eluded the viceroy in the night and sailed for France. Roberval sailed up the St. Lawrence some distance above the site of Quebec, built a fort, and remained there through the winter (1542-43). In the spring he explored the country above, but appears to have abandoned the enterprise soon afterwards. The colony was broken up, and for half a century the French made no further attempts to colonize Canada. In 1547 Roberval, accompanied by his brothers and a numerous train of adventurers, embarked again for the river St. Lawrence, but they were never heard of afterwards.

Robeson, GEORGE MAXWELL, lawyer; born in Belvidere, N. J., in 1829; graduated at Princeton in 1847; admitted to the bar in 1850; became attorney-general of New Jersey in 1867; Secretary of the Navy in 1869-77; elected to Congress in 1879; served three terms; resumed private practice in Trenton, N. J., where he died, Sept. 27, 1897.

Robeson, HENRY BELLOWS, naval officer; born in New Haven, Conn., Aug. 5, 1842; graduated at the Naval Academy in 1860; served through the Civil War, taking part in the engagements at Fort McRae, Charleston, Morris Island, Fort Fisher, etc. He was promoted rear-admiral, and retired March 28, 1899.

Robinson, BEVERLY, military officer; born in Virginia in 1734; was a major under Wolfe at Quebec, and afterwards married a daughter of Frederick Philipse, owner of the Philipse Manor, on the Hudson. He opposed the measures of

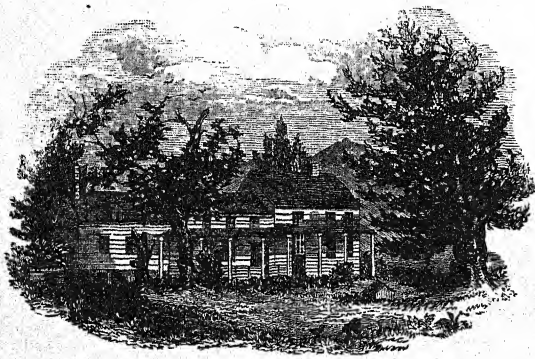
the British government up to the Declaration of Independence, when he took sides with that government; moved his family into the city of New York; raised the



BEVERLY ROBINSON.

"Loyal American Regiment," of which he was colonel, and was concerned in some degree as a sort of go-between with the treason of Arnold, who occupied Robinson's country-house, opposite West Point, at the time of that transaction. At the end of the war Robinson went to England with a portion of his family, and his property was confiscated. His house, from which Arnold fled on the discovery of his treason, was a frame building, and stood back from the river about half a mile, upon a fertile plateau at the western foot of the lofty hills on which redoubts were planted by the Americans during the Revolution. He died in Thornbury, England, in 1792.

Robinson, EDWARD, scholar; born in Southington, Conn., April 10, 1794; graduated at Hamilton College in 1816, and married a daughter of Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, who died in 1819. He became an assistant instructor in Andover Theological Seminary.



THE ROBINSON HOUSE.

ROBINSON—ROCHAMBEAU

For four years (1826-30) he travelled in Europe, where he married Thérèse, daughter of Professor Jakob, of Halle, a woman of fine literary attainments. From 1830 to 1833 he was Professor of Sacred Literature and Librarian at Andover, and from 1837 until his death was Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Dr. Robinson visited Palestine in 1838, and, with Rev. Eli Smith, made a minute survey of it, an account of which was published in Halle, London, and Boston in 1841. He made a second visit in 1852, the result of which was published in 1856. Dr. Robinson's researches in Palestine are regarded by Biblical scholars as of the first importance. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a physical and historical geography of the Holy Land. He was an active member of geographical, Oriental, and ethnological societies, and was the author or translator of several notable Greek and Hebrew lexicons, and author of many works in Biblical scholarship. He died in New York City, Jan. 27, 1863.

Robinson, Sir Frederick Phillipse, military officer; son of Beverly, the loyalist, born in the Hudson Highlands in September, 1763. In 1777, though only fourteen years of age, he was made ensign of his father's regiment of American loyalists. He was wounded and made prisoner at the capture of Stony Point. He left the United States with his father in 1783, and served in the West Indies, Spain, and Canada, rising to the rank of general in 1841. He commanded a brigade at the battle of Vittoria, Spain; was wounded at the siege of St. Sebastian; and at the close of the Peninsular War went to Canada as commander-in-chief of the forces there, and was engaged in the events of the War of 1812-15. General Robinson was Governor of Upper Canada in 1815-16, and in the former year was knighted. He received the Grand Cross in 1838. He died in Brighton, England, Jan. 1, 1852.

Robinson, John, clergyman; born presumably in Lincolnshire, England, in 1575; educated at Cambridge, and in 1602 became pastor of a Dissenting congregation at Norwich. The church was persecuted, and in 1607 the members attempted

to leave England and seek an asylum in Holland, but were prevented by officers of the law, who kept the whole company under arrest for some time. In 1608 most of them made their escape in small parties and joined each other at Amsterdam. The next year they went to Leyden, where they organized a church, and remained eleven years. In 1617 another removal was contemplated, and the pastor favored emigration to America. Agents went to England and made arrangements for such emigration, and late in 1620 a portion of the Leyden congregation, under the spiritual leadership of Elder William Brewster, reached the New England coast. Robinson intended to follow with the remainder of the congregation, but he died in Leyden, in March, 1625, before the consent of the English merchants who controlled the enterprise could be obtained. Not long afterwards the remainder of his congregation and his two sons followed the passengers in the *Mayflower*. See **BREWSTER, WILLIAM**; **PILGRIMS**.

Robinson, John Cleveland, military officer; born in Binghamton, N. Y., April 10, 1817; took a partial course of study at West Point, leaving it to study law; served in the war against Mexico, and at the beginning of the Civil War was in command of Fort McHenry, Baltimore. As brigadier-general he took command of a division in Heintzelman's corps in the battle before Richmond in 1862. He was in the principal battles in Virginia and Pennsylvania in 1863; was brevetted major-general of volunteers and major-general, United States army, lost a leg at Spottsylvania; was awarded a congressional medal of honor; and was retired as a major-general, United States army, in 1869. In 1872 he was elected lieutenant-governor of New York on the ticket headed by Gen. John A. Dix. He died in Binghamton, N. Y., Feb. 18, 1897.

Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Count de, military officer; born in Vendôme, France, July 1, 1725; entered the army at the age of sixteen years, and in 1745 became aid to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. He afterwards commanded a regiment, and was wounded at the battle of Lafeldt. He was distinguished in several battles, especially at Minden. When it was re-

ROCHE—ROCKINGHAM

solved by the French monarch to send a military force to America, Rochambeau was created a lieutenant-general and



COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

placed in command of it. He arrived at Newport, R. I., in July, 1780, and joined the American army under Washington, on the Hudson, a few miles above New York. He led his army to the Virginia peninsula, and assisted in the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781, when he was presented with one of the captured cannon. In 1783 he received the decoration of Saint Esprit, and in 1791 was made a marshal of France. Early in 1792 he was placed in command of the Army of the North, and narrowly escaped the guillotine when the Jacobins wielded supreme power in Paris. Bonaparte gave him a pension in 1804. He dictated *Memoirs* (Paris, 1809). He died in Thoré, May 10, 1807. A monument to his memory was unveiled in Washington, D. C., May 24, 1902.

Roche, MARQUIS DE LA. See ROBEVAL.

Rockefeller, JOHN DAVISON, born in Richford, N. Y., July 8, 1839; removed to Cleveland, O., in 1853; built the Standard Oil Works in Cleveland; formed the Standard Oil Trust in 1882, and the Standard Oil Company in 1892. He has been a liberal contributor to higher education in the United States, having given about \$15,000,000 to the Chicago University alone, and in 1903 about \$12,000,000 to various institutions,

including \$7,000,000 for a post-graduate medical college and hospital in Chicago.

Rockingham, CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH, MARQUIS OF, statesman; born in England, March 19, 1730; became the recognized chief of the Whig party in 1764; and the head of the cabinet in the following year. He made a vigorous effort to establish harmony between the American colonies and the mother-country, against the opposition of the King and his own colleagues. In 1766 he secured the repeal of the stamp duties, but before he was able to carry out the other measures in his scheme he was forced by growing opposition to resign his office. On March 28, 1782, when Lord North resigned the office of prime minister, the Marquis of Rockingham was again called to the head of the cabinet. The avowed principle of Rockingham and his colleagues was to acknowledge the independence of the United States and treat with them accordingly. Lord Shelburne still hoped



LORD ROCKINGHAM.

for a reconciliation and the restoration of the American colonies as a part of the British Empire. John Adams was at The Hague, negotiating a treaty

ROCK OF CHICKAMAUGA—RODGERS

of commerce, and overtures were made to him, as well as to Franklin at Paris, to ascertain whether the United States would not agree to a separate peace, and to something less than entire independence. With this object, the ministry appointed Sir Guy Carleton to supersede General Clinton in command of the British army in America, and commissioned him, along with Admiral Digby, to treat for peace. Their powers to treat were made known to Congress, but that body declined to negotiate, except in conjunction with France, in fulfilment of the agreement of the treaty of alliance at Paris. While these matters were under consideration Lord Rockingham died, July 1, 1782.

Rock of Chickamauga, a term applied to Gen. Geo. H. Thomas for his conduct in that battle.

Rocky Mount, SKIRMISH AT. When Gates was marching on Camden, S. C., in July, 1780, Col. Thomas Sumter first appeared in power on the bor-

United States Cavalry, in 1861; promoted captain in 1862; was captured at Manassas, but soon changed; appointed colonel of the 18th Pennsylvania Volunteers, April 29, 1865. After the war he was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers, and commissioned major of the 42d United States Infantry; retired as colonel because of wounds, Dec. 15, 1870. He was chief of the bureau of elections, New York City, in 1890-99. He is the author of *From Everglade to Cañon with the 2d Dragoons*.

Rodgers, JOHN, naval officer; born in Harford county, Md., July 11, 1771; entered the navy as lieutenant in 1798, and was executive officer of the frigate *Constellation*, Commodore Truxtun, which captured *L'Insurgente*. He did good service in the Mediterranean from 1802 to 1806, commanding the squadron of Commodore Barron in 1804. In the spring of 1811 he was in command of the *President*, forty-four guns, and in May had a combat



VIEW AT ROCKY MOUNT.

ders of the Catawba River. He had gathered a considerable force, and on July 30 he left Major Davie's camp, crossed to the right bank of the Catawba, and proceeded cautiously but swiftly to attack a British post at Rocky Mount. The British commander, warned of his approach by a Tory, was prepared. A sharp skirmish ensued, and Sumter was repulsed. The site of this battle is near the right bank of the Catawba River. The view in the picture is in a northeasterly direction, looking towards Lancaster district.

Rodenbough, THEOPHILUS FRANCIS, military officer; born in Easton, Pa., Nov. 5, 1838; appointed second lieutenant, 2d

with the *Little Belt* (see **PRESIDENT, THE**). His services during the War of 1812-15 were very important. When war was declared he was in the port of New York with a small squadron. He at once put to sea in pursuit of a British squadron convoying the West Indian fleet of merchantmen to England. Rodgers's flagship, the *President*, fell in with the *Belvidera*, and chased her several hours. News of this affair reaching Rear-Admiral Sawyer, at Halifax, he sent out a squadron under Captain Broke to search for Rodgers and his frigate. Broke's flag-ship was the *Shannon*, thirty-eight guns. This squadron appeared near New York early in

RODGERS, JOHN

July, and made several captures, among them the United States brig *Nautilus*, fourteen guns, Lieutenant-Commander Crane. She had arrived at New York just after Rodgers left, and went out immediately to cruise in the track of the West Indian fleet. The next day she was

R. I., having captured eleven merchant vessels and the British armed schooner *Highflyer*. Rodgers sailed northeastward, in the direction of the southern edge of the Gulf Stream, until May 8, when the *President* and *Congress* separated, near the Azores. For weeks Rodgers was singular-

ly unsuccessful, not meeting with a vessel of any kind. When his presence in British waters became known, it produced great excitement among the English shipping. Many cruisers were sent out to capture or destroy the *President*. Rodgers's supplies finally began to fail in the Northern seas, and he put into North Bergen, Norway, for the purpose of replenishment. In this, too, he was disappointed. An alarming scarcity of food prevailed all over the country, and he could only get water. He cruised about in those high latitudes, hoping to fall in with a fleet of English merchantmen that were to sail from Archangel; but, instead of these, he suddenly fell in with two British ships-of-war. Unable to contend with them, the *President* fled, hotly pursued. Owing to the perpetual daylight there, they were enabled to chase her for fully eighty hours. She finally escaped. Rodgers had got some supplies from two merchantmen which he had captured just before



COMMODORE JOHN RODGERS.

captured by the *Shannon*, and her 106 men were made prisoners. This was the first vessel of war taken on either side in that contest. A prize-crew was placed in her, and she was made one of Broke's squadron. The *Nautilus* was retaken by Captain Warrington, June 30, 1815, between Java and the islands of the East India Archipelago. She was also the last vessel captured on either side during the war. Informed of the proclamation of peace, Warrington gave up the *Nautilus* to the English and returned home.

While Commodore Porter was on his extended cruise in the Pacific Ocean (see ESSEX, THE), Commodore Rodgers was on a long cruise in the North Atlantic in his favorite frigate, the *President*. He left Boston on April 27, 1813, in company with the *Congress*, thirty-eight guns, and, after a cruise of 148 days, arrived at Newport,

meeting the men-of-war, and he turned westward to intercept such vessels coming out of the Irish Channel.

He soon afterwards met and captured these (July and August), and, after making a complete circuit of Ireland, he steered for the Banks of Newfoundland. Towards evening, Sept. 23, the *President* fell in with the British armed schooner *Highflyer*, the tender to Admiral Warren's flagship *St. Domingo*. She was a stanch vessel and fast sailer, and was commanded by Lieutenant Hutchinson, one of Cockburn's subalterns when he plundered and burned Havre de Grace, the home of Rodgers. By stratagem, the latter decoyed the *Highflyer* alongside the *President*. Rodgers had obtained some British signal-books before leaving Boston, and he had caused some signal-flags to be made on his ship. When he came in sight of the *Highflyer*, he raised a British ensign,

RODGERS

which was responded to, and a signal was also displayed at the mast-head of the *Highflyer*. Rodgers was delighted to find he possessed its complement. He signalled that his vessel was the *Sea Horse*, one of the largest of the British vessels of its class in American waters. The *Highflyer* bore down and hove to close to the *President*, and received one of Rodgers's lieutenants on board, who was dressed in British naval uniform. He bore an order from Rodgers, under an assumed name, to send his signal-books on board the *Sea Horse* to be altered, as the Yankees, it was alleged had obtained possession of some of them. Hutchinson obeyed, and Rodgers was put in possession of the whole signal correspondence of the British navy.

Hutchinson soon followed his signal-books, putting into Rodgers's hands a bundle of despatches for Admiral Warren. He told the commodore that the chief object of the admiral then was to capture the *President*, which had spread alarm in British waters. "What kind of a man is Rodgers?" asked the commodore. The unsuspecting lieutenant replied, "I have never seen him, but I am told he is an odd fish, and hard to catch." "Sir!" said Rodgers, with emphasis that startled Hutchinson, "do you know what vessel you are on board of?" The lieutenant answered, "Why, yes, sir, his Majesty's ship *Sea Horse*." "Then, sir," said Rodgers, "you labor under a mistake; you are on board the *President*, and I am Commodore Rodgers." At that moment the band struck up *Yankee Doodle* on the *President's* quarter-deck, the American ensign was displayed, and the uniforms of the marines were suddenly changed from red to blue. The lieutenant was astonished and utterly overwhelmed with shame, for the sword at his side had been taken from Rodgers's house at Havre de Grace. He had been instructed not to fall into the hands of Rodgers, for, it was alleged, the commodore would hang him to the yard-arm. But Rodgers treated him with great courtesy, and soon afterwards released him on parole. This transaction occurred off the New England coast, and three days afterwards Rodgers entered Newport Harbor with his prize. In December he cruised southward with

some success, and finally he dashed through the British blockading squadron off Sandy Hook (Feb. 14, 1814) and sailed into New York Harbor. He was entertained at a banquet in New York, at which he gave the following toast: "Peace—if it can be obtained without the sacrifice of national honor or the abandonment of maritime rights; otherwise war until peace shall be secured without the sacrifice of either." From 1815 to 1824 he was president of the board of naval commissioners, acting as Secretary of the Navy a while in the latter part of 1823. On his return from a cruise in the Mediterranean (1824-27) he was again in the board of naval commissioners, which position he relinquished in 1837. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 1, 1838.

Rodgers, JOHN, naval officer; born in Harford county, Md., Aug. 8, 1812; son of the preceding; entered the navy in 1828. He was made captain in July, 1862; commanded the *Hancock* in an exploring expedition to the North Pacific

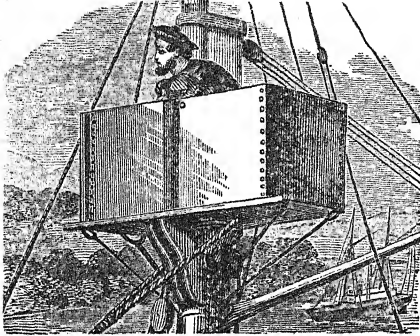


REAR-ADMIRAL JOHN RODGERS.

and China seas (1853-56), and in 1862 superintended the construction of iron-clad gunboats on Western waters. In 1862 he was assigned to command an expedition up the James River. When Huger fled from Norfolk, the Confederate flotilla

RODMAN—RODNEY

went up the James River, pursued by Commodore Rodgers, whose flag-ship was the *Galena*, the round-top of which was iron-clad, so as to make it a safe lookout.



AN ARMORED LOOKOUT.

The pursuers met with no obstructions until they approached Drury's Bluff, a bank on the right side of the James, nearly 200 feet in height, about 8 miles below Richmond. Below this point were two rows of obstructions in the river, formed by spiles and sunken vessels, and the shores were lined with rifle-pits filled with sharpshooters. The *Galena* anchored within 600 yards of the battery, and opened fire upon it on the morning of May 15. A sharp fight was kept up until after eleven o'clock, when the ammunition of the *Galena* was nearly expended, and the flotilla withdrew. Rodgers lost in the attack twenty-seven men and a 100-pound rifled cannon, which burst on board the gunboat *Naugatuck*, disabling her. The Confederate loss in the battery was ten. Rodgers fell back to City Point. In June, 1863, in the monitor *Weehawken*, he captured the powerful Confederate ram *Atlanta* in Wassaw Sound. In the monitor *Monadnock*, he made the passage around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1867; and in 1871 he captured the Korean forts, with the Asiatic fleet. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1869; commanded the Asiatic Squadron in 1870-72; and was superintendent of the Naval Observatory from 1877 till his death, in Washington, D. C., May 5, 1882.

Rodman, THOMAS JEFFERSON, military officer; born in Salem, Ind., July 30,

1815; graduated at West Point in 1841; entered the ordnance department; brevetted brigadier-general in 1865; promoted lieutenant-colonel, United States army, in 1867; best known as the inventor of the Rodman gun and for his services in the manufacture of ordnance and projectiles. He died in Rock Island, Ill., June 7, 1871.

Rodney, CÆSAR, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Dover, Del., Oct. 7, 1728. At the age of twenty-eight he was appointed sheriff of Kent county, Del., and afterwards was a judge. He represented his district in the legislature, and was sent to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765. For several years he was speaker of the Delaware Assembly; was a member of the committee of correspondence, and of Congress in 1774 and afterwards. Made a brigadier-general, he was active in supplying Delaware troops to the army under Washington, and, early in 1777, was in command of the Delaware line in New Jersey. From 1778 to 1782 he was president of his State. He died in Dover, Del., June 29, 1784.

Rodney, CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, legislator; born in Dover, Del., Jan. 4, 1772; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1789; admitted to the bar in 1793; elected to Congress from Delaware in 1803; became Attorney-General of the United States in 1807. He served in the War of 1812; was appointed by President Monroe to report upon the status of the Spanish-American republics in 1817; re-elected to Congress in 1820, and to the United States Senate in 1822; appointed minister to the Argentine Republic in 1823. He published a *Report upon the Present State of the United Provinces of South America* (1819). He died in Buenos Ayres, South America, June 10, 1824.

Rodney, GEORGE BRYDGES, naval officer; born in Walton-upon-Thames, England, Feb. 19, 1718; joined the British navy in 1730; was promoted admiral in 1779, and appointed commander-in-chief of the West Indies Station. In April, 1780, he broke through the French squadron under Count de Guichen, near Martinique. In recognition of this feat he received the thanks of Parliament and a pension of £2,000. In April, 1782, he fought Count de Grasse in the Dominica Channel, W. I., and after a severe battle

ROE—ROGERS

of twelve hours won a signal victory, which led to an armistice and the peace of 1783. On his arrival in England, in September, 1782, Rodney was hailed as a national hero, created a peer, and voted an additional pension of £2,000, which after his death reverted to his heirs. He died in London, England, May 21, 1792.

Roe, CHARLES FRANCIS, military officer; born in New York, May 1, 1848; graduated at West Point in 1868; resigned from the army in 1888; was active in the New York State militia; and was appointed major-general, N. G. S. N. Y., and brigadier-general, United States volunteers in 1898.

Roe, FRANCIS ASBURY, naval officer; born in Elmira, N. Y., Oct. 4, 1823; appointed midshipman in 1841; served through the Civil War, taking part in the battle on the Mississippi below New Orleans; promoted rear-admiral in 1884. He died in Washington, D. C., Dec. 28, 1901.

Roebling, JOHN AUGUSTUS, civil engineer; born in Muhlhausen, Germany, June

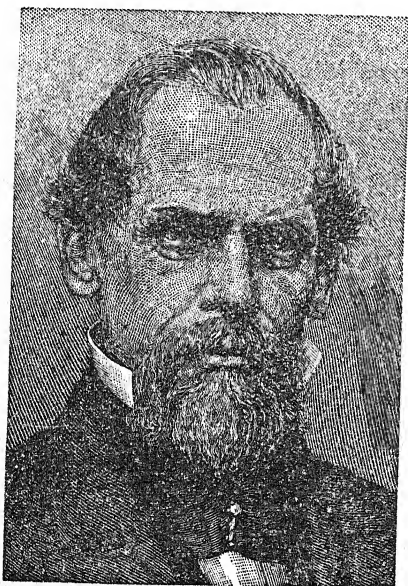
Pittsburg, Pa. Later he began the manufacture of iron and steel wire, which he discovered could be used with efficacy in the building of bridges. In 1844-45 he directed the construction of a bridge over the Alleghany River at Pittsburg, in which were used the first suspension wire cables ever seen in the United States. After successfully building several other suspension bridges he moved his wire factory to Trenton, N. J. In 1851-55 he constructed the New York Central Railroad suspension bridge across the Niagara River. This work at the time was considered one of the wonders of the world, and was followed by the construction of other great bridges, including that between Cincinnati and Covington. In 1868 he was appointed chief engineer of the Brooklyn Bridge, his plans for which had been approved by a commission of eminent engineers. He was the author of *Long and Short Span Railway Bridges*. He died in Brooklyn, N. Y., July 22, 1869.

Roebling, WASHINGTON AUGUSTUS, engineer; born in Saxenburg, Pa., May 26, 1837; son of John Augustus Roebling; graduated at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1857; served in the National army during the Civil War, rising from private to brevet-colonel. On the death of his father he had entire charge of the completion of the suspension bridge between Brooklyn and New York. See BRIDGES.

Rogers, HORATIO, jurist; born in Providence, R. I., May 18, 1836; graduated at Brown University in 1855; admitted to the bar in 1858; was in the National army during the Civil War, rising from first lieutenant to brevet brigadier-general; appointed justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island in 1891. He is the author of *Private Libraries of Providence*, and *Mary Dyer of Rhode Island*; and the editor of *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books*.

Rogers, JOHN, sculptor; born in Salem, Mass., Oct. 30, 1829; well known as the sculptor of small statuette groups issued during the Civil War, many of which were of war subjects. He died in New Canaan, Conn., July 26, 1904.

Rogers, ROBERT, military officer; born in Dunbarton, N. H., in 1727. Raising a corps of rangers, he was commissioned a major, and he and his men became



JOHN AUGUSTUS ROEBLING.

12, 1806; graduated at the Berlin Royal Polytechnic School in 1826; came to the United States in 1829, and settled near

ROGERSVILLE—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

renowned for their exploits during the French and Indian War. In 1759 he destroyed the Indian village of St. Francis, and in 1760 was sent by General Amherst to take possession of Detroit and other Western posts ceded to the English by the French. Going to England, he there published his journal, which he presented to the King, who, in 1765, made him governor of Michilimackinac (Mackinaw); but he was shortly afterwards sent to Montreal, in irons, to be tried on a charge of a design to plunder the fort and join the French. He was acquitted, went to England, was presented to the King, and was soon afterwards imprisoned for debt. Released, he went to Algiers and fought in two battles for the Dey. Returning to America, he joined the royalists on the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and raised the famous corps known as the "Queen's Rangers." Rogers published two works on the French and Indian War, as well as two or three other books. He died in England, about 1800.

Rogersville, SURPRISE AT. In November, 1863, Colonel Garrard, of General Shackleford's command, with two regiments and a battery, was posted at Rogersville, in east Tennessee, and there was suddenly attacked on the 6th by Confederates under Gen. W. E. Jones, about 2,000 in number. It was a surprise. The Nationals were routed, with a loss of 750 men, four guns, and thirty-six wagons. This disaster created great alarm. Shackleford's troops at Jonesboro and Greenville fled in haste back to Bull's Gap, and the Confederates, not doubting Shackleford's horsemen would be after them in great force, fled as hastily towards Virginia, in the opposite direction.

Roman Catholic Church. On the subject of Roman Catholicism of modern times and its work and purpose in the United States, Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the American Catholic Church, writes as follows:

The Roman Church has had a message for all humanity in every age ever since St. Clement penned his famous epistle to the Corinthians, or St. Victor caused the Christian world to meet in special councils for the solution of a universal diffi-

culty. It is no mere coincidence that, at the opening of the last century of this mystical and wonderful cycle of 2,000 years, the Bishop of Rome should again address the world in tones whose moderation and sympathy recall the temper and the arguments of St. Clement, his far-away predecessor and disciple of St. Peter.

The year 1800 was a very disheartening one for Catholicism. It still stood erect and hopeful, but in the midst of a political and social wreckage, the result of a century of scepticism and destructive criticism that acted at last as sparks for an ungovernable popular frenzy, during which the old order appeared to pass away forever and a new one was inaugurated with every manifestation of joy. The tree of political liberty was everywhere planted, and the peoples of Europe promised themselves a life of unalloyed comfort for all future time. Catholicism was the religion of the majority of these people, and was cunningly obliged to bear the brunt of all their complaints, justified and unjustifiable; although the authorities of Catholicism had long protested against many of the gravest abuses of the period, sustained in formal defiance of the principles and institutions of the Catholic religion. The new Cæsar threatened to be more terrible to the independence of religion than any ancient one, and the revenues and establishments by which Catholicism had kept up its public standing and earned the esteem and gratitude of the people were swept away or *quasi* ruined.

With this overturning of all the conditions of Catholic life came new problems, new trials, and a period of indefinite, uncertain circumstances that were finally set at rest only at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, by which an end was put to the political changes that began with the Revolution of 1789.

The *modus vivendi* then reached, and soon consecrated by a series of concordats, has remained substantially the basis of the dealings of Catholicism with the governments of the Old World. Only one formal and permanent violation of this legal situation has taken place, the violent and unjust dispossession of the Holy See by the government of the House of Savoy, in flagrant violation of every title

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that could be invoked by a legitimate civil power. Elsewhere Catholicism has undergone much suffering, both in the states of the Old World and in the republics of South America. But, the above vital conflict apart, the nineteenth century closed with no very acute or intolerable condition of things, although there is much that does not reply to our ideas of fairness and justice.

The chief event of the century, from the point of view of Roman Catholicism, is undoubtedly the holding of the Vatican council. Since the council of Trent the bishops of the Catholic world had not met in common under the guidance of the Bishop of Rome. The gravest interests of religion seemed at stake after more than a century of public infidelity and the overthrow of all former safeguards of faith. The character of doctrinal authority and its visible tangible possessor were declared by the dogma of Papal infallibility. The genuine relations of reason and revelation were set forth in unmistakable language.

A general council is the very highest act of the life of the Church, since it presents within a small compass, and at once, all the movements that have been developing in the course of centuries, and offers to all the faithful and to all outside the Church straightforward answers to all the great ecclesiastical problems that come up for settlement. Had the Vatican council been finished it would have taken up the grave subject of ecclesiastical discipline. That is reserved for the reopening of the council at some future date.

In the United States, particularly, the Catholic episcopate has been very active in providing for the most fundamental spiritual needs of their flocks—churches for religious services, priests for the administration of sacraments, schools for the preservation of the revealed Christian faith, orphanages for the little waifs and castaways of society. Whether short or long, the periods of government of these Church rulers have never been idle nor marked by self-indulgence. Almost every one has left some monument of faith as a contribution to the general good of Catholicism. I would neither exaggerate nor boast, yet it occurs to me, after many years of service, travel, and

observation, that few ages of Christianity can show a more laborious and elevated episcopate than the nineteenth century.

The recruiting of the diocesan clergy has been the gravest duty of this episcopate, for religion lives by and for men. It can get along without wealth or monuments, but not without intelligent teachers of its tenets and faithful observers of its precepts. In keeping with the decrees of the council of Trent diocesan seminaries have been opened where it was possible, and elsewhere provincial institutions of a similar character. Both flourish in the United States, and grow more numerous with every decade. The older clergy, long drawn from the venerable schools of Europe, have left a sweet odor among us, the purest odors of self-sacrificing lives, of devotion to poor and scattered flocks, of patient, uncomplaining contentment with the circumstances of poverty and humility. There is no diocese in the United States where there cannot be heard tales of the hardships and brave lives of the ecclesiastics who laid the foundations of religion. We remember them always, and hold their names in benediction. The younger generation of our clergy enjoys advantages denied to its predecessors; but we consider that they owe it to those predecessors if they have a degree of leisure to perfect the culture of their minds, and a faithful Catholic people to ask for the benefits which must accrue from greater learning, if it be solid and well directed.

Yet I cannot admit that our older clergy were deficient in the learning of the schools. The names of England and Corcoran are at once on our lips, not to speak of a long array of others almost equally entitled to distinguished mention. If the external conditions of the diocesan clergy have improved, their relations to the Church authority have been safeguarded with even greater earnestness and efficiency. The dispositions of synods, provincial councils, and the three plenary councils of Baltimore have, we are happy to say, had little to do with questions of doctrine. They have all been held for the improvement of discipline and notably for the welfare of the clergy. In the same direction, also, have tended the numerous decisions and instructions from the Ro-

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man congregations, whose wisdom has never been invoked by us in vain, and whose sympathy for our conditions we gratefully acknowledge.

Any account of the good influence of the Holy See on our ecclesiastical conditions would be unjust and incomplete if the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide were omitted. To it we owe an unceasing surveillance, full of prudence and intelligence. From its offices have come to the bishops regularly counsel, warning, encouragement, co-operation.

In the religious orders and communities the Catholic Church possesses a very ancient auxiliary force that has rendered incalculable help during the nineteenth century. By their numbers, their strong inherited traditions, their central government, their willing obedience, and their other resources they have come everywhere to the aid of the bishops and the diocesan clergy. Often they bore alone and for a long time, and at great sacrifices, the whole burden of religion. Their praise is rightly on all sides, and their works speak for them, when their modesty and humility forbid them to praise themselves. The missions of Catholicism have largely fallen to them. They stood in the breach for the cause of education when the churches were too poor and few to open colleges. They have given countless missions and retreats, and in general have not spared themselves when called upon for works of general utility. They and their works are of the essence of Catholicism, and they ought rightly to flourish in any land where they are free to live according to the precepts and the spirit of their founders, who are often canonized saints of the Catholic Church.

I shall not be saying too much when I assert that among the invaluable services rendered to the Church by Catholic women of all conditions of life—no unique thing in the history of Catholicism—those rendered by the women of religious communities are of the first rank of merit. Primary Catholic education, in the United States, would have been almost impossible without their devotion. It is owing to them that the orphans have been collected and cared for, the sick housed and sheltered, the poor and helpless and aged, the crippled and the blind, looked after

regularly and lovingly. They surely walk in the footsteps of Jesus, doing good wherever they go. The perennial note of sanctity in the Catholic Church shines especially in them. Content with food and clothing and shelter, they devote their lives, often in the very flower of youth and health and beauty, to the weak and needful members of Christian society. He must needs be a Divine Master who can so steadily charm into His service the purest and the most affectionate of hearts, and cause them to put aside deliberately for love of Him even the most justifiable of human attachments. This argument for Christianity is not new; it was urged by St. Justin the Martyr on the libertine world of the Antonines.

In our own beloved country, the United States, we have every reason to be thankful that the liberty to worship God according to the dictates of conscience is guaranteed by the Constitution, and has entered deeply into the convictions of our fellow-citizens. The Catholic Church, by her own constitution, is deeply sympathetic with our national life and all that it stands for. She has thrived in the atmosphere of liberty, and seeks only the protection of the common law, that equal justice which is dealt out to all.

When this nation was forming, the first Catholic bishop in the United States, and my first predecessor in the see of Baltimore, John Carroll, accepted and performed satisfactorily the gravest public duty of a citizen, an embassy to another people for the benefit of his own country. Thereby he left to us all an example and a teaching that we shall ever cherish, the example of self-sacrifice as the prime duty of every citizen, and the teaching that patriotism is a holy conviction to which no Catholic, priest or layman, can hold himself foreign or apathetic.

A Catholic layman of the same distinguished family, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, threw in his lot with the patriots from the beginning, and by word and deed served the cause of American liberty, while he lived to see it flourish and inform more and more the minds and hearts of the first generation of American citizens. In future centuries, as in this, his name will be held in honor and benediction as a signer of the Declaration of

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Independence. His Catholic belief and conduct will forever be a potent encouragement to the children of his own faith. He was the first layman to contribute notably to the cause of Catholic education, and the native formation of the priesthood, by the establishment of a college for that purpose.

We have done our best in these ten decades to provide the best education for our people and our priests. Intimately convinced that general education without religion is destined to be an evil rather than a blessing, we have created all over the United States a system of primary education in parochial schools that has cost us and yet costs us the gravest sacrifices and entails the heaviest solicitudes. Yet we feel that we are serving the cause of God and country by indoctrinating our Catholic youth with persuasions of the existence of God and His holy attributes, of the true nature of vice and virtue, of conscience and sin, of the spiritual and the temporal, of the proper purposes of life, of punishment and reward in an immortal life. We believe that Christianity is better than paganism; also that Christianity is something simple, positive, historical, that can and ought to be taught from the cradle to the grave, good for all conditions, for both sexes, and for every situation in life this side of the common grave. Believing this, we have shaped our conduct accordingly, and trust to God for the issue. In such matters it imports more to be right in principle than to be successful. Our secondary system of education has gone on from the founding of the republic. Colleges for boys and academies for girls have risen up in every State and Territory, have been supported by the faithful people, and are doing an incalculable good. As our means increase and other advantages offer, we hope to improve them; Catholicism is no stagnant pool, but a field for every good private initiative that respects right and truth. In the Catholic University of America, founded in the last decade of the century by Pope Leo XIII. and the Catholic hierarchy, after due and lengthy deliberation, and made possible by the magnificent generosity of a Catholic woman, we have centred our hopes for a system of higher education that shall embody the best tradi-

tions of our ancient Church and the approved gains of our own times. American Catholics have not disposed in the past of great wealth, inherited or earned; hence all these works mean an incredible devotion and intensity of good-will and sustained sacrifices. Wherever the Catholic Church has been strong and successful, schools of every kind flourish. I need only recall the fact that the idea, the constitution, the functions, the influences of a university were unknown in the world until she created the type in the Middle Ages, and gave over to mankind a new factor in civil and religious life—the power of organized learning.

For the last 100 years one line of thought and action has been gradually disengaging itself from all others and dominating them. That is the social movement, or the tendency towards a more evenly just and natural conception of all the relations that arise from the common dwelling of mankind in organized society. It has long taken the form of institutions and plans for the betterment of the conditions of the people, of woman, of all who suffer or think they suffer from the actual organization of society. If there is something Utopian in certain plans or hopes, there is too much that is justifiable at the root of other attempts to reorganize our social conditions. Not to speak of the undesirable inheritances of the past, the new conditions created for the common man by the spread of industrialism and commercialism have often been painful in the extreme, and have aroused both violent protests and deep sympathy. By the help of God we have abolished the reproach of slavery in every civilized land, but we hear from the laboring multitudes a vague cry that they are already in the throes of a return to that accursed institution.

Here the doctrines of Catholicism are eminently in accord with the right conception of human nature, the functions of authority and mutual help or charity, the duty to live, and the right to all the necessary means for that end. She is sympathetic, historically and naturally, to the toiling masses, who, after all, form everywhere the bulk of her adherents, and have been always the most docile and affectionate of her members. It is she who

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created in the world the practical working idea of a common humanity, the basis of all genuine social improvement. The trials of Catholicism have come more often from the luxury and the sin of those in high places than from the disaffection of its great masses. As this movement has gathered force, and passed from theories into the domain of action, the Catholic Church, through her head, has followed it with attention and respect. The whole pontificate of Leo XIII. is remarkable for acts and documents which have passed into the history of social endeavor in the nineteenth century. His personal charities, large and enlightened, are as nothing in comparison with the far-reaching acts like the refusal to condemn the association of the Knights of Labor. His encyclical on the condition of workingmen recalls the only possible lines of a final concord between labor and capital—the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, the best Friend our common humanity ever had. In the same way, his latest encyclical on Jesus Christ, with which the religious history of the century closes, emphasizes the true basis for the restoration of peace and harmony and justice between the poor and the rich, between the producers of capital and the capital that stimulates and regulates production. We may be confident that the papacy of the future will not show less enlightenment and sympathy in its attempts to solve these delicate and grave problems with the least injustice and the greatest charity.

It would be idle to deny or to palliate the many shadows that fall across the history of Catholicism in the century that has elapsed. I scarcely need refer to the weaknesses and errors of her individual children: such acts she repudiates, and when she can chastises remedially. But the Church has not recovered that vast inherited moral power over the public life which it enjoyed before the French Revolution. In many ways the consequences of atheism, materialism, and even of deism, have been deduced into manners and institutions, to the detriment of the ancient Christian morality. The sterner Christian virtue of previous centuries, founded on the Christian revelation, has been forced out of the public life of whole

peoples. Expediency, opportunism, moral cowardice have often triumphed over the plain right and the fair truth. The principle has been established that God is on the side of the great battalions, is ever with the strong men of blood and iron. Ancient and venerable sovereignties have been hypocritically dispossessed. Small nationalities have been erased from the world's political map, and the history of the near past almost justifies the rumors of impending steps in the same direction. With the increase of greatness in states comes an increase of warlike perils, not only from commercial rivalry, but from that root of ambition and domination which grows in every heart, unless checked and subdued in time, and which in the past has been too often the source of violent injustice on the greatest scale.

Apostolic delegation to the United States.—Diomedeo Falconio, Archbishop of Larissa, Papal Delegate, Washington, D. C. Archbishops.—Baltimore, Md., James Gibbons, Cardinal, consecrated 1868; Boston, Mass., John J. Williams, 1866; Chicago, Ill., James E. Quigley, 1899; Cincinnati, O., William H. Elder, 1857; Dubuque, Ia., John J. Keane, 1878; Milwaukee, Wis. (vacancy in 1904); New Orleans, La., P. L. Chapelle, 1897; New York, N. Y., John M. Farley, 1895; Portland, Ore., Alexander Christie, 1898; Philadelphia, Pa., Patrick J. Ryan, 1872; St. Louis, Mo., T. F. Glennon, 1896; St. Paul, Minn., John Ireland, 1875; San Francisco, Cal., Patrick W. Reardon, 1883; Santa Fé, New Mexico, Peter Bourgade, 1887.

Romans, BERNARD, engineer; born in Holland about 1720; was employed as an engineer in America by the British government, some time before the Revolution. While in government employ as a botanist, in New York, and engaged in the publication of a *Natural History of Florida*, the committee of safety of that city offered him the position of military engineer. He accepted the service, and was afterwards employed by Congress to fortify the Highlands east of West Point. At or near the close of the war he was captured at sea, on his way to Charleston, taken to England, and in 1784 embarked for America. It is supposed he was murdered on the passage. He published a *Map of the Seat of Civil War*

ROMNEY—ROOSEVELT

in America, 1775; also *Annals of the Troubles in the Netherlands, from the Accession of Charles V.*, which was dedicated to Governor Trumbull.

Romney, SKIRMISH AT. One of the most important of the earlier military operations of the Civil War, in its moral effect, was performed under the direction of Col. Lew. Wallace, with his regiment of Zouaves, the 11th Indiana, raised by himself, and presented with its colors by the women of Indiana. It was sent to Evansville, in southern Indiana, on the Ohio River, to prevent supplies of any kind being sent to the South. There, as a police force, it chafed with impatience for more active service, and on June 6, 1861, it was ordered to proceed to Cumberland, Md., and join General Patterson, then moving from Pennsylvania towards Harper's Ferry, where the Confederate Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was with a strong force. Travelling by railway, the regiment reached Grafton, Va., very soon, and on the night of the 9th was near Cumberland. At Romney, Va., only a day's march south from Cumberland, there was then a Confederate force, about 1,200 strong. Wallace resolved to attack it at once. Led by faithful guides along an unguarded mountain road, at night, Wallace, with 800 of his men (having left the others at New Creek), made a perilous journey, and got near Romney at 8 P.M. on June 11.

In a narrow pass, half a mile from the bridge that spanned the south branch of the Potomac at Romney, the advance of the Zouaves was fired upon by Confederate pickets. The camp of the latter was on a bluff near the village, where they had planted two cannon. The Indians pressed forward, drove the Confederates before them, and, pushing directly up the hill, captured the battery. After a slight skirmish, the Confederates fled in terror to the forest, leaving only women and children (excepting negroes) in the village. Having no cavalry with which to pursue the fugitives, Wallace at once retraced his steps and returned to Cumberland. In the space of twenty-four hours he and his men had travelled 87 miles without rest (46 of them on foot), engaged in a brisk skirmish, "and, what is more," reported the gallant colonel, "my men are ready to repeat it tomorrow." The indomitable energy, skill, and spirit displayed in this dash on Romney had a salutary effect, and made the Confederates in all that region more circumspect. According to the Richmond papers, it so alarmed Johnston by its boldness and its menace of his line of communication with Richmond and Manassas (for he supposed it to be the advance of a much larger force near), that he immediately evacuated Harper's Ferry and moved up the Shenandoah Valley to Winchester.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE

Roosevelt, THEODORE, twenty-sixth President of the United States; from Sept. 14, 1901, to March 4, 1905; Republican; born in New York City, Oct. 27, 1858; graduated at Harvard College in 1880; member of the New York legislature in 1882-84; defeated as Republican candidate for mayor of New York City in 1886; national civil service commissioner in 1889-95; and president of the New York police board in 1895-97. He was then appointed assistant Secretary of the Navy and served till war was declared against Spain, when he resigned, and with Surgeon (now Brig.-Gen.) Leonard Wood, recruited the 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, which received the popular name

of the "Rough Riders." He served in Cuba as lieutenant-colonel of this regiment, which greatly distinguished itself during the war, and was promoted colonel in recognition of his bravery during the engagement at LAS GUASIMAS (*q. v.*). He was elected governor of New York in 1898, and Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with President McKinley in 1900. His publications include *Winning of the West*; *Life of Thomas Hart Benton*; *Life of Gouverneur Morris*; *Naval War of 1812*; *History of New York*; *American Ideals and Other Essays*; *The Wilderness Hunter*; *Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail*; *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*; *The Rough Riders*;

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The Strenuous Life; and *Life of Cromwell*, and a large number of magazine articles.

Mr. Roosevelt belongs to one of the old Dutch families which have been connected with New York since the days of the Dutch supremacy. As a boy he was rather

and was selected as the candidate for the governorship on the first ballot by a vote of nearly three-fourths of the delegates of the convention. The campaign was a very picturesque one, and resulted in Mr. Roosevelt's election by a majority of 18,000 votes.

During the winter of 1899 and 1900 suggestions that Governor Roosevelt be nominated for Vice-President were made by the politicians and by the public. The governor discouraged the idea and on Feb. 12 spoke as follows:

"In view of the continued statements in the press that I may be urged as a candidate for Vice-President, and in view of the many letters that reach me advising for and against such a course, it is proper for me to state definitely that under no circumstances could I or would I accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

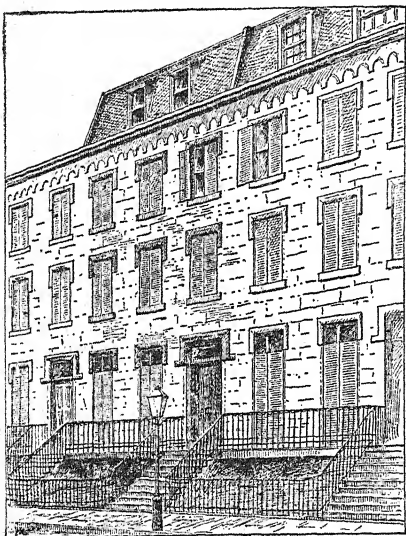
"It is needless to say how deeply I appreciate the honor conferred upon me by the mere desire to place me in so high and dignified a position; but it seems to me clear that at the present time my duty is here in the State whose people chose me to be governor. Great problems have been faced and are being partly solved in this State at this time, and, if the people so desire, I hope that the work thus begun I may help carry to a successful conclusion."

As the demand for his nomination was unanimous at the convention at Philadelphia, Governor Roosevelt accepted the mandate of the convention.

When the President was shot, Sept. 6, 1901, Mr. Roosevelt reached Buffalo on the morning of Sept. 14, and took the oath of office before Judge John R. Hazel. His first official acts were the issuing of a proclamation appointing Sept. 19 as a day of mourning, and a request to the members of the cabinet to retain their portfolios.

In 1904 Roosevelt was unanimously nominated, and elected by a very large majority (see **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**).

It was at President Roosevelt's suggestion that the Russian and Japanese envoys met at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 9, 1905, for the purpose of negotiating peace. These negotiations ended happily, Sept. 5. During the Russo-Japanese war, President Roosevelt called for a second meeting of the Hague Conference.



THE BIRTHPLACE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
28 East Twentieth Street, New York City.

delicate in health, but possessing great nervous power and a strong will he succeeded through an out-door life, combined with athletics and sport, in so building up his physique that he became an all-around athlete. While a thorough party man, he never hesitated to attack all suspicious legislation, openly and boldly, whether the measures were promoted by his political friends or enemies.

For some years he lived on his Dakota ranch, hunting big game, raising cattle, and doing literary work. His acquaintance with, and influence over, the cowboys of the West resulted in thousands trying to join the regiment of Rough Riders, which was composed of cowboys, millionaires, and society men, who met on the common plane of patriotism and love of adventure.

After the Spanish War Mr. Roosevelt was the most popular man in the Republican party of the State of New York,

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This was accepted by all the powers, and the meeting will probably take place in the latter part of 1906.

The following address, delivered Sept. 2, 1901, at the State fair at Minneapolis, in its frank treatment of the political problems of the day, forms a fit pendant to that made by McKINLEY (*q. v.*) Sept. 5, 1901.

The Law of High, Resolute Endeavor.

—In his admirable series of studies of twentieth-century problems Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out that we are a nation of pioneers; that the first colonists to our shores were pioneers, and that pioneers selected out from among the descendants of these early pioneers, mingled with others selected afresh from the Old World, pushed westward into the wilderness, and laid the foundations for new commonwealths. They were men of hope and expectation, of enterprise and energy; for the men of dull content or more dull despair had no part in the great movement into and across the New World. Our country has been populated by pioneers, and therefore it has in it more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power than any other in the wide world.

You whom I am now addressing stand, for the most part, but one generation removed from these pioneers. You are typical Americans, for you have done the great, the characteristic, the typical work of our American life. In making homes and carving out careers for yourselves and your children, you have built up this State; throughout our history the success of the home-maker has been but another name for the upbuilding of the nation. The men who with axe in the forest, and pick in the mountains and plough on the prairies, pushed to completion the dominion of our people over the American wilderness have given the definite shape to our nation. They have shown the qualities of daring, endurance, and far-sightedness, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which go to make up the essential manliness of the American character. Above all they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life—the law of worthy work, the law of high, resolute endeavor. We have but little room among our people for the timid,

the irresolute, and the idle, and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.

Surely in speaking to the sons of men who actually did the rough and hard and infinitely glorious work of making the great Northwest what it now is, I need hardly insist upon the righteousness of this doctrine. In your own vigorous lives you show by every act how scant is your patience with those who do not see in the life of effort the life supremely worth living. Sometimes we hear those who do not work spoken of with envy. Surely the wilfully idle need arouse in the breast of a healthy man no emotion stronger than that of contempt—at the outside, no emotion stronger than angry contempt.

The feeling of envy would have in it an admission of inferiority on our part, to which the men who know not the sterner joys of life are not entitled. Poverty is a bitter thing, but it is not as bitter as the existence of restless vacuity and physical, moral, and intellectual flabbiness to which those doom themselves who elect to spend all their years in that vainest of all vain pursuits, the pursuit of mere pleasure as a sufficient end in itself. The wilfully idle man, like the wilfully barren woman, has no place in a sane, healthy, and vigorous community. Moreover, the gross and hideous selfishness for which each stands defeats even its own miserable aims. Exactly as infinitely the happiest woman is she who has borne and brought up many healthy children—so infinitely the happiest man is he who has toiled hard and successfully in his life work. The work may be done in a thousand different ways; with the brain or the hands, in the study, the field, or the workshop; if it is honest work, honestly done and well worth doing, that is all we have a right to ask. Every father and mother here, if they are wise, will bring up their children not to shirk difficulties, but to meet them and overcome them; not to strive after a life of ignoble ease, but to strive to do their duty, first to themselves and their families and then to the whole State; and this duty must inevitably take the shape of work in some form or other. You, the sons of pioneers, if you are true to your ancestry,

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must make your lives as worthy as they made theirs. They sought for true success, and therefore they did not seek ease. They knew that success comes only to those who lead the life of endeavor.

It seems to me that the simple acceptance of this fundamental fact of American life, this acknowledgment that the law of work is the fundamental law of our being, will help us to start aright in facing not a few of the problems that confront us from without and from within. As regards internal affairs, it should teach us the prime need of remembering that after all has been said and done, the chief factor in any man's success or failure must be his own character; that is, the sum of his common-sense, his courage, his virile energy and capacity. Nothing can take the place of this individual factor.

I do not for a moment mean that much cannot be done to supplement it. Besides each of us working individually, all of us have got to work together. We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless all of us know how to act in combination as well as how to act each individually for himself. The acting in combination can take many forms, but, of course, its most effective form must be when it comes in the shape of law; that is, of action by the community as a whole through the law-making body.

But it is not possible ever to insure prosperity merely by law. Something for good can be done by law, and a bad law can do an infinity of mischief; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrong and injustice, and give to the thrifty, the far-seeing, and the hard-working a chance to exercise to the best advantage their special and peculiar abilities. No hard and fast rule can be laid down as to where our legislation shall stop in interfering between man and man, between interest and interest. All that can be said is that it is highly undesirable, on the one hand, to weaken individual initiative, and on the other hand, that in a constantly increasing number of cases we shall find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning as in the past we have shackled force.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests

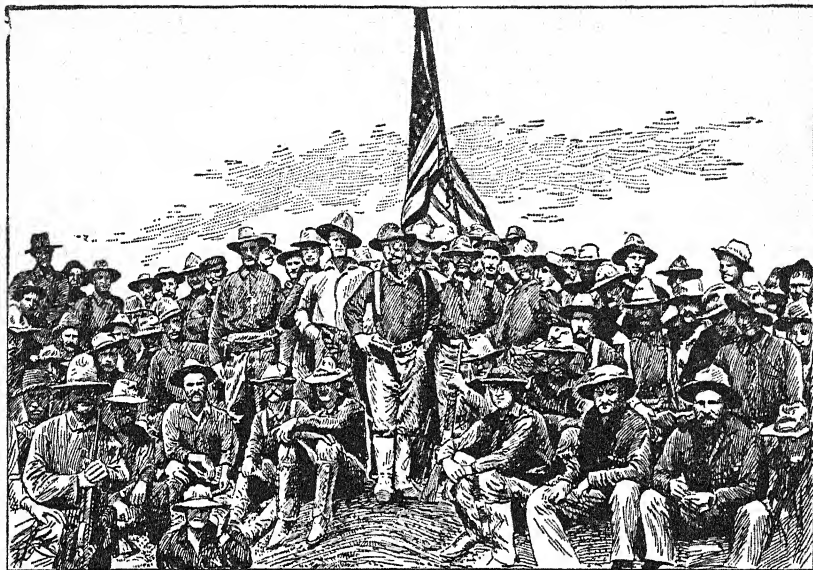
of wage-workers, and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantages under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience, and will do right only under fear of punishment.

Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions, and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and the nation towards property.

It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community; and this, no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them. There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth as such, and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity, and therefore to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental properties of American citizenship. Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run we go up or go down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control, as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations, which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency. The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint; but it should exist, so that it may be invoked if the need arises.

So much for our duties, each to himself and each to his neighbor, within the limits of our own country. But our country, as it strides forward with ever-increasing rapidity to a foremost place among the world powers, must necessarily find, more and more, that it has world duties also.

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ROOSEVELT AND THE ROUGH RIDERS AT SANTIAGO, CUBA.

There are excellent people who believe that we can shirk these duties, and yet retain our self-respect; but these good people are in error. Other people seek to deter us from treading the path of hard but lofty duty by bidding us remember that all nations that have achieved greatness, that have expanded and played their part as world powers, have in the end passed away. So they have, and so have all others.

The weak and the stationary have vanished as surely as, and more rapidly than, those whose citizens felt within them the life that impels generous souls to great and noble effort. This is another way of stating the universal law of death, which is itself part of the universal law of life. The man who works, the man who does great deeds, in the end dies as surely as the veriest idler who cumbars the earth's surface; but he leaves behind him the great fact that he has done his work well. So it is with nations. While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die, yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also

die; and whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, forevermore. The Roman has passed away, exactly as all nations of antiquity which did not expand when he expanded have passed away; but their very memory has vanished, while he himself is still a living force throughout the wide world in our entire civilization of to-day, and will so continue through countless generations, through untold ages.

It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us. We admit with all sincerity that our first duty is within our own household: that we must not merely talk, but act, in favor of cleanliness and decency and righteousness, in all political, social, and civic matters. No prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart.

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We must ever keep the core of our national being sound, and see to it that not only our citizens in private life, but, above all, our statesmen in public life, practise the old commonplace virtues which from time immemorial have lain at the root of all true national well-being.

Yet, while this is our first duty, it is not our whole duty. Exactly as each man, while doing first his duty to his wife and the children within his home, must yet, if he hopes to amount to much, strive mightily in the world outside his home; so our nation, while first of all seeing to its own domestic well-being, must not shrink from playing its part among the great nations without.

Our duty may take many forms in the future as it has taken many forms in the past. Nor is it possible to lay down a hard and fast rule for all cases. We must ever face the fact of our shifting national needs, of the always-changing opportunities that present themselves. But we may be certain of one thing; whether we wish it or not, we cannot avoid hereafter having duties to do in the face of other nations. All that we can do is to settle whether we shall perform these duties well or ill.

Right here let me make as vigorous a plea as I know how in favor of saying nothing that we do not mean, and of acting without hesitation up to whatever we say. A good many of you are probably acquainted with the old proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick—you will go far." If a man continually blusters, if he lacks civility, a big stick will not save him from trouble, and neither will speaking softly avail, if back of the softness there does not lie strength, power. In private life there are few beings more obnoxious than the man who is always loudly boasting, and if the boaster is not prepared to back up his words, his position becomes absolutely contemptible. So it is with the nation. It is both foolish and undignified to indulge in undue self-glorification, and, above all, in loose-tongued denunciation of other peoples. Whenever on any point we come in contact with a foreign power, I hope that we shall always strive to speak courteously and respectfully of that foreign power. Let us make it evident that we intend to do

justice. Then let us make it equally evident that we will not tolerate injustice being done us in return. Let us further make it evident that we use no words which we are not prepared to back up with deeds, and that while our speech is always moderate, we are ready and willing to make it good. Such an attitude will be the surest possible guarantee of that self-respecting peace, the attainment of which is and must ever be the prime aim of a self-governing people.

This is the attitude we should take as regards the Monroe doctrine. There is not the least need of blustering about it. Still less should it be used as a pretext for our own aggrandizement at the expense of any other American state. But, most emphatically, we must make it evident that we intend on this point ever to maintain the old American position. Indeed, it is hard to understand how any man can take any other position now that we are all looking forward to the building of the isthmian canal. The Monroe doctrine is not international law, but there is no necessity that it should be.

All that is needful is that it should continue to be a cardinal feature of American policy on this continent; and the Spanish-American states should, in their own interests, champion it as strongly as we do. We do not by this doctrine intend to sanction any policy of aggression by one American commonwealth at the expense of any other, nor any policy of commercial discrimination against any foreign power whatsoever. Commercially, as far as this doctrine is concerned, all we wish is a fair field and no favor; but if we are wise we shall strenuously insist that under no pretext whatsoever shall there be any territorial aggrandizement on American soil by any European power, and this, no matter what form the territorial aggrandizement may take.

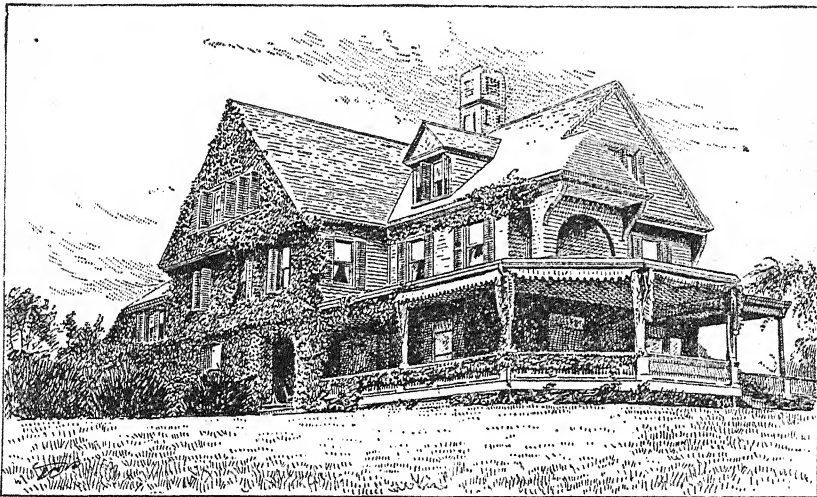
We most earnestly hope and believe that the chance of our having any hostile military complication with any foreign power is very small. But that there will come a strain, a jar here and there, from commercial and agricultural—that is, from industrial—competition, is almost inevitable. Here again we have got to remember that our first duty is to our own people; and yet that

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we can best get justice by doing justice. We must continue the policy that has been so brilliantly successful in the past, and so shape our economic system as to give every advantage to the skill, energy, and intelligence of our farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and wage-workers; and yet we must also remember in dealing with other nations that benefits must be given where benefits are sought. It is not possible to dogmatize as to the exact way of attaining this end; for the exact conditions cannot be foretold. In the long run one of our prime needs is stability and continuity of economic policy; and yet, through treaty or by direct legislation, it may, at least in certain cases, become

own efforts a sane and orderly civilization, no matter how small it may be, has anything to fear from us.

Our dealings with Cuba illustrate this, and should be forever a subject of just national pride. We speak in no spirit of arrogance when we state as a simple historic fact that never in recent times has any great nation acted with such disinterestedness as we have shown in Cuba. We freed the island from the Spanish yoke. We then earnestly did our best to help the Cubans in the establishment of free education, of law and order, of material prosperity, of the cleanliness necessary to sanitary well-being in their great cities. We did all this at



ROOSEVELT'S HOME AT OYSTER BAY, L. I.

advantageous to supplement our present policy by a system of reciprocal benefit and obligation.

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This explanation is not a matter of regret, but of price. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value. No nation capable of self-government and of developing by its

great expense of treasure, at some expense of life, and now we are establishing them in a free and independent commonwealth, and have asked in return nothing whatever save that at no time shall their independence be prostituted to the advantage of some foreign rival of ours, or so as to menace our well-being. To have failed to ask this would have amounted to national stultification on our part.

In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable

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conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty, and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind.

The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced by justice and by strength lie at the foundation of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law, nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength. Without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, without the stern enforcement of the laws at the expense of those who defiantly resist them, there can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law-abiding spirit at home if we are permanently to succeed, and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Lawlessness and anarchy were put down in the Philippines as a prerequisite to inducing the reign of justice.

Barbarism has and can have no place in a civilized world. It is our duty towards the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can only free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each have to play a part in this destruction, and in the consequent uplifting of the people. Exactly as it is the duty of a civilized power scrupulously to respect the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly to help those who are struggling towards civilization, so it is its duty to put down savagery and barbarism. As in such a work human instruments must be used, and as human instruments are imperfect, this means that at times there will be injustices; that at times merchant, or soldier, or even missionary may do wrong.

Let us instantly condemn and rectify such wrong when it occurs, and if pos-

sible punish the wrong-doer. But, shame, thrice shame to us, if we are so foolish as to make such occasional wrongdoing an excuse for failing to perform a great and righteous task. Not only in our own land, but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has advanced deserve the higher honor. All honor to the missionary, all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant who now in our own day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places.

Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is twofold, and that we must raise others while we are benefitting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor-roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed. But this peace and liberty under the law must be supplemented by material, by industrial development. Every encouragement should be given to their commercial development, to the introduction of American industries and products; not merely because this will be a good thing for our people, but infinitely more because it will be of incalculable benefit to the people of the Philippines.

We shall make mistakes; and if we let these mistakes frighten us from work, we shall show ourselves weaklings. Half a century ago Minnesota and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting-grounds. We committed plenty of blunders, and now and then worse than blunders, in our dealings with the Indians. But who does not admit at the present day that we were right in wresting from barbarism and adding to civilization the territory out of which we have made these beautiful States? And now we are civilizing the Indian and putting him on a level to which he could never have attained under the old conditions.

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom un-

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der us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them, and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done, we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good-will towards others; in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist; or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blunderings and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across short-sightedness and cowardice, we gaze steadfastly towards the far horizon of golden triumph.

If you will study our past history as a nation you will see we have made many blunders and have been guilty of many shortcomings, and yet that we have always in the end come out victorious because we have refused to be daunted by blunders and defeats—have recognized them, but have persevered in spite of them. So it must be in the future. We gird up our loins as a nation with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph, and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.

President Roosevelt's First Message to Congress.—On Dec. 3, 1901, President Roosevelt sent the following message to Congress. (To make reference easier to the various subjects mentioned in the message italic head-lines are here added.)

To the Senate and House of Representatives,—The Congress assembles this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

Of the last seven elected Presidents, he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circum-

stances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history, President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States, while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his close associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all-important in the make-up of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged.

An Insensate Crime.—President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the army as a private soldier. Wealth

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was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centred in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no President—not even Lincoln himself—was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well-thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people—to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been re-elected to the Presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infamy of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the President was meeting the people generally, and, advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes, and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unfaltering trust in the

will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

Anarchism.—When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

The blow was aimed not at this President, but at all Presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town-meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the President be accepted as due to protest against "inequalities in the social order," save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town-meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent" than picking pockets or wife beating.

The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy, directly or indirectly,

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in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practises his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor, and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a "product of social conditions," save as a highwayman is "produced" by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings, and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

Safeguards Suggested.—I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment.

They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who by the Constitution or by law is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offence against our institutions.

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offence against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as the slave-trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the federal government the power of dealing with the crime.

A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law towards this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the government, the government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if an-

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archists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

The Trusts.—During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the nation is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws. If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if flood or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains not by genuine work with head or hand, but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace not only to themselves, but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally the welfare of each citizen, and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual capacity, but wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever-accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face at the beginning of the twentieth with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient.

The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centres has meant a startling increase not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual, and especially of very large

corporate, fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise of the type which benefits all mankind can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

Captains of Industry.—The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have, on the whole, done great good to our people. Without them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place. Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests. The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy any one capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation, that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usually the factor which fixes the gulf between striking success and hopeless failure.

An additional reason for caution in dealing with corporations is to be found in the international commercial conditions of today. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns

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which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world. America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeopardized, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy, and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our nation.

Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions; and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more, and in times of adversity some will suffer far more, than others; but, speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them with the conditions in this very year which is now closing. Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and, while it is bad for everybody, it is worse for those furthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries, but the wage-worker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

Warning to the Rash.—The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as "trusts," appeal especially to hatred

and fear. These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective. In accordance with a well-known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests for the government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

All this is true, and yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being over-capitalization, because of its many baleful consequences, and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.

There is a wide-spread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This springs from no spirit of envy or uncharitableness, nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy. It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the necessity of meeting changing and changed conditions of trade with new methods, nor upon ignorance of the fact that combination of capital in the effort to accomplish great things is necessary when the world's progress demands that great things be done. It is based upon sincere conviction that combination

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and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and, in my judgment, this conviction is right.

It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in inter-State commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions, and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Publicity as a Remedy.—The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interest of the public the government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in inter-State business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke. What further remedies are needed in the way of governmental regulation or taxation can only be determined after publicity has been obtained by process of law and in the course of administration. The first requisite is knowledge, full and complete—knowledge which may be made public to the world.

Artificial bodies, such as corporations and joint stock or other associations, depending upon any statutory law for their existence or privileges should be subject to proper governmental supervision, and full and accurate information as to their operations should be made public regularly at reasonable intervals.

The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one State, always do business in many States, often doing very little business in the State where

they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the State laws about them, and, as no State has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through State action. Therefore, in the interest of the whole people, the nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter itself, also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an inter-State business. This is especially true where the corporation derives a portion of its wealth from the existence of some monopolistic element or tendency in its business. There would be no hardship in such supervision; banks are subject to it, and in their case it is now accepted as a simple matter of course. Indeed, it is probable that supervision of corporations by the national government need not go so far as is now the case with the supervision exercised over them by so conservative a State as Massachusetts in order to produce excellent results.

When the Constitution was adopted, at the end of the eighteenth century, no human wisdom could foretell the sweeping changes, alike in industrial and political conditions, which were to take place by the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time it was accepted as a matter of course that the several States were the proper authorities to regulate, so far as was then necessary, the comparatively insignificant and strictly localized corporate bodies of the day. The conditions are now wholly different, and wholly different action is called for. I believe that a law can be framed which will enable the national government to exercise control along the lines above indicated, profiting by the experience gained through the passage and administration of the inter-State commerce act. If, however, the judgment of the Congress is that it lacks the constitutional power to pass such an act, then a constitutional amendment should be submitted to confer the power.

Secretary of Commerce.—There should be created a cabinet officer, to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industries, as provided in the bill introduced at the last session of the Congress. It should be his province to deal with commerce in its broadest sense, including among many

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other things whatever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine.

The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship for the purpose of broadening our markets, securing our business interests on a safe basis, and making firm our new position in the international industrial world, while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of wage-worker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man in this republic.

Labor.—With the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off, too. It is therefore a matter for hearty congratulation that on the whole wages are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible. Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to re-enact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

The national government should demand the highest quality of service from its employés; and in return it should be a good employer. If possible legislation should be passed, in connection with the interstate commerce law, which will render effective the efforts of different States to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of government work, provision should be made to render the enforcement of the

eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night-work, and from work under unsanitary conditions. The government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending if necessary to the sub-contractors. The government should forbid all night-work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed; and, as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our capital city, into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.

The most vital problem with which this country, and, for that matter, the whole civilized world, has to deal is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man—wage-worker, farmer, and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Second only to this comes the power of acting in combination or association with others. Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage-workers, when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves. Finally, there must also in many cases be action

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by the government in order to safeguard the rights and interests of all. Under our Constitution there is much more scope for such action by the State and the municipality than by the nation. But on points such as those touched on above the national government can act.

When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable prerequisite to success in the kind of national life for which we strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him; but each man must remember also that he is indeed his brother's keeper, and that while no man who refuses to walk can be carried with advantage to himself or any one else, yet that each at times stumbles or halts, that each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him. To be permanently effective, aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself; and we can all best help ourselves by joining together in the work that is of common interest to all.

Immigration.—Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a three-fold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of

them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point, that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life; and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body, politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

Tariff and Reciprocity.—There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a national policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being. Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but eminently desirable, to combine with the stability of our economic system a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was specially provided for in the present tariff law.

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Reciprocity must be treated as the hand-maiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation.

Subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well-being at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty support. The phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign nations. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be avoided. The customers to whom we dispose of our surplus products, in the long run, directly or indirectly, purchase those surplus products by giving us something in return. Their ability to purchase our products should as far as possible be secured by so arranging our tariff as to enable us to take from them those products which we can use without harm to our own industries and labor, or the use of which will be of marked benefit to us.

It is most important that we should maintain the high level of our present prosperity. We have now reached the point in the development of our interests where we are not only able to supply our own markets, but to produce a constantly growing surplus for which we must find markets abroad. To secure these markets we can utilize existing duties in any case where they are no longer needed for the purpose of protection, or in any case where the article is not produced here and the duty is no longer necessary for revenue, as giving us something to offer in exchange for what we ask. The cordial relations with other nations which are so

desirable will naturally be promoted by the course thus required by our own interests.

The natural line of development for a policy of reciprocity will be in connection with those of our productions which no longer require all of the support once needed to establish them upon a sound basis, and with those others where, either because of natural or of economic causes, we are beyond the reach of successful competition.

I ask the attention of the Senate to the reciprocity treaties laid before it by my predecessor.

Merchant Marine.—The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It is discreditable to us as a nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products, and would provide an auxiliary force for the navy. Ships work for their own countries, just as railroads work for their terminal points. Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every stand-point it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing-vessels and steamers alike, cargo carriers of slow speed and mail carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case

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abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals.

Our government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean.

Currency and Banking.—The act of March 14, 1900, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain as a parity therewith all forms of money medium in use with us, has been shown to be timely and judicious. The price of our government bonds in the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations, is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain.

In many respects the national banking law furnishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the banking function; but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the deranging influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce.

The collections from duties on imports and internal taxes continue to exceed the ordinary expenditures of the government, thanks mainly to the reduced army expenditures. The utmost care should be taken not to reduce the revenues so that there will be any possibility of a deficit; but, after providing against any such contingency, means should be adopted which will bring the revenues more nearly within the limit of our actual needs. In his report to the Congress the Secretary of the Treasury considers all these questions at length, and I ask your attention to the report and recommendations.

I call special attention to the need of strict economy in expenditures. The fact that our national needs forbid us to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our well-being should make us doubly careful to husband our national resources as each of us husbands his private resources, by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless

expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine.

The Railways.—In 1887 a measure was enacted for the regulation of inter-State railways, commonly known as the inter-State commerce act. The cardinal provisions of that act were that railway rates should be just and reasonable and that all shippers, localities, and commodities should be accorded equal treatment. A commission was created and endowed with what were supposed to be the necessary powers to execute the provisions of this act.

That law was largely an experiment. Experience has shown the wisdom of its purposes, but has also shown, possibly, that some of its requirements are wrong, certainly that the means devised for the enforcement of its provisions are defective. Those who complain of the management of the railways allege that established rates are not maintained; that rebates and similar devices are habitually resorted to; that these preferences are usually in favor of the large shipper; that they drive out of business the smaller competitor; that while many rates are too low, many others are excessive, and that gross preferences are made, affecting both localities and commodities. Upon the other hand, the railways assert that the law by its very terms tends to produce many of these illegal practices by depriving carriers of that right of concerted action which they claim is necessary to establish and maintain non-discriminating rates.

The act should be amended. The railway is a public servant. Its rates should be just to and open to all shippers alike. The government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is so, and should provide a speedy, inexpensive, and effective remedy to that end. At the same time it must not be forgotten that our railways are the arteries through which the commercial life-blood of this nation flows. Nothing could be more foolish than the enactment of legislation which would unnecessarily interfere with the development and operation of these commercial agencies. The subject is one

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of great importance, and calls for the earnest attention of the Congress.

Forest Conservation.—The Department of Agriculture during the last fifteen years has steadily broadened its work on economic lines, and has accomplished results of real value in upbuilding domestic and foreign trade. It has gone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sections of our country and with two of the island groups that have lately come under our jurisdiction, whose people must look to agriculture as a livelihood. It is searching the world for grains, grasses, fruits, and vegetables specially fitted for introduction into localities in the several States and Territories where they may add materially to our resources. By scientific attention to soil survey and possible new crops, to breeding of new varieties of plants, to experimental shipments, to animal industry and applied chemistry, very practical aid has been given our farming and stock-growing interests. The products of the farm have taken an unprecedented place in our export trade during the year that has just closed.

Public opinion throughout the United States has moved steadily towards a just appreciation of the value of forests, whether planted or of natural growth. The great part played by them in the creation and maintenance of the national wealth is now more fully realized than ever before.

Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources, whether of wood, water, or grass, from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people, but, on the contrary, gives the assurance of larger and more certain supplies. The fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use. Forest protection is not an end of itself; it is a means to increase and sustain the resources of our country and the industries which depend upon them. The preservation of our forests is an imperative business necessity. We have come to see clearly that whatever destroys the forest, except to make way for agriculture, threatens our well-being.

The practical usefulness of the national forest reserves to the mining, grazing, irrigation, and other interests of the regions in which the reserves lie has led

to a wide-spread demand by the people of the West for their protection and extension. The forest reserves will inevitably be of still greater use in the future than in the past. Additions should be made to them whenever practicable, and their usefulness should be increased by a thoroughly business-like management.

At present the protection of the forest reserves rests with the general land office, the mapping and description of their timber with the United States geological survey, and the preparation of plans for their conservative use with the bureau of forestry, which is also charged with the general advancement of practical forestry in the United States. These various functions should be united in the bureau of forestry, to which they properly belong. The present diffusion of responsibility is bad from every stand-point. It prevents that effective co-operation between the government and the men who utilize the resources of the reserves, without which the interests of both must suffer. The scientific bureau generally should be put under the Department of Agriculture. The President should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture. He already has such power in the case of lands needed by the departments of war and the navy.

The wise administration of the forest reserve will be not less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. The western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States.

Game Preserves.—Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them need special protection because of the great injury done by live stock, above all by sheep. The increase in deer, elk, and other animals in the Yellowstone Park shows what may be

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expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been so denuded of surface vegetation by overgrazing that the ground-breeding birds, including grouse and quail, and many mammals, including deer, have been exterminated or driven away. At the same time the water-storing capacity of the surface has been decreased or destroyed, thus promoting floods in times of rain and diminishing the flow of streams between rains.

In cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years, vegetation has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back, and hundreds of persons, especially from the immediate neighborhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some, at least, of the forest reserves should afford perpetual protection to the native fauna and flora, safe havens of refuge to our rapidly diminishing wild animals of the larger kinds, and free camping grounds for the ever increasing numbers of men and women who have learned to find rest, health, and recreation in the splendid forests and flower-clad meadows of our mountains. The forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole, and not sacrificed to the short-sighted greed of a few.

The forests are natural reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is therefore an essential condition of water conservation.

The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood-waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching inter-State problems are involved, and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the national government

to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.

The government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams, the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

Irrigation.—The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish this object, water must be brought within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the national government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should so far as possible be repaid by the land reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with State laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the national government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such a manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves, and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and regulations governing irrigation.

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our

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country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent Western competition with Eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centres of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home-making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted, by the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal or local interests, but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least taint of excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys.

Water Control.—Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with and tend to improve the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting-point of this development. Over \$200,000,000 of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works, and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself; but as much cannot be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and value of the homes created depend largely

on the stability of titles to water, but the majority of these rest on the uncertain foundation of court decisions rendered in ordinary suits at law. With a few creditable exceptions, the arid States have failed to provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Lax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights to water in excess of actual uses or necessities, and many streams have already passed into private ownership, or a control equivalent to ownership.

Whoever controls a stream practically controls the land it renders productive, and the doctrine of private ownership of water apart from land cannot prevail without causing enduring wrong. The recognition of such ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more enlightened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and disposal of the public water supplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hoarding it, have no proper application in a dry country.

In the arid States the only right to water which should be recognized is that of use. In irrigation this right should attach to the land reclaimed and be inseparable therefrom. Granting perpetual water rights to others than users, without compensation to the public, is open to all the objections which apply to giving away perpetual franchises to the public utilities of cities. A few of the Western States have already recognized this, and have incorporated in their constitutions the doctrine of perpetual State ownership of water.

The benefits which have followed the unaided development of the past justify the nation's aid and co-operation in the more difficult and important work yet to be accomplished. Laws so vitally affecting homes as those which control the water supply will only be effective when they have the sanction of the irrigators; reforms can only be final and satisfactory when they come through the enlightenment of the people most concerned. The larger development which national aid insures should, however, awaken in every arid State the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and

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effectiveness that of any country in the civilized world. Nothing could be more unwise than for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally, instead of profiting by what is already known elsewhere. We are dealing with a new and momentous question, in the pregnant years while institutions are forming, and what we do will affect not only the present but future generations.

Our aim should be not simply to reclaim the largest area of land and provide homes for the largest number of people, but to create for this new industry the best possible social and industrial conditions; and this requires that we not only understand the existing situation, but avail ourselves of the best experience of the time in the solution of its problems. A careful study should be made, both by the nation and the States, of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the nation to co-operate with the several arid States in proportion as these States by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.

Hawaii.—In Hawaii our aim must be to develop the Territory on the traditional American lines. We do not wish a region of large estates tilled by cheap labor; we wish a healthy American community of men who themselves till the farms they own. All our legislation for the islands should be shaped with this end in view; the well-being of the average home-maker must afford the true test of the healthy development of the islands. The land policy should as nearly as possible be modelled on our homestead system.

Porto Rico.—It is a pleasure to say that it is hardly more necessary to report as to Porto Rico than as to any State or Territory within our continental limits. The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. Its people are now enjoying liberty and order under the protection of the United States, and upon this fact we congratulate them and ourselves. Their material welfare must be as carefully and jealously considered as the welfare of any other portion of our country. We have given them the great gift of free access for their products to the markets of the

United States. I ask the attention of the Congress to the need of legislation concerning the public lands of Porto Rico.

Cuba.—In Cuba such progress has been made towards putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the Congress closes this will be an accomplished fact. Cuba will then start as her own mistress; and to the beautiful queen of the Antilles, as she unfolds this new page of her destiny, we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes. Elsewhere I have discussed the question of reciprocity. In the case of Cuba, however, there are weighty reasons of morality and of national interest why the policy should be held to have a peculiar application, and I most earnestly ask your attention to the wisdom—indeed, to the vital need—of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States. Cuba has in her constitution affirmed what we desired, that she should stand, in international matters, in closer and more friendly relations with us than with any other power; and we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency to pass commercial measures in the interest of her material well-being.

The Philippines.—In the Philippines our problem is larger. They are very rich tropical islands, inhabited by many varying tribes, representing widely different stages of progress towards civilization. Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self-government. We hope to make our administration of the islands honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves; and as an earnest of what we intend to do, we point to what we have done. Already a greater measure of material prosperity and of governmental honesty and efficiency has been attained in the Philippines than ever before in their history.

It is no light task for a nation to achieve the temperamental qualities without which the institutions of free government are but an empty mockery. Our people are now successfully governing themselves, because for more than a thousand years they have been slowly fitting themselves, sometimes consciously, some-

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times unconsciously, towards this end. What has taken us thirty generations to achieve we cannot expect to see another race accomplish out of hand, especially when large portions of that race start very far behind the point which our ancestors had reached even thirty generations ago. In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations.

History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity. The character of Governor Taft and of his associates and subordinates is a proof, if such be needed, of the sincerity of our effort to give the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government, exactly as fast as they show themselves fit to exercise it. Since the civil government was established not an appointment has been made in the islands with any reference to considerations of political influence, or to aught else save the fitness of the man and the needs of the service.

In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the Philippines, it may be that here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self-government. It is on this side that our error, if any, has been committed. No competent observer, sincerely desirous of finding out the facts and influenced only by a desire for the welfare of the natives, can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone to the very verge of safety in hastening the process. To have taken a single step farther or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness, and might well

have been criminal. We are extremely anxious that the natives shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anxious, first for their sakes, and next because it relieves us of a great burden. There need not be the slightest fear of our not continuing to give them all the liberty for which they are fit.

Self-government.—The only fear is lest in our overanxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting reaction and disaster. As fast as there is any reasonable hope that in a given district the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not a locality fitted for self-government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases it will have to be withdrawn because the inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our failing to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opposite direction.

There are still troubles ahead in the islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders, who deserve no higher regard than the brigands of portions of the Old World. Encouragement, direct or indirect, to these insurgents stands on the same footing as encouragement to hostile Indians in the days when we still had Indian wars. Exactly as our aim is to give to the Indian who remains peaceful the fullest and amplest consideration, but to have it understood that we will show no weakness if he goes on the war-path, so we must make it evident, unless we are false to our own traditions and to the demands of civilization and humanity, that while we will do everything in our power for the Filipino who is peaceful, we will take the sternest measures with the Filipino who follows the path of the insurgent and the ladrone.

The heartiest praise is due to large numbers of the natives of the islands for their steadfast loyalty. The Macabebes have been conspicuous for their courage and devotion to the flag. I recommend that the Secretary of War be empowered to take some systematic action in the way of aiding those of these men who are

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crippled in the service and the families of those who are killed.

The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the islands than to introduce industrial enterprises. Nothing would benefit them so much as throwing them open to industrial development. The connection between idleness and mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course, no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is to his interest to do so; and it is immensely to the interest of the islands that he should go in. It is therefore necessary that the Congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed; so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in them, and every encouragement be given to the incoming of business men of every kind.

Not to permit this is to do a wrong to the Philippines. The franchises must be granted and the business permitted only under regulations which will guarantee the islands against any kind of improper exploitation. But the vast natural wealth of the islands must be developed, and the capital willing to develop it must be given the opportunity. The field must be thrown open to individual enterprise, which has been the real factor in the development of every region over which our flag has flown. It is urgently necessary to enact suitable laws dealing with general transportation, mining, banking, currency, homesteads, and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industrial enterprise; and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them.

A Trans-Pacific Cable.—I call your attention most earnestly to the crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued from the Philippines to points in Asia. We should not defer a day longer than necessary the construction of such a cable. It is demanded not merely for commercial but for political and military considerations.

Either the Congress should immediately

provide for the construction of a government cable, or else an arrangement should be made by which like advantages to those accruing from a government cable may be secured to the government by contract with a private cable company.

The Isthmian Canal.—No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the isthmus connecting North and South America. Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity; and yet, with view to these effects alone, it would be to the last degree important for us immediately to begin it. While its beneficial effects would perhaps be most marked upon the Pacific coast and the Gulf and South Atlantic States, it would also greatly benefit other sections. It is emphatically a work which it is for the interest of the entire country to begin and complete as soon as possible; it is one of those great works which only a great nation can undertake with prospects of success, and which, when done, are not only permanent assets in the nation's material interests, but standing monuments to its constructive ability.

I am glad to be able to announce to you that our negotiations on this subject with Great Britain, conducted on both sides in a spirit of friendliness and mutual goodwill and respect, have resulted in my being able to lay before the Senate a treaty which, if ratified, will enable us to begin preparations for an isthmian canal at any time, and which guarantees to this nation every right that it has ever asked in connection with the canal. In this treaty the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty, so long recognized as inadequate to supply the base for the construction and maintenance of a necessarily American ship-canal, is abrogated. It specifically provides that the United States only shall do the work of building and assume the responsibility of safeguarding the canal, and shall regulate its neutral use by all nations on terms of equality without the guarantee or interference of any outside nation from any quarter. The signed treaty will at once be laid before the Senate, and if approved the Congress can then proceed to

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give effect to the advantages it secures us by providing for the building of the canal.

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace; and this nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world, of recent years, wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples come in an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind. Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it; but more and more the civilized peoples are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights of others which will in the end, as we hope and believe, make world-wide peace possible. The peace conference at The Hague gave definite expression to this hope and belief and marked a stride towards their attainment.

This same peace conference acquiesced in our statement of the Monroe doctrine as compatible with the purposes and aims of the conference.

The Monroe Doctrine.—The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, towards assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere.

During the last century other influences have established the permanence and independence of the smaller states of Eu-

rope. Through the Monroe doctrine we hope to be able to safeguard like independence and secure like permanence for the lesser among the New World nations.

This doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American power, save that it in truth allows each of them to form such as it desires. In other words, it is really a guarantee of the commercial independence of the Americas. We do not ask under this doctrine for any exclusive commercial dealings with any other American state. We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power.

Our attitude in Cuba is a sufficient guarantee of our own good faith. We have not the slightest desire to secure any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors. We wish to work with them hand in hand, so that all of us may be uplifted together, and we rejoice over the good fortune of any of them, we gladly hail their material prosperity and political stability, and are concerned and alarmed if any of them fall into industrial or political chaos. We do not wish to see any Old World military power grow up on this continent, or to be compelled to become a military power ourselves. The peoples of the Americas can prosper best if left to work out their own salvation in their own way.

The Navy.—The work of upbuilding the navy must be steadily continued. No one point of our policy, foreign or domestic, is more important than this to the honor and material welfare, and above all to the peace, of our nation in the future. Whether we desire it or not, we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than international rights. Even if our flag were hauled down in the Philippines and Porto Rico, even if we decided not to build the isthmian canal, we should need a thoroughly trained navy of adequate size, or else be prepared definitely and for all time to abandon the idea that our nation is among those whose sons go down to the sea in ships. Unless our commerce is always to be carried in foreign bottoms we must have war craft to protect it.

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Inasmuch, however, as the American people have no thought of abandoning the path upon which they have entered, and especially in view of the fact that the building of the isthmian canal is fast becoming one of the matters which the whole people are united in demanding, it is imperative that our navy should be put and kept in the highest state of efficiency, and should be made to answer to our growing needs. So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guarantee against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a navy represents the very lightest premium for insuring peace which this nation can possibly pay.

Probably no other great nation in the world is so anxious for peace as we are. There is not a single civilized power which has anything whatever to fear from aggressiveness on our part. All we want is peace; and towards this end we wish to be able to secure the same respect for our rights from others which we are eager and anxious to extend to their rights in return, to insure fair treatment to us commercially, and to guarantee the safety of the American people.

Our people intend to abide by the Monroe doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western Hemisphere. The navy offers us the only means of making our insistence upon the Monroe doctrine anything but a subject of derision to whatever nation chooses to disregard it. We desire the peace which comes as of right to the just man armed; not the peace granted on terms of ignominy to the craven and the weakling.

It is not possible to improvise a navy after war breaks out. The ships must be built and the men trained long in advance. Some auxiliary vessels can be turned into makeshifts which will do in default of any better for the minor work, and a proportion of raw men can be mixed with the highly trained, their shortcomings being made good by the skill of their fellows; but the efficient fighting force of the navy when pitted against an equal opponent will be found almost exclusively in the war-ships that have been regularly built and in the officers and men who through

years of faithful performance of sea-duty have been trained to handle their formidable but complex and delicate weapons with the highest efficiency. In the late war with Spain the ships that dealt the decisive blows at Manila and Santiago had been launched from two to fourteen years, and they were able to do as they did because the men in the conning-towers, the gun-turrets, and the engine-rooms had through long years of practice at sea learned how to do their duty.

Its Early Stages.—Our present navy was begun in 1882. At that period our navy consisted of a collection of antiquated wooden ships, already almost as out of place against modern war-vessels as the galleys of Alcibiades and Hamilcar—certainly as the ships of Tromp and Blake. Nor at that time did we have men fit to handle a modern man-of-war. Under the wise legislation of the Congress and the successful administration of a succession of patriotic Secretaries of the Navy belonging to both political parties the work of upbuilding the navy went on, and ships equal to any in the world of their kind were continually added; and, what was even more important, these ships were exercised at sea singly and in squadrons until the men aboard them were able to get the best possible service out of them. The result was seen in the short war with Spain, which was decided with such rapidity because of the infinitely greater preparedness of our navy than of the Spanish navy.

While awarding the fullest honor to the men who actually commanded and manned the ships which destroyed the Spanish sea forces in the Philippines and in Cuba, we must not forget that an equal meed of praise belongs to those without whom neither blow could have been struck. The Congressmen who voted years in advance the money to lay down the ships, to build the guns, to buy the armor plate; the department officials and the business men and wage-workers who furnished what the Congress had authorized; the Secretaries of the Navy who asked for and expended the appropriations; and, finally, the officers who, in fair weather and foul, on actual sea-service, trained and disciplined the crews of the ships when there was no war in sight—all are entitled to a full share

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in the glory of Manila and Santiago and the respect accorded by every true American to those who wrought such signal triumph for our country. It was forethought and preparation which secured us the overwhelming triumph of 1898. If we fail to show forethought and preparation now, there may come a time when disaster will befall us instead of triumph; and should this time come the fault will rest primarily not upon those whom the accident of events puts in supreme command at the moment, but upon those who have failed to prepare in advance.

There should be no cessation in the work of completing our navy. So far ingenuity has been wholly unable to devise a substitute for the great war craft whose hammering guns beat out the mastery of the high seas. It is unsafe and unwise not to provide this year for several additional battle-ships and heavy armored cruisers, with auxiliary and lighter craft in proportion; for the exact numbers and character I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Navy. But there is something we need even more than additional ships, and this is additional officers and men. To provide battle-ships and cruisers and then lay them up, with the expectation of leaving them unarmed until they are needed in actual war, would be worse than folly; it would be a crime against the nation.

Gunnery.—To send any war-ship against a competent enemy unless those aboard it have been trained by years of actual sea-service, including incessant gunnery practice, would be to invite not merely disaster, but the bitterest shame and humiliation. Four thousand additional seamen and 1,000 additional marines should be provided; and an increase in the officers should be provided by making a large addition to the classes at Annapolis. There is one small matter which should be mentioned in connection with Annapolis. The pretentious and unmeaning title of "naval cadet" should be abolished; the title of "midshipman," full of historic association, should be restored.

Even in time of peace a war-ship should be used until it wears out, for only so can it be kept fit to respond to any emergency. The officers and men alike should be kept as much as possible on blue wa-

ter, for it is there only they can learn their duties as they should be learned. The big vessels should be manoeuvred in squadrons containing not merely battle-ships, but the necessary proportion of cruisers and scouts. The torpedo-boats should be handled by the younger officers in such manner as will best fit the latter to take responsibility and meet the emergencies of actual warfare.

Every detail ashore which can be performed by a civilian should be so performed, the officer being kept for his special duty in the sea-service. Above all, gunnery practice should be unceasing. It is important to have our navy of adequate size, but it is even more important that ship for ship it should equal in efficiency any navy in the world. This is possible only with highly drilled crews and officers, and this in turn imperatively demands continuous and progressive instruction in target practice, ship handling, squadron tactics, and general discipline. Our ships must be assembled in squadrons actively cruising away from harbors, and never long at anchor. The resulting wear upon engines and hulls must be endured; a battle-ship worn out in long training of officers and men is well paid for by the results, while, on the other hand, no matter in how excellent condition, it is useless if the crew be not expert.

We now have seventeen battle-ships appropriated for, of which nine are completed and have been commissioned for actual service. The remaining eight will be ready, in from two to four years, but it will take at least that time to recruit and train the men to fight them. It is of vast concern that we have trained crews ready for the vessels by the time they are commissioned. Good ships and good guns are simply good weapons, and the best weapons are useless save in the hands of men who know how to fight them. The men must be trained and drilled under a thorough and well-planned system of progressive instruction, while the recruiting must be carried on with still greater vigor. Every effort must be made to exalt the main function of the officer—the command of men. The leading graduates of the Naval Academy should be assigned to the combatant branches, the line and marines.

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Many of the essentials of success are already recognized by the general board, which, as the central office of a growing staff, is moving steadily towards a proper war efficiency and a proper efficiency of the whole navy, under the Secretary. This general board, by fostering the creation of a general staff, is providing for the official and then the general recognition of our altered conditions as a nation and of the true meaning of a great war fleet, which meaning is, first, the best men, and, second, the best ships.

The naval militia forces are State organizations, and are trained for coast service, and in event of war they will constitute the inner line of defence. They should receive hearty encouragement from the general government.

But, in addition, we should at once provide for a national naval reserve, organized and trained under the direction of the Navy Department, and subject to the call of the chief executive whenever war becomes imminent. It should be a real auxiliary to the naval sea-going peace establishment, and offer material to be drawn on at once for manning our ships in time of war. It should be composed of graduates of the Naval Academy, graduates of the naval militia, officers and crews of coast-line steamers, long-shore schooners, fishing-vessels, and steam-yachts, together with the coast population about such centres as life-saving stations and light-houses.

The American people must either build and maintain an adequate navy or else make up their minds definitely to accept a secondary position in international affairs, not merely in political but in commercial matters. It has been well said that there is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be "opulent, aggressive, and unarmed."

The Army.—It is not necessary to increase our army beyond its present size at this time. But it is necessary to keep it at the highest point of efficiency. The individual units who as officers and enlisted men compose this army are, we have good reason to believe, at least as efficient as those of any other army in the entire world. It is our duty to see that their training is of a kind to insure the highest

possible expression of power to these units when acting in combination.

The conditions of modern war are such as to make an infinitely heavier demand than ever before upon the individual character and capacity of the officer and the enlisted man, and to make it far more difficult for men to act together with effect. At present the fighting must be done in extended order, which means that each man must act for himself and at the same time act in combination with others with whom he is no longer in the old-fashioned elbow-to-elbow touch. Under such conditions a few men of the highest excellence are worth more than many men without the special skill which is only found as the result of special training applied to men of exceptional physique and morale. But nowadays the most valuable fighting man and the most difficult to perfect is the rifleman who is also a skilful and daring rider.

The proportion of our cavalry regiments has wisely been increased. The American cavalryman, trained to manoeuvre and fight with equal facility on foot and on horseback, is the best type of soldier for general purposes now to be found in the world. The ideal cavalryman of the present day is a man who can fight on foot as effectively as the best infantryman, and who is, in addition, unsurpassed in the care and management of his horse and in his ability to fight on horseback.

A general staff should be created. As for the present staff and supply departments, they should be filled by details from the line, the men so detailed returning after a while to their line duties. It is very undesirable to have the senior grades of the army composed of men who have come to fill the positions by the mere fact of seniority. A system should be adopted by which there shall be an elimination grade by grade of those who seem unfit to render the best service in the next grade. Justice to the veterans of the Civil War who are still in the army would seem to require that in the matter of retirements they be given by law the same privileges accorded to their comrades in the navy.

The process of elimination of the least fit should be conducted in a manner that would render it practically impossible to

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apply political or social pressure on behalf of any candidate, so that each man may be judged purely on his own merits. Pressure for the promotion of civil officials for political reasons is bad enough, but it is tenfold worse where applied on behalf of officers of the army or navy. Every promotion and every detail under the War Department must be made solely with regard to the good of the service and to the capacity and merit of the man himself. No pressure, political, social, or personal, of any kind will be permitted to exercise the least effect in any question of promotion or detail; and if there is reason to believe that such pressure is exercised at the instigation of the officer concerned, it will be held to militate against him. In our army we cannot afford to have rewards or duties distributed save on the simple ground that those who by their own merits are entitled to the rewards get them, and that those who are peculiarly fit to do the duties are chosen to perform them.

Every effort should be made to bring the army to a constantly increasing state of efficiency. When on actual service no work save that directly in the line of such service should be required. The paper work in the army, as in the navy, should be greatly reduced. What is needed is proved power of command and capacity to work well in the field. Constant care is necessary to prevent dry-rot in the transportation and commissary departments.

Manœuvres in Mass.—Our army is so small and so much scattered that it is very difficult to give the higher officers (as well as the lower officers and the enlisted men) a chance to practise manœuvres in mass and on a comparatively large scale. In time of need no amount of individual excellence would avail against the paralysis which would follow inability to work as a coherent whole, under skilful and daring leadership. The Congress should provide means whereby it will be possible to have field exercise by at least a division of regulars, and, if possible, also a division of national guardsmen, once a year. These exercises might take the form of field manœuvres; or, if on the Gulf coast or the Pacific or Atlantic seaboard, or in the region of the Great Lakes, the army

corps when assembled could be marched from some inland point to some point on the water, there embarked, disembarked after a couple of days' journey at some other point, and again marched inland. Only by actual handling and providing for men in masses while they are marching, camping, embarking and disembarking will it be possible to train the higher officers to perform their duties well and smoothly.

A great debt is owing from the public to the men of the army and navy. They should be so treated as to enable them to reach the highest point of efficiency, so that they may be able to respond instantly to any demand made upon them to sustain the interests of the nation and the honor of the flag. The individual American enlisted man is probably on the whole a more formidable fighting man than the regular of any other army. Every consideration should be shown him, and in return the highest standard of usefulness should be exacted from him. It is well worth while for the Congress to consider whether the pay of enlisted men upon second and subsequent enlistments should not be increased to correspond with the increased value of the veteran soldier.

Much good has already come from the act reorganizing the army, passed early in the present year. The three prime reforms, all of them of literally inestimable value, are, first, the substitution of four-year details from the line for permanent appointments in the so-called staff divisions; second, the establishment of a corps of artillery with a chief at the head; third, the establishment of a maximum and minimum limit for the army. It would be difficult to overestimate the improvement in the efficiency of our army which these three reforms are making, and have in part already effected.

The reorganization provided for by the act has been substantially accomplished. The improved conditions in the Philippines have enabled the War Department materially to reduce the military charge upon our revenue and to arrange the number of soldiers so as to bring this number much nearer to the minimum than to the maximum limit established by law. There is, however, need of supplementary legislation. Thorough military education must

be provided, and in addition to the regular the advantages of this education should be given to the officers of the national guard and others in civil life who desire intelligently to fit themselves for possible military duty. The officers should be given the chance to perfect themselves by study in the higher branches of this art. At West Point the education should be of the kind most apt to turn out men who are good in actual field service; too much stress should not be laid on mathematics, nor should proficiency therein be held to establish the right of entry to a *corps d'élite*. The typical American officer of the best kind need not be a good mathematician; but he must be able to master himself, to control others, and to show boldness and fertility of resource in every emergency.

Militia and Veterans.—Action should be taken in reference to the militia and to the raising of volunteer forces. Our militia law is obsolete and worthless. The organization and armament of the national guard of the several States, which are treated as militia in the appropriations by the Congress, should be made identical with those provided for the regular forces. The obligations and duties of the guard in time of war should be carefully defined, and a system established by law under which the method of procedure of raising volunteer forces should be prescribed in advance. It is utterly impossible in the excitement and haste of impending war to do this satisfactorily if the arrangements have not been made long beforehand. Provision should be made for utilizing in the first volunteer organizations called out the training of those citizens who have already had experience under arms, and especially for the selection in advance of the officers of any force which may be raised; for careful selection of the kind necessary is impossible after the outbreak of war.

That the army is not at all a mere instrument of destruction has been shown during the last three years. In the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.

No other citizens deserve so well of the

republic as the veterans, the survivors of those who saved the Union. They did the one deed which if left undone would have meant that all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast prowess in the greatest crisis of our history, all our annals would be meaningless, and our great experiment in popular freedom and self-government a gloomy failure. Moreover, they not only left us a united nation, but they left us also as a heritage the memory of the mighty deeds by which the nation was kept united. We are now indeed one nation, one in fact as well as in name; we are united in our devotion to the flag which is the symbol of national greatness and unity; and the very completeness of our union enables us all, in every part of the country, to glory in the valor shown alike by the sons of the North and the sons of the South in the times that tried men's souls.

The men who in the last three years have done so well in the East and the West Indies and on the mainland of Asia have shown that this remembrance is not lost. In any serious crisis the United States must rely for the great mass of its fighting men upon the volunteer soldiery who do not make a permanent profession of the military career; and whenever such a crisis arises the deathless memories of the Civil War will give to Americans the lift of lofty purpose which comes to those whose fathers have stood valiantly in the forefront of the battle.

Civil Service.—The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means that in clerical and other positions where the duties are entirely non-political all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his merits as he is able to show them by practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system. In other cases, as where laborers are employed, a system of registration undoubtedly can be widely extended. There are, of course, places where the written competitive examination cannot be applied, and others where it offers by no means an ideal solution, but where under existing political conditions it is, though an imperfect means,

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yet the best present means of getting satisfactory results.

Wherever the conditions have permitted the application of the merit system in its fullest and widest sense the gain to the government has been immense. The navy-yards and postal service illustrate probably better than any other branches of the government the great gain in economy, efficiency, and honesty due to the enforcement of this principle.

I recommend the passage of a law which will extend the classified service to the District of Columbia, or will at least enable the President thus to extend it. In my judgment all laws providing for the temporary employment of clerks should hereafter contain a provision that they be selected under the civil service law.

It is important to have this system obtain at home, but it is even more important to have it applied rigidly in our insular possessions. Not an office should be filled in the Philippines or Porto Rico with any regard to the man's partisan affiliations or services, with any regard to the political, social, or personal influence which he may have at his command; in short, heed should be paid to absolutely nothing save the man's own character and capacity and the needs of the service.

The administration of these islands should be as wholly free from the suspicion of partisan politics as the administration of the army and navy. All that we ask from the public servant in the Philippines or Porto Rico is that he reflect honor on his country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the peoples who have come under it. This is all that we should ask, and we cannot afford to be content with less.

The merit system is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government, and in the long run the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient.

The consular service is now organized under the provisions of a law passed in 1856, which is entirely inadequate to existing conditions. The interest shown by so many commercial bodies throughout the country in the reorganization of the service is heartily commended to your attention. Several bills providing for a

new consular service have in recent years been submitted to the Congress. They are based upon the just principle that appointments to the service should be made only after a practical test of the applicant's fitness, that promotions should be governed by trustworthiness, adaptability, and zeal in the performance of duty, and that the tenure of office should be unaffected by partisan considerations.

The guardianship and fostering of our rapidly expanding foreign commerce, the protection of American citizens resorting to foreign countries in lawful pursuit of their affairs, and the maintenance of the dignity of the nation abroad, combine to make it essential that our consuls should be men of character, knowledge, and enterprise. It is true that the service is now in the main efficient, but a standard of excellence cannot be permanently maintained until the principles set forth in the bills heretofore submitted to the Congress on this subject are enacted into law.

The Indian.—In my judgment the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe. The general allotment act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and the individual. Under its provisions some 60,000 Indians have already become citizens of the United States. We should now break up the tribal funds, doing for them what allotment does for the tribal lands; that is, they should be divided into individual holdings. There will be a transition period during which the funds will in many cases have to be held in trust. This is the case also with the lands. A stop should be put upon the indiscriminate permission to Indians to lease their allotments. The effort should be steadily to make the Indian work like any other man on his own ground. The marriage laws of the Indians should be made the same as those of the whites.

In the schools the education should be elementary and largely industrial. The need of higher education among the Indians is very, very limited. On the reservations care should be taken to try to suit the teaching to the needs of the particular Indian. There is no use in at-

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tempting to induce agriculture in a country suited only for cattle raising, where the Indian should be made a stock grower. The ration system, which is merely the corral and the reservation system, is highly detrimental to the Indians. It promotes beggary, perpetuates pauperism, and stifles industry. It is an effectual barrier to progress. It must continue to a greater or less degree as long as tribes are herded on reservations and have everything in common. The Indian should be treated as an individual—like the white man. During the change of treatment inevitable hardships will occur; every effort should be made to minimize these hardships; but we should not because of them hesitate to make the change. There should be a continuous reduction in the number of agencies.

In dealing with the aboriginal races few things are more important than to preserve them from the terrible physical and moral degradation resulting from the liquor traffic. We are doing all we can to save our own Indian tribes from this evil. Wherever by international agreement this same end can be attained as regards races where we do not possess exclusive control, every effort should be made to bring it about.

Expositions.—I bespeak the most cordial support from the Congress and the people for the St. Louis exposition to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana purchase. This purchase was the greatest instance of expansion in our history. It definitely decided that we were to become a great continental republic, by far the foremost power in the Western Hemisphere. It is one of three or four great landmarks in our history—the great turning-points in our development. It is eminently fitting that all our people should join with heartiest good-will in commemorating it, and the citizens of St. Louis, of Missouri, of all the adjacent region, are entitled to every aid in making the celebration a noteworthy event in our annals. We earnestly hope that foreign nations will appreciate the deep interest our country takes in this exposition, and our view of its importance from every stand-point, and that they will participate in securing its success. The national government

should be represented by a full and complete set of exhibits.

The people of Charleston, with great energy and civic spirit, are carrying on an exposition which will continue throughout most of the present session of the Congress. I heartily commend this exposition to the good-will of the people. It deserves all the encouragement that can be given it. The managers of the Charleston exposition have requested the cabinet officers to place thereat the government exhibits which have been at Buffalo, promising to pay the necessary expenses. I have taken the responsibility of directing that this be done, for I feel that it is due to Charleston to help her in her praiseworthy effort. In my opinion the management should not be required to pay all these expenses. I earnestly recommend that the Congress appropriate at once the small sum necessary for this purpose.

The Pan-American exposition at Buffalo has just closed. Both from the industrial and the artistic stand-point this exposition has been in a high degree creditable and useful, not merely to Buffalo, but to the United States. The terrible tragedy of the President's assassination interfered materially with its being a financial success. The exposition was peculiarly in harmony with the trend of our public policy, because it represented an effort to bring into closer touch all the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and give them an increasing sense of unity. Such an effort was a genuine service to the entire American public.

The advancement of the highest interest of national science and learning and the custody of objects of art and of the valuable results of scientific expeditions conducted by the United States have been committed to the Smithsonian Institution. In furtherance of its declared purpose—for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men"—the Congress has from time to time given it other important functions. Such trusts have been executed by the institution with notable fidelity. There should be no halt in the work of the institution, in accordance with the plans which its secretary has presented, for the preservation of the vanishing races of great North American ani-

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imals in the national zoological park. The urgent needs of the national museum are recommended to the favorable consideration of the Congress.

Public Libraries.—Perhaps the most characteristic educational movement of the last fifty years is that which has created the modern public library and developed it into broad and active service. There are now over five thousand public libraries in the United States, the product of this period. In addition to accumulating material, they are also striving by organization, by improvement in method, and by co-operation to give greater efficiency to the material they hold, to make it more widely useful, and by avoidance of unnecessary duplication in process to reduce the cost of its administration.

In these efforts they naturally look for assistance to the federal library, which, though still the Library of Congress, and so entitled, is the one national library of the United States. Already the largest single collection of books on the Western Hemisphere, and certain to increase more rapidly than any other through purchase, exchange, and operation of the copyright law, this library has a unique opportunity to render to the libraries of this country—to American scholarship—service of the highest importance. It is housed in a building which is the largest and most magnificent yet erected for library uses. Resources are now being provided which will develop the collection properly, equip it with the apparatus and service necessary to its effective use, render its bibliographic work widely available, and enable it to become not merely a centre of research, but the chief factor in great co-operative efforts for the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of learning.

Census Office.—For the sake of good administration, sound economy, and the advancement of science, the census office as now constituted should be made a permanent government bureau. This would insure better, cheaper, and more satisfactory work, in the interest not only of our business, but of statistic, economic, and social science.

Postal Service.—The remarkable growth of the postal service is shown in the fact

that its revenues have doubled and its expenditures have nearly doubled within twelve years. Its progressive development compels constantly increasing outlay, but in this period of business energy and prosperity its receipts grow so much faster than its expenses that the annual deficit has been steadily reduced from \$11,411,779 in 1897 to \$3,923,727 in 1901. Among recent postal advances the success of rural free delivery wherever established has been so marked and actual experience has made its benefits so plain that the demand for its extension is general and urgent.

It is just that the great agricultural population should share in the improvement of the service. The number of rural routes now in operation is 6,009, practically all established within three years, and there are 6,000 applications awaiting action. It is expected that the number in operation at the close of the current fiscal year will reach 8,600. The mail will then be daily carried to the doors of 5,700,000 of our people who have heretofore been dependent upon distant offices, and one-third of all that portion of the country which is adapted to it will be covered by this kind of service.

The full measure of postal progress which might be realized has long been hampered and obstructed by the heavy burden imposed on the government through the intrenched and well-understood abuses which have grown up in connection with second-class mail matter. The extent of this burden appears when it is stated that while the second-class matter makes nearly three-fifths of the weight of all the mail, it paid for the last fiscal year only \$4,294,445 of the aggregate postal revenue of \$111,631,193. If the pound rate of postage, which produces the large loss thus entailed, and which was fixed by the Congress with the purpose of encouraging the dissemination of public information, were limited to the legitimate newspapers and periodicals actually contemplated by the law, no just exception could be taken. That expense would be the recognized and accepted cost of a liberal public policy deliberately adopted for a justifiable end. But much of the matter which enjoys the privilege rate is wholly outside of the intent of the law, and has secured admission only through an evasion

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of its requirements or through lax construction. The proportion of such wrongfully included matter is estimated by the postal experts to be one-half of the whole volume of second-class mail. If it be only one-third or one-quarter, the magnitude of the burden is apparent. The Post-office Department has now undertaken to remove the abuses so far as is possible by a stricter application of the law, and it should be sustained in its effort.

China.—Owing to the rapid growth of our power and our interests on the Pacific, whatever happens in China must be of the keenest national concern to us.

The general terms of the settlement of the questions growing out of the anti-foreign uprisings in China of 1900, having been formulated in a joint note addressed to China by the representatives of the injured powers in December last, were promptly accepted by the Chinese government. After protracted conferences the plenipotentiaries of the several powers were able to sign a final protocol with the Chinese plenipotentiaries on Sept. 7 last, setting forth the measures taken by China in compliance with the demands of the joint note, and expressing their satisfaction therewith. It will be laid before the Congress, with a report of the plenipotentiary on behalf of the United States, William Woodville Rockhill, to whom high praise is due for the tact, good judgment, and energy he has displayed in performing an exceptionally difficult and delicate task.

The agreement reached disposes in a manner satisfactory to the powers of the various grounds of complaint, and will contribute materially to better future relations between China and the powers. Reparation has been made by China for the murder of foreigners during the uprising, and punishment has been inflicted on the officials, however high in rank, recognized as responsible for or having participated in the outbreak. Official examinations have been forbidden for a period of five years in all cities in which foreigners have been murdered or cruelly treated, and edicts have been issued making all officials directly responsible for the future safety of foreigners and for the suppression of violence against them.

Provisions have been made for insuring

the future safety of the foreign representatives in Peking by setting aside for their exclusive use a quarter of the city which the powers can make defensible, and in which they can, if necessary, maintain permanent military guards; by dismantling the military works between the capital and the sea, and by allowing the temporary maintenance of foreign military posts along this line. An edict has been issued by the Emperor of China prohibiting for two years the importation of arms and ammunition into China. China has agreed to pay adequate indemnities to the states, societies, and individuals for the losses sustained by them, and for the expenses of the military expeditions sent by the various powers to protect life and restore order.

Under the provisions of the joint note of December, 1900, China has agreed to revise the treaties of commerce and navigation, and to take such other steps for the purpose of facilitating foreign trade as the foreign powers may decide to be needed.

The Chinese government has agreed to participate financially in the work of bettering the water approaches to Shanghai and to Tientsin, the centres of foreign trade in central and northern China, and an international conservancy board, in which the Chinese government is largely represented, has been provided for the improvement of the Shanghai River and the control of its navigation. In the same line of commercial advantages a revision of the present tariff on imports has been assented to for the purpose of substituting specific for ad valorem duties, and an expert has been sent abroad on the part of the United States to assist in this work. A list of articles to remain free of duty, including flour, cereals, and rice, gold and silver coin and bullion, has also been agreed upon in the settlement.

During these troubles our government has unswervingly advocated moderation, and has materially aided in bringing about an adjustment which tends to enhance the welfare of China and to lead to a more beneficial intercourse between the empire and the modern world, while in the critical period of revolt and massacre we did our full share in safeguarding life and property, restoring order, and vindicating the

ROOSEVELT—ROOT

national interest and honor. It behooves us to continue in these paths, doing what lies in our power to foster feelings of goodwill, and leaving no effort untried to work out the great policy of full and fair intercourse between China and the nations, on a footing of equal rights and advantages to all. We advocate the "open door," with all that it implies, not merely the procurement of enlarged commercial opportunities on the coasts, but access to the interior by the waterways with which China has been so extraordinarily favored. Only by bringing the people of China into peaceful and friendly community of trade with all the peoples of the earth can the work now auspiciously begun be carried to fruition. In the attainment of this purpose we necessarily claim parity of treatment, under the conventions, throughout the empire, for our trade and our citizens with those of all other powers.

Mexico.—We view with lively interest and keen hopes of beneficial results the proceedings of the Pan-American congress, convoked at the invitation of Mexico, and now sitting at the Mexican capital. The delegates of the United States are under the most liberal instructions to cooperate with their colleagues in all matters promising advantage to the great family of American commonwealths, as well in their relations among themselves as in their domestic advancement and in their intercourse with the world at large.

My predecessor communicated to the Congress the fact that the Weil and La Abra awards against Mexico have been adjudged by the highest courts of our country to have been obtained through fraud and perjury on the part of the claimants, and that in accordance with the acts of the Congress the money remaining in the hands of the Secretary of State on these awards has been returned to Mexico. A considerable portion of the money received from Mexico on these awards had been paid by this government to the claimants before the decision of the courts was rendered. My judgment is that the Congress should return to Mexico an amount equal to the sums thus already paid to the claimants.

Peace and Good-will.—The death of Queen Victoria caused the people of the

United States deep and heartfelt sorrow, to which the government gave full expression. When President McKinley died our nation in turn received from every quarter of the British Empire expressions of grief and sympathy no less sincere. The death of the Empress Dowager Frederick of Germany also aroused the genuine sympathy of the American people; and this sympathy was cordially reciprocated by Germany when the President was assassinated. Indeed, from every quarter of the civilized world we received, at the time of the President's death, assurances of such grief and regard as to touch the hearts of our people. In the midst of our affliction we reverently thank the Almighty that we are at peace with the nations of mankind; and we firmly intend that our policy shall be such as to continue unbroken these international relations of mutual respect and good-will.

Root, ELIHU, statesman; born in Clinton, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1845; graduated at Hamilton College in 1864, and at the University Law School, of New York, in



ELIHU ROOT.

1867; in the latter year was admitted to the bar; was United States attorney for the Southern District of New York in 1883-85; delegate-at-large to the State

ROPES—ROSS

constitutional convention in 1894, and was chairman of its judiciary committee. He was Secretary of War, Aug. 1, 1899, to Feb. 1, 1904; Secretary of State, July 6, 1905.

Ropes, JOHN CODMAN, historian; born in St. Petersburg, Russia, April 28, 1836; graduated at Harvard in 1857; admitted to the bar in 1861. He was the author of *The Army under Pope; The Story of the Civil War; the Campaign of Waterloo*; etc. He died in Boston, Mass., Oct. 27, 1899.

Rosalie. See NATCHEZ INDIANS.

Rose, THOMAS ELLWOOD, military officer; born in Bucks county, Pa., March 12, 1830; enlisted in the 12th Pennsylvania Volunteers in April, 1861; promoted captain in the 77th Pennsylvania in October, 1861; taken prisoner at Chickamauga and sent to Libby prison with Major Hamilton and others. A tunnel was dug from the cellar to the street, through which over 100 soldiers escaped, including Rose, who was retaken and confined until his exchange in 1864. He was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers and colonel, United States army. See CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Rosecrans, WILLIAM STARKE, military officer; born in Kingston, O., Sept. 6, 1819; graduated at West Point in 1842;



WILLIAM STARKE ROSECRANS.

entered the engineer corps; was assistant professor in the Military Academy in 1843-47; and resigned on account of ill-health in 1854. In May, 1861, he was commissioned brigadier-general. He com-

manded a division at the siege of Corinth in May, 1862; commanded the Army of the Mississippi until October, defeating Price at Iuka (see IUKA SPRINGS, BATTLE NEAR), and Van Dorn and Price at Corinth in October. As commander of the Army of the Cumberland, in December, 1862, he won the battle of Stone River. In September, 1863, he was defeated at Chickamauga. In 1864 he commanded the Department of Missouri, and defeated the object of Price's raid. In 1865 he was brevetted major-general. He resigned in 1867; was minister to Mexico in 1868; member of Congress from California in 1881-85; register of the United States treasury in 1885-93. He was restored to the rank of brigadier-general, and retired in 1889. He died near Redondo, Cal., March 11, 1898.

Rosengarten, JOSEPH GEORGE, lawyer; born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 14, 1835; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1852; admitted to the bar in 1856; served through the Civil War on the staff of Gen. John F. Reynolds. He is the author of *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States; The German Allied Troops in the War of Independence*, etc.

Rosewater, EDWARD, editor; born in Bohemia in 1841; emigrated to the United States in 1854; elected member of the Nebraska legislature in 1871; editor of the *Omaha Bee*. Mr. Rosewater was the original promoter of the trans-Mississippi exposition.

Ross, ALEXANDER, pioneer; born in Nairnshire, Scotland, May 9, 1783; emigrated to Canada in 1805; took part in Astor's expedition to Oregon in 1810. He wrote *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon River; The Fur-Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon and Rocky Mountains; The Red River Settlement, Its Rise, Progress, and Present State*. He died in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Oct. 23, 1856.

Ross, CHARLES, son of Christian K. Ross, of Philadelphia, Pa., kidnapped July 1, 1874. Never restored to his family.

Ross, GEORGE, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Newcastle, Del., in 1730; became a lawyer in Lancaster, Pa., in 1751; was a representative in the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1768-

ROSS—ROUGH RIDERS

70, and in 1774 was elected to the first Continental Congress. He was a ready writer and a skillful committeeman. A few months after he signed the Declaration of Independence ill-health compelled him to leave Congress (January, 1777). After the dissolution of the proprietary government in Pennsylvania a convention appointed him to draw up a "Declaration of Rights"; and a short time before his death he was made judge of the court of admiralty. He died in Lancaster, Pa., in 1779.

ROSS, JOHN, Indian name KOO WES KOO WE, Cherokee chief; born in Georgia in 1790; was a quarter-breed Indian, and was well educated. In 1828 he became principal chief of the Cherokee nation, and from the beginning was an efficient champion of their rights against the encroachments and cupidity of the white race. About 600 of the nation, led by John Ridge, concluded a treaty with the United States, agreeing to surrender the lands of the Cherokees and go west of the Mississippi River. Against this treaty Ross and about 15,000 Cherokees protested, but the United States government,

was compelled to yield, and made a treaty with the Confederate government. At the time of his death, in Washington, D. C., Aug. 1, 1866, Ross was urging the claims of his nation to remuneration for losses incurred during the war.

ROSS, SIR JOHN, Arctic explorer; born in Balsarrock, Scotland. June 24, 1777; entered the royal navy when nine years of age, and became a rear-admiral in 1851. He began Arctic voyages in 1828, with Captain Parry as his lieutenant, and in 1850 went in search of Sir John Franklin, in a vessel of 90 tons. In the naval service he was wounded thirteen times. He published a number of works relating to Arctic travel. He died in London, Aug. 30, 1856.

ROSS, ROBERT, military officer; born in Ross Trevor, Devonshire, England; served as an officer of foot in Holland and in Egypt; was in the campaign in Spain under Sir John Moore, and commanded a brigade in the battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees. He commanded the troops sent against Washington in August, 1814, and was successful; but attempting to co-operate with the British fleet in an attack on Baltimore, in September, he was slain near North Point, Md., Sept. 12, 1814, while riding towards that city, chatting gayly with an aide-de-camp. See BALTIMORE.

Rothrock, JOSEPH TRIMBLE, scientist; born in MacVeytown, Pa., April 9, 1839; graduated at Harvard in 1864; took part in the Civil War and was wounded in the battle of Fredericksburg; appointed Professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania in 1877. Among his publications are *Flora of Alaska*; *Pennsylvania Forestry Reports*; *Botany of the Wheeler Expedition*, etc.

Rothwell, RICHARD PENNEFATHER, scientist; born in Ingersoll, Canada, May 1, 1836; graduated at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1858, and the Imperial School of Mines, Paris, France, in 1862. He was the author of *The Mineral Industry*; *Universal Binetallism*, and an *International Monetary Clearing House*, etc.

Rough Riders, the popular name of two regiments of cavalry organized at the beginning of the American-Spanish War. The most conspicuous one was the 1st



JOHN ROSS.

having a preponderance of force, sent General Scott with troops to compel the Indians to abide by a treaty made by a small minority. They went sadly to their new home, with Ross at their head, a moderate allowance being made them for their losses. When the Civil War broke out the Cherokees joined the Confederacy. Ross, who was a loyal man, protested, but

ROUSSEAU—ROWAN

United States Volunteer Cavalry, of which Dr. Leonard Wood, a surgeon in



LOVELL HARRISON ROUSSEAU.

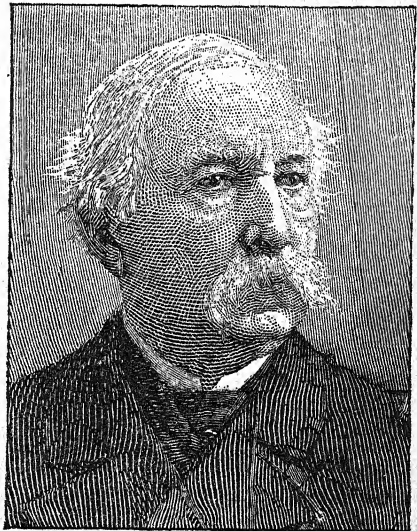
the regular army, was commissioned colonel, and Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned the office of assistant Secretary of the Navy for the purpose, lieutenant-colonel. The regiment greatly distinguished itself in the Santiago campaign, particularly in the engagements at El Caney and San Juan Hill. For their services in this campaign Colonel Wood was promoted brigadier-general of volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt colonel of the regiment.

Rousseau, LOVELL HARRISON, military officer; born in Lincoln county, Ky., Aug. 4, 1818; in early life worked at road-making, but finally studied law and was admitted to the bar at Bloomfield, Ind., in 1841. He served in the Indiana legislature and in the war against Mexico. Settling at Louisville in 1849, he soon took a high place as a criminal lawyer. He was a member of the Kentucky Senate in 1860, and took a decided stand for the Union. At the outbreak of the Civil War he raised two regiments, but was obliged to encamp on the Ohio side of the river, where he established Camp Joe Holt. In September (1861) he crossed the river to protect Louisville, and in October was made brigadier-general of volunteers. With a part of Buell's army he fought at Shiloh and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Perryville, for which he was

promoted major-general of volunteers. He was also conspicuous in the battle at Stone River; was in the campaign in northern Georgia, in 1863, and fought at Chickamauga; commanded the District of Tennessee in 1864; and made a famous raid into Alabama. In 1865-67 he was in Congress. In the latter year he was commissioned a brigadier-general and assigned to duty in Alaska as its first American governor. He afterwards commanded in New Orleans, where he died, Jan. 8, 1869.

Rowan, ANDREW SUMMERS, military officer; born in Gap Mills, Va.; graduated at West Point in 1881; promoted captain in the 19th United States Infantry, April 26, 1898. At the opening of the war with Spain Captain Rowan was sent by the United States government with the message to Garcia. He landed on the island without knowing Garcia's whereabouts, and succeeded in finding Garcia and in bringing back a reply with full information concerning the Cuban insurgents. The successful accomplishment of his mission was one of the most brilliant exploits in the American-Spanish War.

Rowan, STEPHEN CLEGG, naval officer; born near Dublin, Ireland, Dec. 25, 1808; entered the United States navy as mid-



STEPHEN CLEGG ROWAN.

ROYAL GREENS—RUFFIN

shipman in February, 1826; served on the Pacific coast in the war against Mexico; and early in the Civil War commanded the sloop-of-war *Paucnee* in action at Aquia Creek. He was also a participant in the capture of the Confederate forts at Hatteras. He commanded the naval flotilla in the attack on ROANOKE ISLAND (q. v.), and performed exceptional service in the sounds on the coast of North Carolina; also in the attacks on Forts Wagner, Gregg, and Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. In 1868-69 he commanded the Asiatic Squadron; in September, 1870, was promoted vice-admiral; and in 1882 became superintendent of the Naval Observatory. He died in Washington, D. C., March 31, 1890.

Royal Greens, the name of a British corps in the Revolutionary War. Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William, was commissioned a colonel in the British army soon after the outbreak of the Revolution, and raised two battalions, composed of Tories and his own Scotch retainers, in number about 1,000. This corps he called "The Royal Greens," because of their green uniforms. They were a formidable corps in connection with Indian allies, and carried destruction and distress throughout large portions of the Mohawk region.

Royalist Colonies. The English colonists in the West Indies, as well as in Virginia and Maryland, adhered to Charles II. in his exile. In October, 1650, the victorious Parliament authorized the council of state to send a land and naval force to bring these colonies into subjection, and all trade with them was prohibited, and the capture of all vessels employed in it was authorized. Sir George Ayscue was sent with a fleet against Barbadoes, and another expedition, under the direction of five commissioners, was sent against the Virginians in September, 1651. Ships for this purpose were furnished by merchants trading with Virginia; and they bore 750 soldiers and 150 Scotch prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, sent over to be sold in Virginia as servants. This expedition went by way of the West Indies, where it joined Ayscue, and assisted him in capturing Barbadoes, which he had not been able to do alone. The expedition reached the Chesapeake in

March, 1652. There were several Dutch ships lying in the James River, whose crews agreed to assist in the defence of the province against the parliamentary forces. But a negotiation ensued, which resulted in a capitulation. Two sets of articles were signed—one with the Assembly, which was favorably inclined toward Parliament; the other with Governor Berkeley and his council, who were to be allowed a year to settle up their affairs without being required to take new oaths. They were guaranteed the right to sell their property and go where they pleased. The Assembly was dealt fairly and honorably with. Those who did not choose to relinquish the use of the Book of Common Prayer, or to subscribe to a promise, "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England," as was then established, "without king or House of Lords," were allowed a year for making sale of their property and departing. The Dutch vessels were provided for. Berkeley's commission was declared void. A new Assembly was called, when Richard Bennett, who accompanied the expedition, was elected governor of Virginia, and Claiborne, who also came with the expedition, was chosen secretary. See CLAIBORNE, WILLIAM.

Ruffin, EDMUND, military officer; born in Prince George county, Va., Jan. 5, 1794. At the outbreak of the Civil War



EDMUND RUFFIN.

his company was ordered to Charleston, and he was chosen to fire the first shot against Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. He wrote *Anticipations of the Future to*

RUFFIN—RUMFORD

Serve as Lessons for the Present Time (1860); and edited the *Westover Manuscripts*, containing the *History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. He died in Redmoor, Amelia co., Va., June 15, 1865.

Ruffin, THOMAS, jurist; born in Virginia, Nov. 17, 1787; graduated at Princeton in 1805; removed to North Carolina in 1807; elected member of the State legislature in 1813, judge of the Supreme Court in 1816, serving until 1858, with the exception of four years. He was a member of the peace congress which met in Washington in 1861. He died at Hillsboro, N. C., Jan. 15, 1870.

Ruger, THOMAS HOWARD, military officer; born in Lima, N. Y., April 2, 1833; graduated at West Point in 1854, but resigned the next year and became a lawyer in Jamesville, Wis. In 1861-62 he served in the Shenandoah Valley as colonel of the 3d Wisconsin Volunteers, and was in the battles of Antietam in 1862 and Chancellorsville in 1863. At Gettysburg he commanded a division, having been made brigadier-general in November, 1862. He commanded a brigade in the Atlanta campaign in 1864, and a division in operations in North Carolina until the surrender of Johnston. He was brevetted brigadier-general, United States army, in 1867; was promoted to the full rank in 1886, and to major-general in 1895; and was retired April 2, 1897.

Ruggles, BENJAMIN, legislator; born in Windham county, Conn., in 1783; removed to Ohio, where he became judge of the court of common pleas. He was a member of the United States Senate from 1815 until 1833, and was usually known as "The Wheel-horse of the Senate." He died in St. Clairsville, O., Sept. 2, 1857.

Ruggles, TIMOTHY, jurist; born in Rochester, Mass., Oct. 20, 1711; was at the battle of Lake George at the head of a brigade, and was second in command. The next year (1756) he was made a judge of the court of common pleas, and was chief-justice of that court from 1762 until the Revolution. In 1762 he was speaker of the Assembly, and for many years an active member of that body. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and was made its president, but refused to concur in its measures. For this act the legisla-

ture reprimanded him. On account of his Toryism he took refuge in Boston, where, in 1775, he tried without success to raise a corps of loyalists. When the British evacuated Boston (March, 1776) he went with the troops to Halifax, and became one of the proprietors of the town of Digby, N. S. He was a man of great ability and learning, and fluent in speech. He died in Wilmot, N. S., Aug. 4, 1795.

Rule of 1756. When in 1756 war between Great Britain and France was formally declared, the former power announced as a principle of national law that "no other trade should be allowed to neutrals with the colonies of a belligerent in time of war than what is allowed by the parent state in time of peace." This was in direct opposition to the law of nations promulgated by Frederick the Great—namely, "The goods of an enemy cannot be taken from on board the ships of a friend"; and also in direct violation of a treaty between England and Holland, in which it was stipulated expressly that "free ships make free goods"—that the neutral should enter safely and unmolested all the harbors of the belligerents, unless they were blockaded or besieged. This dictation of law to other nations for merely selfish purposes drew upon Great Britain the dislike of all. Then it was aimed directly at France, the weaker naval power.

Rumford, BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT, scientist; born in Woburn, Mass., March 26, 1753; in early youth manifested much love for the study of science while engaged in a store in Boston at the time of the Boston massacre. Then he taught school in Rumford (now Concord), N. H., and in 1772 married a wealthy widow of that place, and was appointed major of militia over several older officers. This offended them, and led to much annoyance for young Thompson. He was a conservative patriot, and tried to get a commission in the Continental army, but his opponents frustrated him. He was charged with disaffection, and finally persecution drove him to take sides with the crown. He was driven from his home, and in October, 1775, he took refuge within the British lines in Boston. When Howe left for Halifax, he sent Thompson to England with despatches, where the secretary of

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state gave him employment, and in 1780 he became under-secretary. In that year he returned to America, raised a loyalist corps called "The King's American Dragoons," and was made lieutenant-colonel, serving a short time in South Carolina.



COUNT RUMFORD.

On returning to England at the close of the war, he was knighted, and in 1784 entered the service of the Elector of Bavaria as aide-de-camp and chamberlain. To that prince he was of infinite service in reorganizing the army and introducing many needed reforms. He greatly beautified Munich by converting an old hunting-ground into a handsome garden or park, and the grateful citizens afterwards erected a fine monument to his honor.

Thompson was successively raised to the rank of major-general in the army, member of the council of state, lieutenant-general, commander-in-chief of the general staff, minister of war, and count of the Holy Roman Empire. On the latter occasion he chose for his title, Rumford, the name of the place where he had married his wife. In 1795 he again visited England, and returning to Bavaria in 1796, when that country was threatened by the war between France and Germany, he was appointed head of the council of regency during the absence of the elector, and maintained the neutrality of Munich. For this service honors were bestowed upon him, and he was made superintendent of the police of

the electorate. At the end of two years he went back to England. The Bavarian government wished him to be its minister, but the English government, acting on the rule of inalienable allegiance, could not receive him as such. Count Rumford gave up his citizenship in Bavaria and settled in Paris. There he married for his second wife the widow of Lavoisier, and with her retired to the villa of Auteuil, where he spent the remainder of his life in philosophical pursuits, and contributed a great number of essays to scientific journals. He made many experiments and discoveries in the matter of heat and light; instituted prizes for discoveries in regard to light and heat, to be awarded by the Royal Society of London and the American Academy of Sciences; and bequeathed to Harvard College the funds by which was founded the Rumford Professorship of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences as Applied to the Useful Arts, which was established in October, 1816. He left a daughter by his first wife, who bore the title of Countess of Rumford, and who died at Concord, N. H., in 1852. He died in Auteuil, France, Aug. 21, 1814.

Rumsey, JAMES, inventor; born in Cecil county, Md., in 1743. As early as 1784 he propelled a boat on the Potomac by machinery, and in 1786 he propelled one by steam on the same river, and obtained a patent for his discovery and invention from Virginia in 1787. A Rumsey Society, of which Franklin was a member, was formed in Philadelphia to aid him. He went to London, where a similar association was formed, and a boat and machinery were built for him. He obtained patents in Great Britain, France, and Holland. He made a successful experiment on the Thames in 1792, but before he could complete his invention he died in London, Dec. 23, 1792. His agency in "giving to the world the benefit of the steamboat" was acknowledged and appreciated by the Kentucky legislature, which, in 1839, presented a gold medal to his son in token of such acknowledgment.

Runyon, THEODORE, diplomatist; born in Somerville, N. J., Oct. 25, 1822; graduated at Yale College in 1842; admitted to the bar in Newark, N. J., in 1846;

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appointed brigadier-general of State militia in 1856, and subsequently was promoted major-general of the National Guard of New Jersey. On April 27, 1861, he started for Washington, D. C., in command of the 1st Brigade of New Jersey Volunteers; on May 6 reached the national capital, then in a state of great excitement because of an expected invasion, with 3,000 men; on the 10th he took possession of exposed parts of the city, and on the 24th was ordered to occupy and fortify the approaches to the city, especially those converging at the Long Bridge. The first fortifications erected for the defence of the national capital were given the name of Fort Runyon. When the National army met its first defeat and was fleeing in a panic towards Washington, with the Confederates in close pursuit, General Runyon closed all the approaches to the city, planted cannon at the Long and Chain bridges, and thus not only checked the retreat of the National troops but prevented a Confederate march on the capital. General Runyon kept the National army outside the city limits till it was thoroughly reorganized, and averted a panic in the city itself. For saving the National capital General Runyon received the personal thanks of President Lincoln and his cabinet. Soon afterwards he resigned his commission under the conviction that his superior officers had little regard for a militia general. In 1873-87 he was chancellor of the State of New Jersey; in March, 1893, was appointed United States minister to Germany, and in September following was raised to the rank of ambassador. He died in Berlin, Germany, during his term of office, Jan. 27, 1896.

Rupp, ISRAEL DANIEL, historian; born in Cumberland county, Pa., July 10, 1803; was author of *History of Religious Denominations in the United States*; *Events in Indian History*; *Collection of Names of Thirty Thousand German and Other Immigrants to Pennsylvania from 1727-76*; and of many Pennsylvania county histories. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., May 31, 1878.

Rusby, HENRY HURD, botanist; born in Franklin, N. J., April 26, 1855; was connected with the Smithsonian Institu-

tion in 1880-96; appointed Professor of Botany, Physiology, and Materia Medica in the New York College of Pharmacy in 1888; Professor of Materia Medica at Bellevue Hospital Medical College; Curator New York Botanical Gardens; revised botanical department of the *United States Pharmacopœia* in 1900-1.

Rush, BENJAMIN, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born near Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1745; studied medicine in Edinburgh, London, and Paris, as well as in Philadelphia, and became one of the most eminent physicians of his time, and filled professorial chairs. He was also a patriot, and took an active part in the great questions at the kindling of the war for independence. He urged in the convention of Pennsylvania the expediency of a declaration of independence, and was elected to Congress in time to vote for it. He was made surgeon-general of the Middle Department in April, 1777, and physician-general in July. He resigned these posts early in 1778. About 1785 he proposed in Philadelphia the establishment of the first dispensary in the United States. Dr. Rush was a firm supporter of the national Constitution. During the prevalence of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793, only Dr. Rush treated it successfully. It was estimated that he saved from death no fewer than 6,000 people in Philadelphia. In one day he treated 100 patients. He received marks of esteem for his medical skill from foreign potentates, and his writings upon medical subjects are numerous and valuable. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., April 19, 1813.

The Defects of the Confederation.—The following is Dr. Rush's view of the American Confederation, as published in Philadelphia in 1787:

There is nothing more common than to confound the terms of *American Revolution* with those of the *late American War*. The American war is over, but this is far from being the case with American revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government, and to prepare the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens for these forms of govern-

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ment, after they are established and brought to perfection.

The Confederation, together with most of our State constitutions, were formed under very unfavorable circumstances. We had just emerged from a corrupted monarchy. Although we understood perfectly the principles of liberty, yet most of us were ignorant of the forms and combinations of power in republics. Add to this, the British army was in the heart of our country, spreading desolation wherever it went; our resentments, of course, were awakened. We detested the British name, and unfortunately refused to copy some things in the administration of justice and power, in the British government, which have made it the admiration and envy of the world. In our opposition to monarchy we forgot that the temple of tyranny has two doors. We bolted one of them by proper restraints, but we left the other open, by neglecting to guard against the effects of our own ignorance and licentiousness.

Most of the present difficulties of this country arise from the weakness and other defects of our governments.

My business at present shall be only to suggest the defects of the Confederation. These consist: First, in the deficiency of coercive power; second, in a defect of exclusive power to issue paper money and regulate commerce; third, in vesting the sovereign power of the United States in a single legislature; and fourth, in the too frequent rotation of its members.

A convention is to sit soon for the purpose of devising means of obviating part of the two first defects that have been mentioned. But I wish they may add to their recommendations to each State to surrender up to Congress their power of emitting money. In this way a uniform currency will be produced that will facilitate trade and help to bind the States together. Nor will the States be deprived of large sums of money by this means, when sudden emergencies require it; for they may always borrow them, as they did during



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the war, out of the treasury of Congress. Even a loan office may be better instituted in this way, in each State, than in any other.

The last two defects that have been mentioned are not of less magnitude than

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the first. Indeed, the single legislature of Congress will become more dangerous from an increase of power than ever. To remedy this let the supreme federal power be divided, like the legislatures of most of our States, into two distinct, independent branches. Let one of them be styled the Council of the States and the other the Assembly of the States. Let the first consist of a single delegate—and the second of two, three or four delegates, chosen annually by each State. Let the President be chosen annually by the joint ballot of both Houses; and let him possess certain powers, in conjunction with a privy council, especially the power of appointing most of the officers of the United States. The officers will not only be better when appointed this way, but one of the principal causes of faction will be thereby removed from Congress. I apprehend this division of the power of Congress will become more necessary as soon as they are invested with more ample powers of levying and expending public money.

The custom of turning men out of power or office as soon as they are qualified for it has been found to be absurd in practice. Is it virtuous to dismiss a general, a physician, or even a domestic, as soon as they have acquired knowledge sufficient to be useful to us for the sake of increasing the number of able generals, skilful physicians, and faithful servants? We do not. Government is a science, and can never be perfect in America until we encourage men to devote not only three years, but their whole lives, to it. I believe the principal reason why so many men of abilities object to serving in Congress is owing to their not thinking it worth while to spend three years in acquiring a profession which their country immediately afterwards forbids them to follow.

There are two errors or prejudices on the subject of government in America, which lead to the most dangerous consequences.

It is often said "that the sovereign and all other power is seated in the people." This idea is unhappily expressed. It should be, "All power is derived from the people," they possess it only on the days of their elections. After this it is the property of their rulers; nor can they exercise or resume it unless it be abused.

It is of importance to circulate this idea, as it leads to order and good government.

The people of America have mistaken the meaning of the word sovereignty, hence each State pretends to be sovereign. In Europe it is applied only to those States which possess the power of making war and peace—of forming treaties and the like. As this power belongs only to Congress, they are the only sovereign power in the United States.

We commit a similar mistake in our ideas of the word independent. No individual State, as such, has any claim to independence. She is independent only in a union with her sister States in Congress.

To conform the principles, morals, and manners of our citizens to our republican forms of government, it is absolutely necessary that knowledge of every kind should be disseminated through every part of the United States.

For this purpose let Congress, instead of laying out a half a million of dollars in building a federal town, appropriate only a fourth of that sum in founding a federal university. In this university let everything connected with government, such as history, the law of nature and nations, the civil law, the municipal laws of our country, and the principles of commerce, be taught by competent professors. Let masters be employed, likewise, to teach gunnery, fortification, and everything connected with defensive and offensive war. Above all, let a professor of, what is called in the European universities, economy, be established in this federal seminary. His business should be to unfold the principles and practice of agriculture and manufactures of all kinds, and to enable him to make his lectures more extensively useful, Congress should support a travelling correspondent for him, who should visit all the nations of Europe, and transmit to him, from time to time, all the discoveries and improvements that are made in agriculture and manufactures. To this seminary young men should be encouraged to repair, after completing their academical studies in the colleges of their respective States. The honors and offices of the United States should, after a while, be confined to persons who had imbibed federal and republican ideas in this university.

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For the purpose of diffusing knowledge, as well as extending the living principle of government to every part of the United States, every State, city, county, village, and township in the Union should be tied together by means of the post-office. This is the true non-electric wire of government. It is the only means of conveying heat and light to every individual in the federal commonwealth. "Sweden lost her liberties," says the Abbé Raynal, "because her citizens were so scattered that they had no means of acting in concert with each other." It should be a constant injunction to the postmasters to convey newspapers free of all charge for postage. They are not only the vehicles of knowledge and intelligence, but the sentinels of the liberties of our country.

The conduct of some of those strangers who have visited our country since the peace, and who fill the British papers with accounts of our distresses, shows as great a want of good sense as it does of good nature. They see nothing but the foundations and walls of the temple of liberty; and yet they undertake to judge of the whole fabric.

Our own citizens act a still more absurd part when they cry out, after the experience of three or four years, that we are not proper materials for republican government. Remember we assumed these forms of government in a hurry, before we were prepared for them. Let every man exert himself in promoting virtue and knowledge in our country, and we shall soon become good republicans. Look at the steps by which governments have been changed, or rendered stable in Europe. Read the history of Great Britain. Her boasted government has risen out of wars and rebellions that lasted above 600 years. The United States are travelling peaceably into order and good government. They know no strife—but what arises from the collision of opinions; and, in three years, they have advanced further on the road to stability and happiness than most of the nations in Europe have done in as many centuries.

There is but one path that can lead the United States to destruction, and that is their extent of territory. It was probably to effect this that Great Britain ceded to us so much waste land. But even this

path may be avoided. Let but one new State be exposed to sale at a time, and let the land office be shut up till every part of this new State be settled.

I am extremely sorry to find a passion for retirement so universal among the patriots and heroes of the war. They resemble skilful mariners who, after exerting themselves to preserve a ship from sinking in a storm, in the middle of the ocean, drop asleep as soon as the waves subside, and leave the care of their lives and property, during the remainder of the voyage, to sailors without knowledge or experience. Every man in a republic is public property. His time and talents, his youth, his manhood, his old age; nay more, his life, his all, belong to his country.

Patriots of 1774, 1775, 1776—heroes of 1778, 1779, 1780, come forward! Your country demands your services. Philosophers and friends to mankind, come forward! Your country demands your studies and speculations. Lovers of peace and order, who declined taking part in the late war, come forward! Your country forgives your timidity and demands your influence and advice. Hear her proclaiming, in sighs and groans, in her governments, in her finances, in her trade, in her manufactures, in her morals and in her manners, "The Revolution is not over."

Rush, RICHARD, diplomatist; born in Philadelphia, Aug. 29, 1780; son of Dr. Benjamin Rush; graduated at Princeton College in 1797; became a lawyer in 1800; attorney-general of Pennsylvania in 1811, and comptroller of the United States treasury in November of that year. In 1814-17 he was Attorney-General of the United States; in 1817 was temporary Secretary of State under Monroe, and in 1817-25 was minister at the British Court, where he negotiated several important treaties, especially that of 1818 respecting the fisheries. President Adams recalled him and made him Secretary of the Treasury in 1825. In 1829 he negotiated an advantageous loan for the corporations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria. He assisted in adjusting a boundary dispute between Ohio and Michigan in 1835, and in 1836 the President appointed him commissioner to receive the Smithsonian legacy, and he returned in August with the entire

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amount (see SMITHSON, JAMES L. M.). Mr. Rush was a vigorous writer, and in the newspapers of the day he published many essays in favor of the war with England (1812-15); also in 1833 many able letters against the rechartering of the United States Bank. In 1815 he compiled an edition of the laws of the United States. He died in Philadelphia, Pa., July 30, 1859.

Rusk, JEREMIAH McLAIN, legislator, born in Morgan county, O., June 17, 1830; removed to Wisconsin in 1853; entered the National army in 1862 as major of the 25th Wisconsin Volunteers; elected to Congress in 1870, serving six years; elected governor of Wisconsin in 1882; appointed Secretary of Agriculture in 1889. He died in Virginia, Wis., Nov. 21, 1893.

Rusk, THOMAS JEFFERSON, legislator; born in Camden, S. C., Aug. 8, 1802; removed to Texas in 1835; was appointed the first minister of war of the republic of Texas. He took an active part in the war between Texas and Mexico, and, upon the annexation of Texas, was elected United States Senator in 1846. He died in Nacogdoches, Tex., July 29, 1856.

Russell, BENJAMIN, journalist; born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 13, 1761; learned the printer's art of Isaiah Thomas; served in the army of the Revolution; and was the army correspondent of Thomas's newspaper, the *Massachusetts Spy*, published at Worcester, Mass. In 1784 he began the publication, in Boston, of the *Columbian Centinel*, a semi-weekly, which soon became the leading newspaper in the country, containing contributions from men like Ames, Pickering, and other able men of the Federal school in politics. Mr. Russell was twenty-four years a representative of Boston in the Massachusetts Assembly, and was for several years in the State Senate and the executive council. He was the originator of the word *GEERTMANDER* (q. v.). He died in Boston, Mass., Jan. 4, 1845.

Russell, DAVID ALLAN, military officer; born in Salem, N. Y., Dec. 10, 1820; and was brevetted major-general, United States army, the day he was killed in battle at Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, 1864; graduated at West Point in 1845; served in the war against Mexico; was made captain of infantry in 1854;

was lieutenant-colonel of the 7th Massachusetts Volunteers in April, 1861, and brigadier-general in November, 1862. In the battle of Fredericksburg he led the advance; was distinguished in the battle of Gettysburg, and also in the campaign against Richmond, in 1864. His coolness and bravery saved the 6th Army Corps from destruction on the second day of the battle in the Wilderness. On May 9 he was put in command of a division of that corps, and was severely wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor. He was afterwards transferred to the Army of the Shenandoah.

Russell, HENRY BENAJAH, author; born in Russell, Mass., March 9, 1859; graduated at Amherst in 1881; has been connected with various newspapers as reporter and editor since 1881. He is the author of *Life of William McKinley*; *International Monetary Conferences*; *Our War with Spain*, etc.

Russell, JOHN HENRY, naval officer; born in Frederick City, Md., July 4, 1827; joined the navy in 1841; served in the early part of the Mexican War, taking part in the blockade and capture of Vera Cruz and other actions; graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1848. During his Pacific exploring cruise in 1853-56 he succeeded in establishing communication between the American and English envoys and the Chinese government; was promoted lieutenant in September, 1855. He commanded a naval expedition in September, 1861, which destroyed the Confederate privateer, *Judah*, while under the protection of shore batteries and about 9,000 men at Pensacola. In recognition of this feat he received the thanks of President Lincoln and the State of Maryland. Later, as commander of the steamer *Kennebec* in Farragut's fleet, he participated in important engagements, winning much distinction; was promoted rear-admiral and retired in 1886. He died in Washington, D. C., April 1, 1897.

Russell, JONATHAN, diplomatist; born in Providence, R. I., in 1771; graduated at Brown University in 1791; studied law; but became a merchant, and his taste led him into political life, though he never sought office. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty at

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Ghent, in 1814; and after that was United States minister at Stockholm, Sweden, for several years. On his return to the United States, he settled at Mendon, Mass., which district he represented in Congress in 1821-23. Although he was a forcible and elegant writer, little is known of his literary productions excepting an oration delivered in Providence on July 4, 1800, and his published correspondence while in Europe. He died in Milton, Mass., Feb. 19, 1832.

Russell, WILLIAM, military officer; born in Culpeper county, Va., in 1758; entered the army of the Revolution at sixteen years of age; was a lieutenant in Campbell's regiment in the battle of King's Mountain; rose to the rank of captain in the war; and in 1793 commanded the Kentucky mounted volunteers, under Wayne, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was also in the War of 1812-15, and served, altogether, in about twenty campaigns. He was a representative in the legislature of both Virginia and Kentucky. He died in Fayette county, Ky., July 3, 1825.

Russia. When King George, in council, determined to hire mercenary troops to assist in subduing his subjects in America, he first turned to the Empress of Russia, Catharine II., a woman of rare ability, and ambitious of glory and empire. Her minister, Prince Potemkin, had boasted that she had troops enough to spare to trample the Americans under foot. The King wrote an autograph letter to the Empress, and it was believed that she would instantly comply with his request. But Catharine sent a flat refusal to enter into such nefarious business, saying (through her minister): "I should not be able to prevent myself from reflecting on the consequences which would result for our dignity, for that of the two monarchies and the two nations, from this junction of our forces simply to calm a rebellion which is not supported by any foreign power." This stinging rebuke of the British policy in this case nettled the King, and he was surprised and offended by what he called her want of politeness in not answering his gracious autograph letter with her own hand. He thus sputtered out his indignation in his rapid manner: "She has not had the civility to

answer me with her own hand, and has thrown out expressions that may be civil to a Russian ear, but certainly not to more civilized ones." So he turned from the Empress of "barbarians" to the needy ruler of a people out of whom had come his own dynasty and procured his mercenaries.

John Quincy Adams was the American minister to the Russian Court in 1812. He was on intimate terms with the Emperor, and when intelligence of the declaration of war reached the Czar, the monarch expressed his regret. He was then on friendly terms with Great Britain, and his prime minister suggested to Mr. Adams the expediency of tendering the mediation of Russia for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Adams favored it. After the defeat of Napoleon at Moscow, the Czar sent instructions to M. Daschkoff, his representative at Washington, to offer to the United States his friendly services in bringing about a peace. This was done March 8, 1813. The President, always anxious for peace, immediately accepted the friendly offer, and nominated Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard commissioners to act jointly with Mr. Adams to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. The Thirteenth Congress assembled on May 24, 1813, and, with his message, the President sent in a letter from the Czar, offering his mediation. He also announced that the offer had been accepted; that commissioners had been appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with British commissioners, and that Gallatin and Bayard had departed for Russia, there to meet Mr. Adams. The Senate refused to confirm the nomination of Gallatin, because he still held the position of Secretary of the Treasury, and the attempt at mediation by Russia was a failure.

The sympathy displayed by Russia with the American government at a critical period of the Civil War is well known; at a time when the attitude of Great Britain and France was doubtful, the appearance of Russian vessels in Northern waters was taken as an evidence of goodwill. More recently, in the great famine prevailing in that country, American sympathy was manifested substantially by

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the shipment of a large quantity of grain. Russia ceded Alaska to the United States for \$7,200,000 by the treaty of March 30, 1867, and formal possession was taken by the United States Oct. 9, 1867. An extradition treaty between the two countries was negotiated, to take effect June 24, 1893.

Rutgers College, an institution for higher education, established in New Brunswick, N. J., under the auspices of the Reformed Dutch Church. A royal charter was obtained in 1770, with the title of Queen's College, and it was a theological seminary until 1865, when it became a partially independent literary college, on condition that the president and three-fourths of its trustees should be in full communion with the Reformed Dutch Church. It received the name of Rutgers College in 1825, when Col. Henry Rutgers gave it \$5,000. Its operations had been three times suspended previous to that time—once by the Revolution and twice by financial embarrassment. Its first president was Rev. Dr. J. R. Hardenburg. Its small endowments and the disturbances of the Civil War threatened it with a fourth suspension, when Rev. Dr. W. H. Campbell, an energetic worker, was called to the presidential chair in 1863. Under his administration several hundred thousand dollars were added to the endowment, and in 1866 the State College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts was opened as a department of the college, with a farm of 100 acres. At the close of 1903 the college reported twenty-eight professors and instructors; 226 students; 2,126 graduates; 45,650 volumes in the library; scientific apparatus valued at \$70,000; grounds and buildings, \$366,500; and endowment, \$500,000. The president was Austin Scott, Ph.D., LL.D.

Rutherford, GRIFFITH, military officer; born in Ireland, about 1731. A resident of western North Carolina, he represented Rowan county in the convention of Newbern in 1775. He led a force against the Cherokees in 1776, and was appointed by the Provincial Congress a brigadier-general in April of that year. He commanded a brigade at the battle near Camden; was made a prisoner, and afterwards commanded at Wilmington, when the British evacuated. He was State Senator in 1784,

and soon afterwards emigrated to Tennessee, where, in 1794, he was a member of the council, and where he died about 1800.

Rutledge, EDWARD, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; born in Charleston, S. C., Nov. 23, 1749; son of Chief-Justice John Rutledge; completed his law studies in England, and began practice in Charleston in 1773. He was a member of the first Continental Congress, and continued there until 1777. He was distinguished as a debater; was a member of the first board of war, and was on the committee to confer with Lord Howe, in 1776. In 1780 he was made a prisoner at Charleston, and sent to St. Augustine, and did not return until 1782. In the South Carolina legislature he drew up (1791) the law abolishing primogeniture, and was an ardent advocate of the national Con-



EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

stitution. He was governor of South Carolina from 1798 until his death, in Charleston, Jan. 23, 1800.

Rutledge, JOHN, jurist; born in Charleston, S. C., in 1739; studied law in London; returned to Charleston in 1761; and soon afterwards rose to eminence in his profession. In 1765 he was a member of the Stamp Act Congress that met in New York City; in 1774 of the South Carolina convention of patriots; and of

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the first Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, the same year. He was also in Congress in 1775, and was chairman of



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the convention that framed the State constitution of South Carolina in 1776. By his vigilance and activity he saved Fort Moultrie from the effects of an order by General Lee to evacuate it when attacked by the British; and he was elected president of the State under the new constitution. In 1779 he was chosen governor, and the legislature made him a temporary dictator when Charleston was threatened

with siege. In the fall of Charleston (May, 1780), Rutledge went to North Carolina, and accompanied the Southern army until 1782, when he was elected to Congress. He was chosen chancellor of South Carolina in 1784; was a member of the convention that framed the national Constitution (1787); appointed an associate-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States (1789); elected chief-justice of South Carolina in 1791; and in 1795 was appointed chief-justice of the United States, but the Senate did not confirm him. He died in Charleston, S. C., July 23, 1800.

Ruttenber, EDWARD MANNING, author; born in Bennington, Vt., July 17, 1825; connected with the bureau of military records, 1863-65; editor *Newburg Telegraph*, *Goshen Republican*, etc. He is the author of a *History of Newburg, N. Y.*; *History of Orange County, N. Y.*; *The Indian Tribes on the Hudson River*, etc.

Ryswick, PEACE OF. In 1697 a treaty of peace was concluded at Ryswick, near The Hague, by France on one side and the German Empire, England, Spain, and Holland on the other, that terminated a long war begun in 1686. By that treaty the King of France, who had espoused the cause of James II., acknowledged William of Orange King of Great Britain and Ireland, and provinces were restored to Spain and Germany, but Alsace and Lorraine were retained by France. They were won back by Germany in 1871. This treaty ended the inter-colonial war in America.